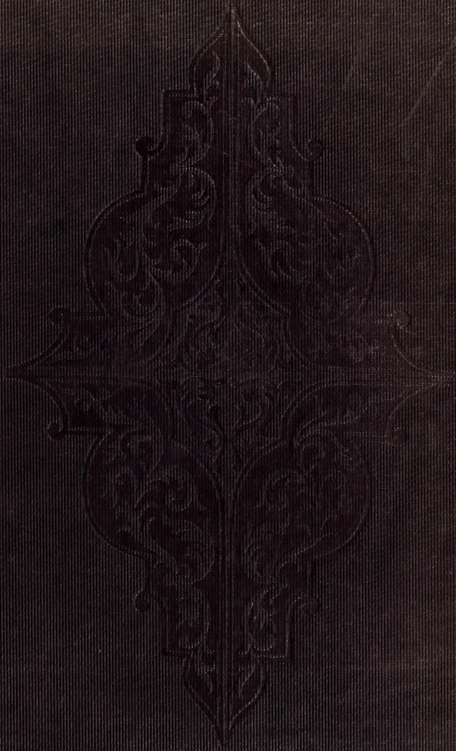

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THE

WORKS

OF

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY, B.A.,

LATE VICAR OF BROAD HEMBURY, DEVON.

A New Edition,

COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME.

PRINTED VERBATIM FROM THE FIRST EDITION OF HIS WORKS,
1794.

LONDON:
J. J. CHIDLEY, 123, ALDERSGATE STREET.

MDCCCXLIV.

J. BILLING, PRINTER AND STEREOTYPER, WOKING, SURREY.

PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION OF THE WORK.

Soon after the decease of Mr. Toplady, many persons, who loved his principles and revered his memory, expressed an earnest desire to have a complete edition of his works. Nothing of the kind was, however, attempted, until the year 1792, when the undertaking was finally determined upon. Materials were accordingly collected, and application was made to some gentlemen of literary character, whose principles coincided with the Author's, to undertake the arrangement for publication. Their assistance was promised, but the conditions were afterwards found to be such as could not be assented to, without proving injurious to the work, and probably giving it the appearance of an imposition on the public. Apprehensive that the world would thus be deprived of a considerable part of the writings of a justly admired author, the proprietors determined to proceed in the undertaking, and the superintendence devolved on one whose abilities (in his own estimation) were disproportioned to the task. He is satisfied with having secured from oblivion so large a portion of valuable compositions, and throws himself upon the candour of the public, without any studied or affected apologies.

The peculiar object in the writings of Mr. Toplady was to bring vital Christianity to view, and to display its principles, defended with arguments drawn from the same source. His admirable pages are a masterly and consistent defence of the Divine Attributes, in unison with the writings of the Old and New Testament. For it will be self-evident, to those who will only consider, that the perennial opposition made to the doctrines of discriminating grace, in the absolute love of the everlasting Father, proceeding forth from Him in His beloved Son, and communicated to a peculiar people by the Holy Spirit, are the identical objections reiterated against the purposes of the Almighty, respecting the restriction of the volume of Revelation.

It must be perceivable that the very reception of the Scriptures, among any people, cannot be supported but on the principles of our Author. For the question has been asked, and often repeated, If the Divine records are acknowledged to be "A light to them who sit in darkness, and in the shadow of death," and a directory "To guide their feet in the paths of peace," how is it to be accounted for, that millions of the inhabitants of the globe are without its saving and salutary influence? Taking a survey of human nature, what reason can be given that so many of our fellow creatures are worshipping the idols of their imagination with obscene and barbarous rites, and

others sunk in the very dregs of brutal voluptuousness? Why are the Vedam, the Zend-Avesta, the Sadder, and the Alcoran, received and acknowledged with all their fanciful conjectures and chronological chimeras, and the deposit of sacred writ not so much as heard of in the midst of the rubbish of those absurdities? and where the vivifying beams of revelation are displayed, as they are in this country, and at this period of time, how is it that the intellectual darkness of the mind is not dissipated so as to perceive its radiance? Who upon earth can give a satisfactory reason for these facts, or develope to the human mind the various dispensations of God, in denying or withholding the light of revelation, without resolving it into the divine will, and ultimately taking up the words of Him who spake as never man did, "Even so, Father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight."

These weighty investigations, which the importance of the subject brings under consideration, were some of the principal topics which employed the abilities of our Author. From those who are not influenced by a saving knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus nothing is to be expected, in the perusal of these writings, but the most inveterate opposition, hasty censure, and unbridled license of declamation; while those who are taught from above cannot be brought to abandon a belief so full of enlivening consolations, and attested to their consciences by irrefragable documents; they will be induced to contemplate the inconceivable greatness, the inaccessible height, the unfathomable researches, and immeasurable extent of these heavenly excellencies, and exclaim, with the apostle Paul, "O the depth of the riches, both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God, how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!" While meditating on this preliminary state of things, the thoughts will expand with an earnest desire to that eventful period when a far nobler scene shall be opened, when this faint twilight shall be preceded with the blaze of an eternal day; and when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away.

NOTE.

The Proprietors desire to acknowledge publicly, in terms of the warmest and most sincere gratitude, their obligations to the promoters of the work, and particularly to Mr. Hussey, for the many marks he has shown of his disinterested attention, as well as for his cheerful communication of the remaining manuscripts of his dear deceased friend.

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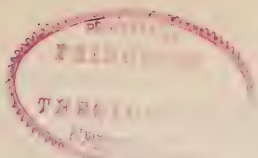

MEMOIRS

OF THE

Rev. AUGUSTUS MONTAGUE TOPLADY, A.B

On perusing the pages of biography, we find therein delineated the achievements of various persons exhibited to the world, according to the caprice and mutability of human opinion. But when we turn our views to the infallible leaves of inspiration, we discover a just discrimination of characters, with that mark of distinction stamped upon them from heaven, that stands in everlasting force, and admits of no exception. According to Scripture testimony, the righteous and the wicked are the only two classes that mankind are divided into; whatever becomes of the ungodly, the sacred records inform us, that it shall be well respecting the present and eternal prosperity of believers. For, "the foundation of the Lord," or his immoveable purpose respecting his people, "standeth sure, having this seal," this authentic and inviolable sanction, "The Lord knoweth," the Lord loves, and will ever continue to take care of, "them that are his."

We have many striking illustrations of the wonderful preservations experienced by the worthies of the Old and New Testaments, their whole history presents us with little else but a continued chain of miraculous providences. When God has had any particular employment for them to be engaged in, how suitably has he prepared and equipped his workmen for the work he has appointed them for! If, for example, we look at Elijah, we shall perceive a plain, blunt, honest prophet: a stranger to refinement, and to the blandishments of the world, but formed to speak of God's testimonies before princes, without being ashamed. It was Elijah against all Israel, and all Israel against Elijah. "But his bow abode in strength, and the arms of his hands were made strong, by the hands of the mighty God of Jacob." How eminently is this exemplified in the history of Isaiah, Jeremiah, John the Baptist, and the apostle Paul, who were copiously furnished for that sphere of action unto which they were appointed!

If we descend from Jewish to modern times, many peculiar instances will occur to elucidate this remark. Luther had inflexible enemies to withstand, and he strove with them roughly. His nerves were like steel, his bow like iron; his voice like thunder, and the force of his pen has been compared to the weight of Hercules' club. He was destined to engage with dangers and fierce persecutions; and God armed him for the war accordingly. Calvin was a complete gentleman, and a polite scholar, his feelings were fine, and his nerves delicate. He was not appointed of God for such hard public work as Luther: and, comparatively speaking, he met with little violent persecution during the course of his life.

In our own country, Mr. Whitefield was designed of God to be the grand and honoured instrument of restoring the truths and the power of the gospel in England. He was therefore fitted for his employ. He feared the face neither of men nor devils. Like an eagle, he flew from country to country, sounding intrepidly the gospel trumpet as he flew.

Mr. Hervey was not prepared, neither was he called to, the same dangerous and difficult department. The holy rector of Weston was formed more for study than for public action; it was his delight to cultivate the elegant parts of learning in retirement and obscurity; and to speak for Christ rather by his pen, than as an apostolic itinerant.

Mr. Toplady was peculiarly set apart to exhibit and defend the prominent features of revelation. He has pushed his adversaries with more inflexibility, intrepidity and vigour, than was ever done by any preceding champions. His animated warmth was justly proportioned to the cause he had espoused. The objections that have been reiterated against the doctrines of grace appeared to have been collected into one focus, and held up to his view with an air of triumph, and with the confidence of certain victory, but under the divine auspices, and in the spirit of sincerity

and truth, he was enabled to repel those attacks, that were made against the bulwark of Christianity, in such a manner as almost to supersede any eulogium that can be passed upon his uncommon abilities.

The last illustrious character, who is the subject of these memoirs, was son of Richard Toplady, a major, who died at the siege of Carthagena, soon after his birth. His mother's maiden name was Catharine Bate. She was sister to the late Rev. Mr. Julia Bate, and the Rev. Mr. Bate, rector of St. Paul's, Deptford; by whom they were married at the above church, December 21, 1737. They had issue one son named Francis, who died in his infancy, and afterwards our author. He drew his first breath at Farnham, in Surrey, November the 4th, 1740. His godfathers were Augustus Middleton, and Adolphus Montague, Esquires; in honour to whom he bore the Christian name of the one, and the surname of the other. He received the first rudiments of his education at Westminster-school, where he early evinced and increased a peculiar genius. From his studies at that place, he accompanied his honoured parent in a journey to Ireland, to pursue claims to an estate which she had in that kingdom. Notwithstanding the solitary state in which his mother was left, she anxiously watched over him, with the deepest sympathy of affection, and persevered in a plan for his education and future views in life, which were the principal concerns of her maternal solicitude. The son returned her tender care with the utmost affection. Indeed, so great was the obligation which he always conceived he owed her, that he never mentioned her but in words expressive of sensibility and gratitude.

As this son of the prophets was improving those natural talents he was so eminently endowed with, it pleased God in his providence, when he was about the age of sixteen, to direct his steps into a barn, at a place called Codymain, in Ireland, where a layman was preaching. The word of God, then delivering, was fixed upon his conscience, "in demonstration of the Spirit and with power." Let it not rashly be deemed the enthusiasm of a visionist, or the *ignus fatuus* of religious distraction, when we assert, "That his faith did not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God." There was nothing peculiar in the place, nor instrument, to work upon the fancy or passions: therefore, to attempt to explain the effect, by any logical or metaphysical investigation, would be ridiculous, while we have the Scriptures in congeniality with facts, to inform us that "it pleaseth God, by the foolishness of preaching, to save them that believe."

A few years after the above memorable circumstance, Mr. Toplady reflects upon it in the following words: "February 29, 1768, at night, after my return from Exeter, my desires were strongly drawn out, and drawn up to God. I could, indeed, say, that I groaned with the groans of love, joy, and peace; but so it was, even with comfortable groans that cannot be uttered. That sweet text, Ephesians ii. 13, "Ye, who sometimes were far off, are made nigh by the blood of Christ," was particularly delightful and refreshing to my soul; and the more so, as it reminded me of the days and months that are past, even the day of my sensible espousals to the Bridegroom of the elect. It was from that passage that Mr. Morris preached on the memorable evening of my effectual call; by the grace of God, under the ministry of that dear messenger, and under that sermon, I was, I trust brought nigh by the blood of Christ, in August, 1756.

"Strange that I, who had so long sat under the means of grace in England, should be brought nigh to God in an obscure part of Ireland, amidst a handful of God's people met together in a barn, and under the ministry of one who could hardly spell his name! Surely it was the Lord's doing, and is marvellous! The excellency of such power must be of God, and cannot be of man: the regenerating Spirit breathes not only on whom, but likewise when, where, and as he listeth."

On the perusal of this event, no doubt but the sceptic will rage, the deist sneer, and the person who assumes the character of a rational Christian will contumaciously ask, How can these things be? Rather let such in a spirit of humility fall prostrate before God, and intreat him to make them recipients of the grace of conversion, which bringeth salvation. For, without this experience, real vital Christianity will appear futile and fallacious, and the Divine Records seem as volatile as the sybil leaves.

Our author early made it appear, that he was not afraid of literary labour; the valuable years of his youth were devoted to useful and honourable studies, rather than to frivolous occupations, such as too often engross the minds of young men at his age. He laid a solid basis for future years, and the superstructure was beautiful. Between the age of fifteen and eighteen, by way of relaxation from his studies, he employed himself in writing little poetic pieces, which were printed in a 12mo. volume, at Dublin, in the year 1759. They are by no means deficient in spirit and force; some of the verses are truly poetical, and many of the thoughts new. Amidst the small inaccuracies of these juvenile compositions, there are indubitable marks of genius. The youth and inexperience of the writer must be looked upon as an extenuation, so as to preclude every idea of criticism. The ardour of piety and religion, which irradiated the morning of his life, was increased with lustre in his maturer years

Richly replete with a variety of gifts, and divinely instructed into those doctrines requisite for a Christian and a minister, he received imposition of hands on Trinity Sunday, the 6th of June, 1762. He entered upon the ministerial function, not only as a scholar, and as one professing religion, but as an honest man. He mentions, that he subscribed to the articles, homilies, and liturgy, five separate times, from principle; he did not believe them because he subscribed them, but subscribed them because he believed them. He was well persuaded, that after such an awful declaration made by every candidate for holy orders, the man that can draw back, or palliate, for any sinister purpose, the doctrines he has subscribed, so as to insinuate himself into the favour of men, to avoid persecution, or for any aggrandisement, must be devoid of every upright principle, and openly prove himself an apostate from the Church, a traitor to the cause he once avowed, and a liar to the Holy Ghost.

Shortly after his initiation into the ministry, he was inducted into the living of Blagdon, in Somersetshire, which was procured by friends, in a manner very usual; but so scrupulous was he, when acquainted with the circumstance, that he was not easy until he had resigned it.

In the year 1768, he took possession of the vicarship of Broad-Hembury, near Honiton, in Devonshire, which he held until his death. By the love and lenity he had to his people, the whole produce of the living did not amount to 80*l. per annum*.—He was by no means sedulous after temporal profits, or desirous of pursuing ecclesiastical preferments. It was his pre-eminence to merit the highest, and to be content with the lowest. In this situation he composed the greatest part of those writings, which will be esteemed and valued, while the genuine principles of Christianity continue to be revered.

To bring the reader more intimately acquainted with this excellent character, we shall insert a Diary found in his manuscript papers, entitled "Short Memorials of God's gracious Dealings with my Soul, in a Way of spiritual Experience, from Dec. 6, 1767," with this motto, "Bethel visits ought to be remembered." They contain an intense union of the most exalted sentiments in the engagement he was dedicated unto, and display the feelings of a soul in devout and ardent desires towards the Father of Spirits, unconnected with a heated imagination, or a stupid stoicism of devotion.

Sunday, Dec. 6, 1767. In the morning, read prayers and preached, here at Fen-Ottery, to a very attentive congregation. In the afternoon, the congregation at Harpford was exceedingly numerous; and God enabled me to preach with great enlargement of mind and fervour. The doctrine did indeed seem to descend as the dew, and to be welcome as refreshing showers to the grass. O, my Lord let not my ministry be approved only, or tend to no more than conciliating the esteem and affections of my people to thy unworthy messenger; but do the work of thy grace upon their hearts: call in thy chosen; seal and edify thy regenerate; and command thy everlasting blessing on their souls! Save *me* from self-opinion, and from self-seeking; and may *they* cease from man, and look solely to thee!

Monday, 7. Received a letter from Mr. Luce, and answered it. Gracious God, dispose of the event, to which it relates, as seemeth best to thee! Choose thou my heritage and my lot! Let it be thy doing, not mine!

This afternoon, I received a letter from my honoured mother, and my chest from London. It is a satisfaction to receive these presents and pledges of an earthly parent's love: but all the relations, and all the good things of this life, are less than nothing, and vanity, when compared with the love of Christ that passeth knowledge, and with one glimpse of thy special favour, O thou gracious Father of spirits.

Tuesday, 8. Was much refreshed, and sensibly comforted, in the evening, while reading Dr. Gill's sermon on the Death of Mr. Fall.

Wednesday, 9. A good deal of company dined here. How unprofitable are worldly interviews! Spent the evening much more advantageously in reading Dr. Gill's sermon on "The Watchman's Answer," and that great man's tract on final perseverance. Lord, grant me more and clearer evidences of my interest in that everlasting covenant, which is ordered in all things, and sure!

Thursday, 10. Heard that Mr. Duke has had a relapse into his fever. Pity, that so amiable a person in other respects should want the one thing needful! How much has he suffered, since I knew him, by drinking too freely; and how many narrow escapes has he had of his life! Yet, I fear, he goes on still as an ox to the slaughter. "It hath set him on fire round about, yet he knows it not: it burneth him, yet he lays it not to heart." I bless God, who has enabled me to be faithful to the soul of my friend; and put it into my mind to write him that letter of remonstrance, from London, above a twelvemonth ago. But, alas! I have only delivered my own soul. Neither experience of present evils, nor the remonstances of friends, will or can have any true effect on a sinner's heart, except thou, O Almighty Spirit, vouchsafe to reveal the arm of thy grace, and quicken the dead in sin, by the effectual working of thy glorious power! As overseer of this parish, I went down, in the morning, to view two of the poor-houses, and see what repair they want. Lord, what am I, that thou hast cast my lot in fairer ground, and given me a more goodly heritage!

Surely, in a way of providence no less than in a way of grace, thou hast made me to differ; and I have nothing which I did not receive from thee.

In the evening wrote to my mother. Some particulars, in her last letters to me, obliged me, in my answer, to make the following observations, among others: "God has fulfilled his promises to me, so often, and in so many ways, that I think, if we could not trust his faithfulness and power, we should be doubly inexcusable. That he works by means, is certain; and I hope to try all that he puts into my hands. In the mean while, let us cast our care on him; and remember that he that believeth shall not make haste. There is one thing that pleases me much, about Broad-Hembury, and makes me hope for a blessing on the event, viz. that it was not, from first to last, of my own seeking: and every door, without any application of mine, has hitherto flown open, and all seems to point that way. As a good man somewhere says, 'A believer never yet carved for himself, but he cut his own fingers.'—The all-wise God, whose never-failing providence ordereth every event, usually makes what we set our hearts upon unsatisfactory; and sweetens what we feared: bringing real evil out of seeming good; and real good out of seeming evil; to shew us what short-sighted creatures we are, and to teach us to live by faith upon his blessed self. If I should really exchange my present living for Broad-Hembury, it will, I believe, be soon after Christmas. In the mean while add your prayers, that God himself would be pleased to choose my heritage and fix my lot; command his gracious blessing on the event; turn the balance, as seemeth good in his sight; and make it entirely his own doing, not mine. Do not let your tenderness for me get the better of your confidence in God; a fault, I fear, too common, even with believing parents. Poor Mr. D. is relapsed, and his life is despaired of. Alas! what is wealth, with its usual attendants, the lust of the eye and the pride of life, when death stares us in the face! An interest in the covenant of grace is of more value than all the worlds God hath made. Riches profit not in the day of wrath: but righteousness, even the obedience, blood, and intercession of Christ, delivereth from the sting of temporal, and from the very possibility of suffering eternal death. In him may we be found, living and dying!"

In my chamber, before I went to bed, was much comforted while singing praise to the great Three-One, the author of all the blessings I enjoy, and of all I hope for. I can testify, by sweet and repeated experience, that singing is an ordinance of God, and a means of grace Lord, fit my soul to bear part in that song for ever new, which the elect angels, and saints made perfect in glory, are now singing before the throne and before the Lamb!

Friday, 11. Rode to Broad-Hembury, on a visit to Mr. Luce, where I spent the day, and stopped all night. Before I went to bed, God was with me in private prayer.

Saturday, 12. After breakfast, left Broad-Hembury, and returned home to Fen-Ottery, taking Ottery St. Mary in my way, where I called on my friend Mr. Johnson. In the evening read bishop Newton on the Prophecies. At night, was earnest with God, in private prayer, for a blessing on my to-morrow's ministrations; and received an answer of peace. Lord, evermore increase my mental dependance on thy Holy Spirit. I am less than nothing, if less can be: and O! I am worse than nothing, for I am a vile sinner. But thou art infinitely gracious, and all power is thine.

Sunday, 13. The Lord was with me both parts of the day. Water, O God, the souls that heard; and the seed of thy word, sown in weakness, do thou raise in power.

Between morning and afternoon service, read through Dr. Gill's excellent and nervous tract on predestination, against Wesley. How sweet is that blessed and glorious doctrine to the soul, when it is received through the channel of inward experience! I remember a few years ago, Mr. Wesley said to me, concerning Dr. Gill, that "he is a positive man and fights for his opinions through thick and thin." Let the doctor fight as he will, I am sure he fights to good purpose: and I believe it may be said of my learned friend, as it was of the duke of Marlborough, that he never fought a battle which he did not win.

Monday, 14. This morning, one William Towning, about nineteen years old, was brought here before Mr. Penny, for breaking open and robbing farmer Endicott's house yesterday afternoon, in time of service, while the family were at church. My honest parishioner, it seems, just before he went out, stepped back into his room, he knew not why, and put away a considerable sum of money into a more secret place than where it had lain for some time past; by which means he was only robbed of little more than thirty shillings in money. How evidently providential! Just before the unhappy young man was going off from Mr. Penny's for Exeter Jail, his father, who had heard of his son's situation but an hour or two before, came up to the house with a look that too plainly declared the agonies of his heart. Unable to face his parent, the young man burst into tears, and retired into the orchard, whither his guard and his father followed him. Lord, if it be consistent with the counsel of thy will, be the comforter and the salvation of this sinner and his afflicted family! Bad as he is, thy grace can melt him down. By nature, I am as

vile as he: yet I am, I trust, a monument of mercy, and a trophy of thy redeeming power. Blessed be the Lord, my New-Creator! Blessed be the Lord my faithful keeper! On all occasions of this sort, I would recollect that excellent line,

"Aut sumus, aut fuimus, vel possumus esse, quod hic est."

Before I came out of my chamber to-day, I was too hasty and short in private prayer. My conscience told me so at the time; and yet, such was my ingratitude and my folly, that I nevertheless restrained prayer before God. In the course of the day, I had great reason to repent of my first sin, by being permitted to fall into another. It is just, O Lord, that thou shouldest withdraw thy presence from one who waited so carelessly on thee. May I never more, on any pretext whatever, rob thee (or rather, deprive my own soul) of thy due worship; but make all things else give way to communion with thee!

The Lord, however, was pleased, in a few hours, sensibly to heal my backslidings; and open the intercourse of love between himself and me. I never so feelingly wonder at my own depravity, nor so deeply abhor myself, as when the fire of divine love warms my heart, and the out-pourings of God's Spirit enliven my soul. Surely, the knowledge of salvation is the most powerful incentive to repentance; and not only the most prevailing, but an absolutely irresistible motive to universal holiness!

Began Le Clerc's "*Ars Critica.*" A most learned, and, in many respects, useful performance: yet sadly interlarded with scepticism and profaneness. God keep me from being a mere scholar. As a specimen of this learned Frenchman's religion, I transcribe the following passages, from that part of his book I have hitherto read. Page 52, "——— In N. T. *omnia ferè pietatis officia, sacrificii nomine, interdum indigitantur. Mors Christi sacrificium quoque vocatur, quòd fuerit præcipua ejus pietatis pars; & quæ̃dam habeat sacrificiis similia.*" Page 106, "*Religio Christiana non est ità cælo integra delapsa, ut nullam rationem habeat religionum, quæ antea erant; sed omnia nova hominibus afferat: contrà est veluti religionis Judaïcæ surculus, at ipso trunco major ac viridior:*" which latter clause is no more than a cold, paltry compliment, added, I suppose, to qualify, in some measure, the rudeness of what goes before. But, surely, primitive Judaism and Christianity are not two religions, but one and the same religion, under two different dispensations. Page 122, he positively asserts, that there are very many things in the Old Testament, "*quæ intelligi nequeunt:*" for proof of which, he assigns six reasons; but such as even I, with my little knowledge, can see through the fallacy of, and, to my own satisfaction, at least, refute. Page 125, he does, in fact, deny that Hebrew can be understood at all with certainty; some Jews, says he, did about a thousand years after Christ, begin to compose Grammars and Commentaries on Scripture. "*Sed quum quicquid Judæi recentiores dixerunt hanc in rem, nitatur vel authoritate Massorethârum, vel veteribus versionibus, vel eorum conjecturis; necesse est eos*" [i. e. the Christian writers] "*non minùs fluctuare ac cæteros interpretes. Massorethæ enim — Mendu sui codicis consecrârunt.*" The preceding part of the citation represents the language itself as hardly intelligible: but the latter is such a home thrust at the Scriptures, as, I am apt to think, never fell from the pen of any other writer that called himself a Christian. Presently after, he tells us, that the Samaritan Pentateuch is preferable to the Hebrew; as being free from many smaller blunders, with which the latter "*passim,*" every where, abounds. He ranks it among Rabbinical conjectures, to suppose "*Codicem hodiernum carere mendis,* [*&*] *linguam Hebraïcam perfectissimam esse.*" Page 126, he falls foul on Grammars and Lexicons: as things in which very little confidence can be reposed: adding, by way of crown to all the rest, "*Itaque fatendum est, eum conari χεῖιι περαων μεγα κυμα θαλασσης qui sperat se, subsidiis memoratis*" [namely, the Hebrew Scripture itself; all commentators, whether Jewish or Christian; and all Grammars, Lexicons, &c.] "*adjutum, mediocrem adepturum cognitionem linguæ Hebraïcæ.*" If so, farewell to all knowledge, not only of the Hebrew, but of every dead language whatever. Even Lexicons and Grammars are not to be trusted. But is not this the very quintessence of scepticism? And should not such a critic, with all his pomp of literature, be hissed out of the learned world? I mean, so far as he endeavours to sap the foundation of learning itself, and (which will always, in some measure, stand or fall with it) sound religion. Yet this is the writer, whose theological works (which I never desire to see) were so strenuously recommended to me, some years ago, by my friend, the present bishop of Clogher!

Friday, 18. Rode to Honiton; when I bought Whitty's Sermons, the excellent professor Walæus's Works, and two volumes of the Cripplegate Lectures. In the evening, on my return to Fen-Ottery, had some short but sweet rays of comfort from above.

Saturday, 19. Was afflicted with wandering in private prayer. Lord, melt down my icy heart, and grant me to wait upon thee ἀδιαπαυσως. O, when, to use the language of the seraphic Mr. Hervey, will my devotions be no longer "like the motes, which fluctuate to and fro in the air, without any vigorous impulse or certain aim; but like the arrow, which springs from the strained bow, and, quick a

lightning, flies to the mark!" My God, I want the δέησις ενεργουμένη, the inwrought prayer (as Mr. Henry justly translates James v. 16), the prayer of the heart, wrought in the soul by the Holy Ghost.

Sunday, 20. Was indisposed the former part of the day. Read prayers and preached in the morning, but languidly. In the afternoon God renewed my strength; and I read prayers and preached, at Harpford, with much freedom of soul, to an exceedingly large congregation. O the difference, the inexpressible difference, between enjoying God's presence, and pining in its absence! This day, my soul has been like a chariot without wheels; and, afterwards, mounted as on eagles' wings. Blessed be God, for tempering distress with joy! Too much of the former might weigh me quite down; too much of the latter might exalt me above measure. It is wisely and kindly done, O God, to give me a taste of both.

Monday, 21. In the morning, married John Court and Susanna Carter, at Harpford. On my return hither, spent the after part of the day, reading the late Mr. Whitty's Sermons; not without some sensible comfort and joy in the Holy Ghost: yet, evangelical as the matter of these discourses is, the style in which they are written will not suffer me to think that the worthy author himself ever intended them for publication. It is a pity but the editor had first let them pass under the file of some able friend. Nevertheless, the inaccuracies of composition are greatly over-balanced by the sweet savour of that precious name and adorable grace, which, to the believing soul, are as ointment poured forth.

Tuesday, 22. All day within. The former part of it I was considerably out of order: and experienced something of what it is to have a body without health, and a soul without comfort. But, while I was musing, the fire kindled, and the light of God's countenance shone within. I found a particular blessing in reading Mr. Mayo's Sermon (Morning Exercises, vol. iv. serm. iv.) on our "Deliverance by Christ from the fear of death." Heb. ii. 15. Several things, in that choice discourse, struck me much; among the rest, the observations that follow: "The apostle says, (1 Thess. iv. 14.) that Jesus died; but that the saints sleep in him: the reason why the phrase is varied, is, because he sustained death with all its terrors, that so it might become a calm and quiet sleep to the saints. Satan desired to have Peter, that he might sift him as wheat; and with what did he sift and shake him? Why, it was with the fear of death. Peter was afraid they would deal with him, as they were dealing with his master It was his slavish fear of death, that made him deny Christ; but anon, he recovered himself, and got above this fear; how came this about? It was by means of faith. Christ had prayed for him that his faith should not fail. It may be said of those who are fearful of death, that they are of little faith. ——It is usual with God to give his people some clusters of the grapes of Canaan here in the wilderness; to give them some drops of that new wine, which they shall drink in the kingdom of their Father. This sets them a longing to have their fill thereof; even as the Gauls, when they had tasted the wines of Italy, were not satisfied to have those wines brought to them, but would go to possess the land where the vines grew."

In the afternoon, my indisposition was, in great measure, removed. Surely the shedding abroad of divine love in the heart, and a good hope through grace, frequently conduce as much to the health of the body as to health of soul. This is not the first time I have found it so.

Thursday, 24. My faith was weak, and my comfort small, this whole day; especially in the evening. Yet, this is my rock of dependance, that the foundation of the Lord standeth sure; his love is unchangeable; his purpose according to election, cannot be overthrown; his covenant is from everlasting to everlasting; and he girdeth me when I know it not.

Friday, 25. Read prayers, preached, and administered the holy sacrament, here at Fen-Ottery, in the morning.——Farmer T———e (whom I happened to meet at Miktam, no longer ago than last Wednesday evening, so drunk that he could hardly sit on his horse) presented himself at the Lord's table, with the rest of the communicants; but I past him by, not daring to administer the symbols of my Saviour's body and blood to one who had lately crucified him afresh, and had given no proof of repentance. He appeared surprised and abashed. Lord, make this denial of the outward visible sign, a means of inward and spiritual grace to his soul! In the afternoon, read prayers and preached to a very large congregation at Harpford. Drank tea at Farmer Carter's. Spent part of the evening at Mr. Leigh's, at Hayne. Thence, returned home, to Fen-Ottery.—A day of most intense cold.

I would observe, that I have, through the blessing of God, been perfectly well through this whole day, both as to health, strength, and spirits; and gone through my Church duties with the utmost ease, freedom, and pleasure, yet I have experienced nothing of that spiritual comfort and joy, which I sometimes do. A demonstration this, that they are prodigiously wide of the mark, who think that what believers know to be the joys of the Holy Ghost are, in fact, no other than certain pleasing sensations, arising from a brisk circulation of the blood, and a lively flow of the animal spirits. In this light the consolations of God are considered by those who never experienced them But if what the regenerate declare to be the sweetness of divine fellowship, is, in reality,

no more than, what the cold formalist imagines, the mere result *ευεξιας σωματικης*; it would follow, that every person when in full health and spirits, actually enjoys that inward complacency and sweetness. But this is very far from being the case. I myself am a witness, that spiritual comforts are sometimes highest, when bodily health, strength, and spirits, are at the lowest; and when bodily health, strength, and spirits are at the highest, spiritual comforts are sometimes at the lowest; nay, clear gone, and totally absent. Whence I conclude, that the sensible effusions of divine love in the soul, is superior to, independent of, and distinct from, bodily health, strength, and spirits. These may be, where that is not; and *vice versâ*.

At night in my chamber, God was with me in my private waiting upon him; and I could indeed say, from a heart-felt sense of his love, that it is good for me to draw nigh unto the Lord. Thy visitation, sweet Jesus, is the life and joy of my spirit.

Saturday, 26. Gave Dr. Gill's tract on Justification, another reading; not without much edification and comfort. I do think, that this great man's arguments for the proper eternity of this blessing, *ex parte Dei*, are unanswerable. Glory be to thee, O Lord, for my sense of special interest in thy everlasting love! Were all the treasures of ten thousand worlds displayed to my view, the sight of them, the mere sight, would not make me the richer nor the happier; it is the knowledge of peculiar property in any blessing, that felicitates the soul. In this the comfort lies. And, thanks to divine grace, I can look upon all the unsearchable riches of Christ, as my own. Lord, increase my faith, and add to my thankfulness more and more.

Sunday, 27. In the morning, read prayers and preached, at Harpford, to a congregation tolerably large, and very attentive. Afterwards administered the Lord's Supper to some who appeared truly devout communicants. It was indeed an ordinance of love to my own soul. I experienced the favour and presence of God. I sat under his shadow with great delight, and his fruit was pleasant to my taste.

In the afternoon, read prayers and preached, with great liberty and enlargement of mind, here, at Fen-Ottery. My subject was Acts xiii. 39. The sermon itself (excepting a few additions here and there) was what I had formerly wrote in Ireland, in the year 1760, a little before I quitted College. I can never be sufficiently thankful, that my religious principles were all fixed long before I ever entered into orders. Through the good hand of my God upon me, I sat out in the ministry with clear gospel-light from the first; a blessing not vouchsafed to every one. Many an evangelical minister has found himself obliged to retract and unsay what he had taught before in the days of his ignorance. Lord, how is it that I have been so signally favoured of thee! O keep me to the end steadfast in thy truths. Let me but go on experimentally and sensibly to know thee; and then it will be absolutely impossible for me to depart from the precious doctrines of grace; my early insight into which I look upon as one of the distinguishing blessings of my life.

In the evening, received a letter from Mr. Andrew Lacam, of London, wherein he gives me this account of his late sister, Mrs. Carter, who died last month: "She had, for some time, left the fountain of living waters. I had two different conferences with her during her illness. I assured her, that I did not come to lord it over her; but, in love to her soul, put the question, How stand matters between God and you? Her attestation was, with sighs and tears, as follows: 'I am truly sensible that I have run away from God, and it is my heart's burden. But it is written in God's word, "Whoso cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out." I will, therefore, upon his promise, venture to cast my soul, without reserve, upon Jesus Christ; and there I am sure I can never perish.' Upon this, we went to prayer," &c.

I could not forbear answering my friend's letter almost as soon as I received it; and, among other things, observed to him as follows:

"The account you give of dear Mrs. Carter's decease, is a ground for hope in Israel concerning her. It is a great and blessed thing when we are enabled to cast ourselves on the promises. It cannot possibly be done without faith: and he that believeth shall be saved. Adored be the free grace of God, which, I trust, healed the backslidings of your sister, and brought her again within the bond of the covenant. His Spirit alone can drive the plough-share of penitential conviction through a sinner's heart, and give us to mourn at the spiritual sight of him whom our sins have pierced. The Lord give us to mourn more and more, until we have mourned away our unbelief, our carelessness, and hardness of heart! The soul, I verily believe, is never safer than when, with returning Mary, we stand at the feet of Christ, behind him, weeping. I read lately of a minister in the last century, whose departing words were, "A broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise." Nor can I think such a state to be at all inferior, in point of real safety, to that of a good man who died a few years ago in London, with these triumphant words in his mouth, "Now, angels, do your office." Of some it is written, "They shall come with weeping, and with supplications will I lead them;" while others of the Lord's people enter the haven of everlasting life, as it were, with full sails and flying colours: they "return with singing unto Zion." But this is our comfort, that of all whom the Father gave to Christ, he will not

lose one. However the joy of faith may decline, the grace itself shall never totally fail; having, for its security, the Father's covenant-love, which is from everlasting to everlasting; the blessed Mediator's intercession, which is perpetual and all prevailing; and the faithfulness of the Holy Ghost, who, when once given, is a fountain of living water, springing up in the believer's heart to life eternal. May he, in all his plentitude of saving grace and heavenly love, descend upon our souls as dew, and make us glad with the light of his countenance!—When I consider the goodness of God to me, the chief of sinners, I am astonished at the coldness of my gratitude and the smallness of my love. Yet, little and cold as it is, even that is his gift, and the work of his Spirit. An earnest, I cannot doubt, of more and greater. The Lord Jesus increase the spark to a flame, and make the little one become a thousand! My health, after which you are so kind as to enquire, was never better. And, which is greater still, I often experience the peace that passeth all understanding, and the joy that is unspeakable and full of glory. Not that I am always upon the mount. There are seasons, in which my Lord is "as one that hideth himself." But he only hides himself. He never forsakes the sinner he has loved. And, blessed be his name, he has engaged that the regenerate soul shall never totally forsake him; else, there would never be a saint in heaven. I rejoice to hear of Mrs. W.'s temporal welfare; and pray God to make her, spiritually, such as he would have her to be. She and I have much chaff to be burnt up; much tin to be consumed; may the blood of the Lamb be upon us both, for pardon; and the sacred Spirit be to us as a refining fire, for sanctification. If you write to her, do present the captain and her with my christian respects: and let her know from me, that except she comes to Christ as a poor sinner, with the halter of self-abasement round her neck, and the empty vessel of faith in her hand; as a condemned criminal, who has nothing to plead; and as an insolvent debtor, who has nothing to pay; she is stout-hearted, and far from righteousness. The way to be filled with the fulness of God, is to bring no money in our sack's mouth. If you see my old friend, Mr. I. tell him, that he will not be able to find any rest for the sole of his foot, until he returns to the doctrines of grace, and flies back to the ark of God's election."

Tuesday, 29. At night, before I betook myself to rest, I was enabled to act faith very strongly on the promises. It was as if I had held a conversation with God. He assured me of his faithfulness, and I trusted him. It was whispered to my soul, "Thou shall find me faithful:" my soul answered, "Lord, I believe it: I take thee at thy word." This, I am certain, was more than fancy. It was too sweet, too clear, and too powerful, to be the daughter of imagination. There was a *nescio quid divini*, attended with joy unspeakable, as much superior to all the sensations excited by earthly comforts, as the heavens are higher than the earth Besides, in my experience of this kind, when under the immediate light of God's presence within, my soul is, in great measure, passive; and lies open to the beams of the Sun of righteousness. These acts of faith, love, and spiritual aspiration, are subsequent to, and occasioned by, this unutterable reception of divine influence. I bless my God, I know his inward voice; the still, small whisper of his good Spirit: and can distinguish it from every other suggestion whatever. Lord, evermore give me this bread to eat, which the world knoweth not of!

Wednesday, 30. Held my tithe dinner at Harpford. The greater part of both parishes attended: they seemed greatly satisfied; I had as much reason to be satisfied with them. Busy as I was myself, in receiving my dues, and numerous as the company was, Mr. Powell, of Ottery (who made one), and myself, had several opportunities of conversing on the best subjects, particularly the decrees of God, and the spiritual impotence of man's will.

Paid farmer Carter for four bushels of wheat, to be distributed among the poor, as follows John Churchill, Robert Bishop, Henry Wilson, James Bedford, jun., Joseph Wescoat, James Wey, Sarah Hare, John Churchill of Southertown, Charles Redwood, Patience Hall, William Perry, William May, jun., Elias Tews, Richard Haddon, and Richard House, one peck each; and half a peck each, to Elizabeth Critchard, and William May, sen.

Before I went to bed, God gave me such sense of his love as came but little short of full assurance. Who am I, O Lord? The weakest and the vilest of all thy called ones: not only the least of saints, but the chief of sinners. But though a sinner, yet sanctified, in part, by the Holy Ghost given unto me. I should wrong the work of his grace upon my heart, were I to deny my regeneration: but, Lord, I wish for a nearer conformity to thy image. My short-comings and my mis-doings, my unbelief and want of love, would sink me into the nethermost hell, was not Jesus my righteousness and my redemption. There is no sin which I should not commit, were not Jesus, by the power of his Spirit, my sanctification. O when shall I resemble him quite, and have all the mind that was in him? When I see him face to face; which God will hasten in his time.

Thursday, 31. All day within, reading. The thought of how many acquaintances I have lost by death, within the course of this year, dwelt with great weight upon my mind. The following persons are some of them: Rev. Mr. Piers, (rector of Killishee, in Ireland), Sir Robert Long, Lord Tavistock, Rev. Mr. William Anderson, Mr. Davis, of Hatton-garden, my aunt Bate, at Deptford, Arch-deacon Potter, Mrs. Cox, Mrs. Carter, Mr. Warner, Mr. Ben-

jamin Jones, Mrs. Weare, Mr. Powell, jun. of Dublin, Mr. Unwin. And yet I am spared! Lord, may it be for good, and not for evil! There are, that I know of, but two things worth living for: 1. To further the cause of God, and thereby glorify him before the world: 2. To do good to the souls and bodies of men.

Upon a review of the past year, I desire to confess, that my unfruitfulness has been exceeding great; my sins still greater; and God's mercies greater than both. It is now between eleven and twelve at night; nor can I conclude the year more suitably, to the present frame of my own mind, than with the following verse from one of my hymns, which expresses both my sense of past, and my humble dependance on divine goodness for future, favours:

> Kind Author, and Ground, of my hope,
> Thee, thee for my God I avow;
> My glad Ebenezer set up,
> And own thou hast help'd me 'till now
> I muse on the years that are past,
> Wherein my defence thou hast prov'd;
> Nor wilt thou abandon at last
> A sinner so signally lov'd.

Saturday, January 2, 1768. In the afternoon, called on William Perry, of Southertown. Our discourse happened to take a serious turn. Among other subjects, we spoke concerning the divinity of the ever blessed Son of God. I could scarce help smiling, at the same time that I heartily applauded the honest zeal of my well meaning parishioner: "Let any man," said he, "but search the Scriptures, and if he does not find that Christ, as a divine person, subsisted, not only previous to his birth of the Virgin Mary, but from everlasting, I will lose my head." This brought to my mind that just observation of the late excellent Mr. Hervey; who, speaking of Christ's atonement, says: "Ask any of your serious tenants, what ideas arise in their minds, upon a perusal of the forementioned texts? I dare venture that, artless and unimproved as their understandings are, they will not hesitate for an answer. They will neither complain of obscurity, nor ask the assistance of learning; but will immediately discern, in all these passages, a gracious Redeemer suffering in their stead; and by his bitter, but expiatory passion, procuring the pardon of their sins. Nay, farther, as they are not accustomed to the finesses of criticism, I apprehend they will be at a loss to conceive how it is possible to understand such passages in any other sense."

Sunday, 3. Read prayers and preached, in the morning, here at Fen-Ottery; and in the afternoon, at Harpford, to a very large congregation, considering the quantity of snow that lies on the ground, and the intenseness of the frost, which render it almost equally unsafe to walk or ride. I opened the ministrations of this year, with that grateful acknowledgment of the apostle, 1 Cor. xv. 10. "By the grace of God I am what I am:" which was my thesis both parts of the day. My liberty, both of spirit and utterance, was very great in the afternoon. Looking on my watch, I was surprised to find that I had detained my dear people three quarters of an hour and yet, when I concluded, they seemed unwilling to rise from their seats; notwithstanding the unusual intenseness of the cold. Lord of hosts, who hast all hearts in thy hand work in my hearers both to be, to will, and to do, of thy good pleasure!

This dreadfully-severe weather continuing, I ordered two more bushels of wheat to be distributed as follows: to — Hooper, James Blackmore, John Sanford, Elizabeth Woodrow, Grace Mitchell, and Martha Ham, one peck each; and to John Trimlett, two pecks.

Saturday, 9. This evening I felt unusual diffidence in myself, about the performance of to-morrow's duty. Free (blessed be God from fightings without, I yet had fears within I besought the Lord to manifest his strength in my weakness; and these precious words were returned, with unutterable power and sweetness, to my soul: "Trust in the Lord Jehovah, for in him is everlasting strength." I was instantly enabled to cast myself, with perfect acquiescence, on the message from heaven; which, though delivered as an exhortation, is, in effect, a most glorious and comfortable promise. My doubts ceased; my misgivings vanished away; and I was assured that God would certainly give me a supply of sabbath-day strength, for a sabbath-day's work.

Sunday, 10. Found God faithful to his word. Great was my strength, both morning and afternoon; nor less the liveliness of my soul in preaching.

Received a letter from my honoured mother. The same person who brought it brought me likewise two London newspapers; which I hope to read to-morrow; but dare not do on God's day. After evening service, visited and prayed with William May, sen. His cry was, "What shall I do to be saved?" But I could not, on close conversation with him, discover the least sign of evangelical repentance. He neither sees the vileness of his heart, nor knows his need of Christ. Lord, bless what I was enabled to speak, and do that work upon his soul which man cannot! One of the most difficult and discouraging parts of the ministry, I have long found, is visiting the ignorant and unawakened sick. But nothing is too hard for God. He, whose grace wrought on me, is able to work on the sinner I have been with to-day; and will assuredly, if his name is in the Book of Life. Amidst all our discouragements, in ministering to others; and amidst all our doubts respecting ourselves; there is yet a foundation both sure and steadfast, even the rock of God's eternal election. Was it not for this, how would my hands hang down! and what hope could I have for myself or others? But this sets all to rights. The unchangeable Jehovah

knows his own people by name, and will, at the appointed season, lead them, out of a state of nature into a state of grace, by effectual vocation: for "whom he did predestinate, them he also called." This is all my salvation, and all my desire: the ground of the former, and the object of the latter. At night, God was very gracious to me in secret prayer. Great was my joy in the Lord; sweet my communion, and free my access. O that I had but something to render him for all his benefits! Just before I went to bed, that blessed promise was whispered powerfully to my soul, and sensibly sealed upon my heart, "I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee." Amen, Lord Jesus.

Tuesday, 12. In the afternoon, read Dr. Calamy's Account of the Ejected Ministers. What a blow to vital religion, to the Protestant interest in general, and to the Church of England herself, was the fatal extinguishment of so many burning and shining lights! But they are now where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest.

Thursday, 14. Was greatly edified and comforted in reading Mr. Lee's choice sermon on "Secret Prayer," from Matth. vi. 6. in the Supplement to the Morning Exercise at Cripplegate; sermon 14. How sweet are the following remarks, among many others! "At the great day secret prayers shall have open and public answers."

"We halt, like Jacob, both in and after our strongest wrestlings.

"I may term secret prayer, the invisible light of the soul in the bosom of God. Out of this heavenly closet rises Jacob's ladder, whose rounds are all of light: its foot stands upon the basis of the covenant in thy heart; its top reaches the throne of grace.

"A weeping countenance, and a wounded spirit, are most beautiful prospects to the eye of heaven; when a broken heart pours out repenting tears, like streams from the rock, smitten by the rod of Moses's law in the hand of a mediator.

"It was an ingenious passage of Chrysostom, concerning the woman of Canaan, *φιλοσοφει ἡ γυνη*, the poor distressed creature was turned an acute philosopher with Christ, and disputed the mercy from him. O, it is a blessed thing to attain to this heavenly philosophy of prayer, and to argue blessings out of the hand of God. The soul, like Jacob, does *in arenam descendere*, enter the lists with omnipotency, and, by holy force, obtain the blessing.

"When the sweet incense of Christ's prayer ascends before the Father, our prayers become sweet and amiable, and cause a savour of rest with God. This I take to be one reason why the prevalency of prayer is so often assigned to the time of the evening sacrifice; as pointing at the death of Christ, which was about the ninth hour of the day, near the time of the evening oblation. Hence Abraham's sacrifice received a gracious answer, being offered about the going down of the sun; Isaac went out to pray at eventide; Elijah, at Mount Carmel, prayed and offered at the time of the evening sacrifice; Ezra fell on his knees, and spread out his hands, at the evening sacrifice; David begs that his prayer might avail, by the power of the evening sacrifice; Daniel, in prayer, was touched by the angel, about the time of the evening oblation. All, to show the prevalency of our access to the throne of grace, by the powerful merit of Christ's intercession, who was the acceptable evening sacrifice.

"The holy motions upon the hearts of saints, in prayer, are the fruits of God's unchangeable decrees of love to them, and the appointed ushers of mercy: he graciously determines to give a praying, arguing, warm, affectionate frame, as the *prodromus*, or forerunner of some decreed mercy.

"Prayer is that intelligible chain, that draws the soul up to God, and draws mercy down to us; or like the cable which draws the ship to land, though the shore itself remain immoveable:" intimating, that the saints do not pray, with a view to make God, who is unchangeable, reverse any of his decrees; but, 1. To draw their own souls into near communion with him; and, 2. As one appointed means, in and through which God is pleased to bestow the blessings to which his people are predestinated. The excellent man goes on:

"We must gradually be acquainted with all the Three [persons of the Trinity]: first with the Spirit; then, with Christ; and, last, with the Father. First, God sends the Spirit of his Son into our hearts; and, then, through the Son, we cry, Abba, Father. The Father chose us in Christ, and sends his Spirit to draw us to Christ; and, by Christ, to himself. Have ye this access to God, by the Spirit? Bosom-communion flows from bosom-affection.

"A godly man prays in finding seasons. There are special seasons of drawing nigh to God; when he draws nigh to us: when the beloved looks forth at the window, and shews himself through the lattice, Cant. ii. 9. That is a time of grace when he knocks at the door of thy heart, by his Spirit. Motions of the heart [toward Christ] are like the doves of the east, sent with letters about their necks. It was said of Burnard, *Ex motu cordis, spiritûs sancti præsentiam agnoscebat*; he knew when the Holy Spirit was present with him, by the motion of his heart.

"When thou canst discern the print of the broad seal of the covenant upon thy heart; and the privy seal of the Spirit upon thy prayers; and canst look upon the Son in a sacerdotal relation to thee; thou mayest come boldly, &c.

"As Gerson says, *Sequitur lachrymosa devotio fluxe Spiritu sancto*: devout tears drop down from the Spirit's influence: melting supplications follow the Holy Spirit's gracious infusions.

"As the seaman, when he has set sail, goes to the helm and the compass, and sits still, and observes the sun, or the polar star, and how the ship works, and whether the land-marks form themselves aright according to his chart; so do you, when you have been at prayer, mark your ship, how it makes the port; and what rich goods are laden back again from heaven. Most people lose their prayers in the mist and fog of non-observation.

"David gave himself to prayer; in the Hebrew, it is, but I prayer; a Christian is all over prayer: he prays at rising, at lying down, and as he walks: like a prime favourite at court, who has the key to the privy stairs, and can wake his prince by night.

"We find David at prayer in the morning; and our blessed Lord, early in the morning, before day. Chrysostom advises, Νιψον, προ της σωματος την ψυχην: wash thy soul, before thou washest thy body." A direction which I trust to observe inviolably, from this day forward; during my pilgrimage below.

The good man observes, page 292, that such as are truly converted have no need to pray by a prescribed form: "they have the Spirit of God to assist and enable them; and they need not drink of another's bucket, who have the fountain." This certainly holds good, for the most part at least, with regard to secret prayer: but not always, I apprehend, in open devotions, whether of a public or a domestic kind. Grace and gifts do not always go together. A person may have true grace, and great grace, without gifts; and may, on the other hand, have shining gifts, without a spark of real grace; witness the parable of the talents. All prayer is formal, in the worst sense, which does not ascend from the heart, by the Holy Ghost: and all prayer is spiritual which does; be it prescribed, or extemporary. Mr. Lee adds, p. 296.,

"God hath declared himself graciously pleased with secret prayer, so as to send an angel into Daniel's chamber; and he was weary with flying, *volans in lassitudine*, he moved so swiftly; as the original text expresses it; Dan. ix. 21. מעף ביעף. What a high expression [and strong figure] is this! Even angels are represented as weary with hasty flights to bring saints their answers! Of what great account does the Lord esteem his praying people, that angels are expressed to be tired in bringing tidings of mercy!

Sunday, 17. God gave me strength to go through the public duties of the day in a comfortable and becoming manner. In the morning, read prayers, and preached, here at Fen-Ottery, to a large congregation; and, in the afternoon, at Harpford, to an exceedingly numerous one. Baptized a daughter of farmer John Carter's. Between morning and afternoon service read the first epistle to the Thessalonians in the Greek. In the evening, read the Cripplegate Lectures. Though my joy in the Lord has not been great to-day, yet this has been a profitable sabbath to my own soul: O God, make it so to the attentive people who sat under my unworthy ministry!

Friday, 22. In the morning rode to Exeter, by appointment, to meet Mr. Luce. Put up at the Swan. Bought Cave's *Historia Literaria*, Brook's Dispensatory, and Erskine's Sermons, in three vols. At night, I spent three or four hours, reading Erskine's Sermons: particularly the following ones: "The rent Vail of the Temple;"—"The Harmony of Divine Attributes;"—"The Believer exalted in imputed Righteousness;"—and, "Faith's Plea upon God's Word and Covenant." The reading of these sweet discourses was wonderfully blessed to my soul. Great was my rejoicing and triumph in Christ. The Lord was with me of a truth, and his gracious visitation revived my spirit. One moment's communion with Christ, one moment's sense of union with him, one moment's view of interest in him, is ineffable, inestimable!

Saturday, 23. Continued at Exeter until the afternoon. Before dinner, Mr. Luce and I made a formal resignation of our respective livings, before Mr. Geare and two other witnesses. Having signed and sealed the instruments of resignation, we left them with Mr. Geare, to be transmitted to the bishop. Prosper thou our handy work, Supreme Disposer of all things! May thy glorious Majesty, and thy gracious blessing, be upon us, for thy mercies sake in Jesus Christ! Amen.

After dinner, left Exeter and returned to Fen-Ottery. The ride was far from a comfortable one. Hail, rain, or snow, almost the whole way.

I think this has been the most remarkable day, in point of weather, I ever knew. Between the time of my rising in the morning, and retuning home at night, we have had frost and thaw, snow, rain, hail, thunder and lightening, calm, high wind, and sunshine: a mixture of almost all weathers, from sun-rise to sun-set.

Before I retired to my chamber, I read Erskine's Sermon (and a matchless one it is,) entitled, "The Promising God a Performing God:" and the Lord set the seal of his Spirit on my heart. I was enabled to mix faith with what I read; and God made it a time of love, joy, peace, and spiritual refreshment to my soul. I could look and pray to him as my covenant God in Jesus Christ, who loved me from everlasting, and will love me without end.

Sunday, 24. A day of almost perpetua. rain. Read prayers and preached, in the morning, at Harpford, and here in the afternoon, to large congregations, considering the weather. God was with me in a way of bodily strength: but I cannot say I had much spiritual communion with him in a way of sensible intercourse. But though my fleece was not

watered, I trust the dew of heaven fell around.

Between the morning and afternoon service, I read Erskine's Sermon, entitled, "The King held in the Galleries :" not without much comfort and confirmation in Christ.

In the evening farmer Roberts came here to settle his tithe. I told him, I never transacted business on the Lord's Day, and desired him to defer paying me till some other time. At night read Erskine's Sermon, entitled, "The humble Soul the peculiar Favourite of Heaven."

Sunday, 31. Read prayers and preached in the morning here at Fen-Ottery : and, in the afternoon, to an exceedingly large congregation at Harpford. Between morning and afternoon service, I made some very important additions to my sermon (wrote last Monday) on Ezek. xxxvi. 25—27. In delivering it at Harpford, to-day, God was with me of a truth. His word was eagerly received, and seemed to be deeply felt, by very many. I think I have seldom, if ever, seen such an appearance of usefulness among my Harpford people, since I knew them, as this afternoon. Dr. P. of Ottery, seemed to be touched from above : Lord, bring him sensibly and experimentally within the bond of the covenaut, if it please thee ; and likewise all the elect souls who have heard me this day.

How sweet is the work of the ministry, when attended with the unction and power of the Holy One ! My soul has been very barren, ever since last Lord's Day ; but this sabbath has been a sabbath indeed.

Spent the evening, both agreeably and profitably, in reading the confession of faith, charge, and sermon, delivered at Bristol last August, at the ordination of Mr. Evans, jun. Blessed be God for the advancement of his interest among us, under whatever form. Lord, increase the number of thy faithful witnesses, every where, and in every denomination of Protestants !

Monday, February 1. Before I went to bed this night, the Lord favoured me with some sweet intimations of his love.

Sunday, 7. In the morning, at Harpford, and here, at Fen-Ottery, in the afternoon, I read prayers and preached to a very full congregation each time; and, I trust, the word was blessed to some. My strength and enlargement of soul (especially in the afternoon) were very considerable. Bless the Lord, O my soul : and learn to trust him who is faithfulness itself.—In the evening, read Bunyan's Pilgrim. What a stiff, sapless, tedious piece of work is that written by bishop Patrick ! How does the unlearned tinker of Bedford outshine the bishop of Ely ! I have heard, that his lordship wrote his pilgrim, by way of antidote against what he deemed the fanaticism of John Bunyan's Pilgrim. But what a rich fund of heavenly experience, life, and sweetness, does the latter contain ! How heavy, lifeless, and unevangelical, is the former ! Such is the difference between writing from a wordly spirit, and under the influence of the Spirit of God.

Wednesday, 10. The Lord was very gracious to my soul this afternoon. His Spirit was the comforter, and Mr. Erskine's two sermons, on "The Rainbow of the Covenant," were the channel through which that comfort was conveyed. Amid my many seasons, and long intervals, of barrenness and want of joy, God sometimes makes me glad with the light of his countenance ; but, alas ! I can too often say, with him of old, concerning such sweet seasons, "*Rara hora, brevis mora.*" Yet I can, through grace, say likewise,

> A moment's intercourse with thee
> Is worth a year's delay.

Surely, O God, I could not long after thy presence, if I did not know the sweetness of it, and love thee in some measure : and I could not know that, but by the revelation of thy Spirit in my heart ; nor love thee at all, if thou hadst not first loved me. We grieve at the absence of those we love, and of none else : blessed be God for this evidence of true (however weak) grace !

Thursday, 11. Began to compose "A Course of Family-Prayer." Lord, prosper the work of my hands upon me, and make it useful !

Friday, 12. A little before bed-time, I darted up an ejaculation, that God would be pleased to strengthen me, and give me faithfulness, in the discharge of my duty toward the parishioners of Broad-Hembury, whither I expect soon to remove. My God gave me this sweet answer immediately, "I will enable thee, and bless thee." Behold the servant of the Lord ; be it unto me according to thy word !

I desire to remember, with grief and shame, that, soon after the above manifestation of God's favour to my soul, I was tempted, before I could get to sleep, with high thoughts of my own righteousness, both as a man and as a minister. The enemy plied his fiery darts very thick, and came in as a flood ; but the Spirit of the Lord lifted up a standard against him. I was enabled (glory to divine grace) to reject the cursed insinuations as I would hell-fire. Oh, that ever such a wretch as I should be tempted to think highly of himself ! I that am, of myself, nothing but sin and weakness ; I, in whose flesh naturally dwells no good thing ; I, who deserve damnation for the best work I ever performed ! Lord Jesus, humble me to the dust, yea to the very centre of abasement, in thy presence. Root out and tear up this most poisonous, this most accursed weed, from the unworthiest heart that ever was. Shew me my utter nothingness. Keep me sensible of my sinnership. Sink me down deeper and deeper, into penitence and self-abhorrence. Break the dragon of pride in

pieces before the ark of thy merits. Demolish, by the breath of thy Spirit, the walls, the Babel of self-righteousness and self-opinion; level them with the trodden soil, grind them to powder, annihilate them for ever and ever. Grace, grace, be all my experience, and all my cry! Amen. Amen.

Sunday, 14. In the morning, read prayers and preached here at Fen-Ottery, to a pretty full auditory. In the afternoon, read prayers at Harpford, and preached Mrs. MaryWheaton's funeral sermon, to an exceedingly great congregation indeed. I could not forbear observing, "that God had spared her to a good old age; that she was born in the year 1675, ten years before the death of Charles II. and about fourteen before the coming in of king William III.; that she lived in the reigns of seven monarchs, and died last Tuesday, aged ninety-three." Great was my fervour and enlargement of soul; nor less, to appearance, the attention of them that heard. Nay, they seemed to do more than attend; the word, I verily believe, came, with power and weight, to their hearts. I never yet saw my Church so full (insomuch that there was hardly any standing) and, I think, seldom, if ever, beheld a people that seemed to relish the gospel better. Neither they nor myself were weary, though I detained them much longer than usual.———Since my intention of changing livings with Mr. Luce has been publicly known, a spirit of great earnestness and life appears to have been poured out on my people. And yet, I trust, I see my way plainly pointed out, and that it is the will of God I should leave them. A wonderful combination of providential circumstances leaves me scarcely any room to doubt of my call to Broad Hembury. Lord, bring me not up thither unless thy presence goes with me! Take care of thy own elect (and so thou assuredly wilt) here and in this neighbourhood! And give us, O give us, some more parting blessings!—Mr. Holmes, of Exeter, came thence this morning to hear the unworthiest of God's messengers. This gentleman was at my churches both parts of the day; and, from what conversation I had with him, appears to be one who knows and loves the truth as it is in Jesus.

Wednesday, 17. In my chamber, this evening, those words, 2 Tim. i. 7, "God hath not given unto us the spirit of fear, but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind," were impressed much upon my heart, and my meditation on them was attended, not only with great peace and sweetness, but with joy in the Holy Ghost. My sense of union and communion with God was very clear: and I was enabled to see myself one of God's regenerate people, by finding within myself (through the riches of grace alone) those three infallible evidences of conversion, which that delightful text lays down. The spirit of Christ was to me a spirit of power, when he effectually called me to the knowledge of himself in the year 1756, at Codymain, in Ireland, under the ministry of Mr. James Morris: he has been, and is, a spirit of love, in my soul, to all the divine persons; and, as such, the principle of sanctification: and he has been to me a spirit of a sound mind, by leading me into, and confirming me in, the light of gospel truth, in its full harmony and consistency; which I verily believe, for my own part, to be a branch, at least of that σωφρονισμος (which, among other significations, denotes wisdom and instruction), mentioned by the apostle in that passage; and may not, I apprehend, be improperly rendered soundness of judgment. Yet, the σωφρονισμος, abstracted from the δυναμις and the αγαπη, is not, of itself, a certain evidence of regeneration; it is the divine power, and the love of God shed abroad in the heart, which render soundness of judgment not only comfortable, but a mark of saving grace. Blessed be God for my experience of all the three!

Sunday, 21. Read prayers, and preached, in the morning, at Harpford; and in the afternoon, here at Fen-Ottery. I have great reason to be thankful for the strength and presence of mind with which I was enabled to go through with my public duties, both parts of the day; and to be humbled in soul, for my want of spiritual liveliness and fervour. Lord, I am and can be alert in thy work, no longer than I feel the efficacy of divine attraction; may I, if it please thee, feel it more and more for the sake of thy rich mercy in Jesus Christ. Amen.

In the evening, I was enabled to draw much spiritual improvement from that passage, John xi. 40, "Said I not unto thee, that if thou wouldest believe, thou shouldest see the glory of God?" Lord, cause me to do the one, and to see the other!

Tuesday, 23. Awoke very early this morning, with those words full and deep upon my mind, "I will give unto you the sure mercies of David." I cannot say that I had an immediate sense of covenant-interest in that glorious promise; yet the impression of it was attended with a satisfactory sweetness, and its signification was, as it were, spontaneously opened to me, in a manner too clear and pleasing to express. It seemed to me (and I can find no reason, still, to think otherwise) that the passage τα ὁσια Δαβιδ τα πιςα, may be literally rendered "the sacred" [i. e. the inviolable and] "faithful things of David:" for, why may not ὁσιος, which signifies holy, just, and sacred, have, in this connexion, the signification of inviolable; and denote the firmness, certainty, and perpetuity of those spiritual blessings, which are given and made over to God's elect, by virtue and in consequence of the Father's covenant of grace made in their behalf, with Christ, our antitypical David? This, at least, must be granted;

that the words, as they lie in the New Testament, will bear the translation I have given: and my translation and sense of them seem exactly to coincide with the original passage, as it stands in the prophet, whence the apostle quoted it.

Sunday, 28. The Lord was with me in the discharge of my ministry both parts of the day; especially in the afternoon at Harpford. O, my faithful God, bless the word spoken!

Wednesday, March 2. In secret prayer, this morning, before I left my chamber, the fire of divine love kindled, and the Lord sensibly shone upon my soul. I could not forbear saying, "O, why art thou so kind to the chief of sinners?" I was so taken up, and as it were circumfused, with the love of God, and the perception of my union with him, that I could hardly ask for pardon.—Thus I walked in the light of his countenance, for, I suppose, two or three minutes: when, alas! evil wanderings intervened, my warmth of joy suddenly subsided, and I was, in great measure, brought down from the mount. Yet the sweetness and peace of this heavenly visit remained after the blessed visitant was withdrawn. Though the sun himself retired from view, yet (if I may so express it) I enjoyed the refraction of his beams. He did not disappear, without leaving a blessing behind him; sufficient, I trust, for faith to live upon until I see him again.

In the afternoon, wrote several letters: among the rest, one to my honoured friend, Dr. Gill, which I concluded thus: "You see, sir, my letter is the very reverse of Ezekiel's roll. And with reason. Since, when God puts gladness into the heart, why should not the lips overflow with praise?———Though I am certain that you are immortal until your work is done, and that God will perform the thing that is appointed for you, I am yet enabled to bear you, in the arms of prayer, to the throne of grace; and presume to request, that, at the seasons of access with joy, you will not forget the meanest of God's people, and the unworthiest, the most impotent (yet not the least favoured) of his messengers. I need not tell you, that I mean, honoured and very dear sir, your obliged, &c."

Thursday, 3. Upon a review of this day, in which my mind has been variously exercised, I have great reason to stand astonished at my own baseness; nor less so, at the several instances of mercy, both temporal and spiritual, with which God hath favoured me since I awaked this morning. I can, through grace, adopt David's language, and close the evening with his sweet hymn of thanksgiving: "Praise the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits, who forgiveth all thy sin, and healeth all thine infirmities; who saveth thy life from destruction, and crowneth thee with loving kindness and tender mercies; who satisfies thy mouth with good things," the good things of his providence, and thy heart with the better things of his grace; "making thee young and lusty as an eagle." Psalm ciii.

Sunday, 6. In the morning, read prayers and preached, at Harpford; and, in the afternoon, here at Fen-Ottery; would I could say, with the fervour and sensible joy I sometime experience. But, I was rather in a cold frame the whole day. Lord, pardon my unworthiness, and wash away the iniquity of my holy things in the blood of him thou hast provided for a burnt offering! Thou art faithful, who hast promised: nor is my interest in thee the less secure because I have not always eyes to see it clearly.

Tuesday, 8. Our family dining early to-day, Mr. Harris (of Wellington) and myself took a walk, about two in the afternoon, to the top of Fen-Ottery Hill. Looking round thence, I observed to him how plainly we could see the two churches, of Harpford and Fen-Ottery, in the vale beneath us. Perceiving, however, a pillar of smoke rising into the air, at a little distance from Harpford tower, I asked my companion, "What he thought it was?" He replied, "I suppose they are burning stroil." Imagining this to be the case, we continued our walk for, I believe, full three hours, round Ailsbear Hill, and other parts of the common. Coming, at last, to Micktam in our circuit, we called on old Farmer Francke; and were hardly seated, before he asked us, "Whether we had heard of the fire at Harpford?" Adding, that, "according to the best of what his eldest son could discern, it was Farmer Endicott's house that was burning." The wind being pretty strong, North East by East, I knew, that, if it was Endicott's house, or any of the adjoining ones, the vicarage-house and offices must be in imminent danger. I posted away for Harpford, without delay; and, being got within near view of the village, plainly perceived, by the course of the smoke, that the vicarage had actually taken fire. By the time I arrived at the wooden bridge, I met a man coming to acquaint me with what had happened; upon seeing me, he saluted me with "Sir, your house is burnt down to the ground." Entering the village, I found it almost literally true. The dwelling-house, the barn, the linhays, the stable, &c. with the back house rented by John Woodford, were, as it were by sympathy, all in flames at once, and more than half consumed.—Thomas Wilson's house, and that in which Henry Bishop lately lived (from which latter mine caught fire), were totally destroyed. When I saw the vicarage irrecoverably lost, I returned to Fen-Ottery, and took horse for Exeter; where I arrived between eight and

nine in the evening, and put up at Mr. Lathbury's. Being fatigued with my hasty ride, I thought it best to apprise Mr. Gearing (agent for the London Insurance Office) by a note of what had happened; who, in his answer, desired to see me the next morning.

What I chiefly enter down this account in my diary for, is this: namely, as a memento of God's great goodness to me, both in a way of providence and grace. Though I was not certain whether the expense (I mean, all above the insurance) of rebuilding the vicar-house, with its appendages, might not eventually fall on me (notwithstanding my resignation of the living last January 23,) by Mr. Luce probably refusing, in consequence of this misfortune, to complete our projected exchange; yet neither the report, nor the sight, of this alarming visitation, made me so much as change countenance, or feel the least dejection. This could not proceed from nature; for, my nerves are naturally so weak, that, in general, the least discomposing accident oversets me quite, for a time It was therefore owing to the supporting goodness of God, who made me experience the truth of that promise, "Thy shoes shall be iron and brass; and as is thy day, so shall thy strength be." Surely, we can both do, and endure, all things, through Christ enabling us. Had any one told me beforehand, "You will see the vicarage all in flames, without the least emotion of mind," I should have thought it impossible. But the strength of God was made perfect in my weakness; and therefore it was that my heart stood fast, believing in the Lord. O, may thy grace be ever sufficient for me!

Spent the evening not only in a comfortable, but even in a rejoicing frame of mind; and never rested better afterwards. Thou, Lord, canst make the feeble, as David. Thus, the 8th of March was a day to be particularly noted, not in my book only, but in my latest remembrance; on account of that wonderful support with which I was favoured: which not only made my feet as hind's feet, and caused me to walk on the high places of Jacob; but which even bore me up, as on eagle's wings, above the reach of grief, fear, and weakness; and, as it were, laid me at rest on the bosom of Christ, and within the arms of God.

Wednesday, 9. Continued at Exeter until after dinner. Called on Mr. Gearing, and Mr. Geare. Found, upon inquiry, that, the fire at Harpford happening after the living was vacated by my resignation of it, the exchange will certainly stand good, and the melancholy event there cannot possibly affect me. Who would not trust in the Lord, and wait until a cloudy dispensation is cleared up? Through grace, I was enabled to do this; and the result of things has proved that it would not only have been wicked, but foolish, to have done otherwise. O, that I may always be as well enabled to adopt and realize that divine apothegm, "He that believeth, shall not make haste."

Spent about an hour and a half with good Mr. Holmes, whom I found in great distress of mind, on account of his only surviving son being given over in a fever. During our interview, God so opened my mouth, and so enlarged my heart, that, I trust, both my friend and myself found our spiritual strength renewed, and were sensibly and powerfully comforted from above. In the evening, returned to Fen-Ottery.

Thursday, 10. Drinking tea, this afternoon, at Farmer Carter's, I had an opportunity of seeing more leisurely, the devastation at Harpford. The whole vicarage is one large mass of ruins. What a providential mercy was it, that I resigned the living before this misfortune happened! O God, how wise, and how gracious, art thou, in all thy ways!

Friday, 11. After breakfast, rode to Broad-Hembury, where I dined with Mr. Luce; who bears the late afflictive providence at Harpford better than I could have expected.

Sunday, 13. In the morning read prayers and preached here at Fen-Ottery; and, in the afternoon, at Harpford (from Rom. viii. 28.) to an exceeding large congregation. I have much reason to bless God, for the great measure of bodily strength, vouchsafed me to-day: yet my soul was by no means in a lively frame. Neither triumphant, nor depressed, my mind seemed to resemble the time mentioned by the prophet, in which the day will be neither clear nor dark. Zech. xiv. 6.

At night, before I went to bed, was much troubled with coldness and wanderings in secret prayer.

Monday, 14. Looking over one of my journals this morning, I could not help blessing God for such a series of mercies as my life has been made up of; upon which, these words were instantaneously and sweetly suggested to my soul, "I will carry thee on." Amen, gracious Lord!

Sunday, 20. In the morning, read prayers, and preached, at Harpford, to a very full congregation: but without any ray of sweetness or enlargement; at least, to myself. Between morning and afternoon service, I was much dejected and bowed down in spirit. I was so far left to the doubtings and evil surmisings of my own unbelieving heart, as even to dread the remaining public duties that lay before me. But the glorious Lord was better to me than my fears, and graciously disappointed my ungracious misgivings: for, in the afternoon, he was with me, both in a way of strength, and in a way of consolation. I read prayers and preached here at Fen-Ottery, with great freedom, and considerable liveliness to a crowded Church.

About six in the evening, being alone in my chamber, I was still more sensibly led forth beside the waters of comfort. I tasted some sweet droppings of the honeycomb, and could say, "My Lord, and my God." The embers were blown aside, by the breath of the Holy Spirit; the veil of unbelief was rent; and the shadows fled away. Light sprang up, and the fire kindled; even the light of God's countenance, and the fire of his love. Yet my comforts did not amount to the full triumph and ecstatic bliss I have sometimes experienced; but were gentle, peaceful, and serene; attended with a mild, refreshing, lenient warmth; which melted me into conscious nothingness before God, and made me feel him and rest upon him as my all in all. The very state this, in which, if it be his will, I could wish both to live and die: for I look upon such a placid reception of his gently-pervading influence, where all is soft and sweet and still, to be the most desirable frame of soul on this side heaven. But I desire to leave all to the disposal of Him who best knows how to deal with his militant people; and who will be sure to lead them to heaven by the right way, and me among the rest.

Monday, 21. Between ten and eleven at night, in my chamber, a little before I betook myself to rest, the Lord favoured me with some gracious outgoings of affection toward himself. My meditation of him, and communion with him, were sweet; and the intimations of his love to me drew forth my love to him. The cherishing south wind of his loving Spirit breathed upon the garden of my soul, and the spices thereof flowed out. I could say, and still can, "Whom have I in heaven, but thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire in comparison of thee. Come, O my beloved, into thy garden, and eat thy pleasant fruits!" Thus, though affected, ever since the afternoon, with a slight head-ach, my bodily indisposition was more than compensated with the peace that passeth all understanding; and I could rejoice in the sense of union with Christ, my exalted head; a head that is never out of order.

Thursday, 24. In the afternoon, the Lord gave me this word of comfort, "I have put away thy sin." It came with power, and I was enabled to believe the testimony of the Holy Spirit. Towards evening, I was in a very comfortable frame of soul, while making some considerable additions to my sermon on John ii. 19. How greatly do these occasional visits from above cheer and strengthen a sinner on his way to Zion! Surely, there is a river, and not only the streams, but even a few drops of it, make glad the city of God.

Friday, 25. This afternoon and evening, but especially at night, the Lord has been very gracious to my soul. I could see myself loved with an everlasting love, and clothed with Christ's everlasting righteousness. My peace flowed as a river; and I found the comforts of the Holy Spirit to be neither few nor small. My sense of justification was unclouded, as when the clear shining of the sun giveth light. "My beloved is mine, and I am his." Under these sweet, unutterable manifestations, I have scarce any thing to pray for; supplication is swallowed up in wonder, love, and praise; Jesus smiles, and more than a ray of heaven is shed upon my soul. "I will greatly rejoice in the Lord; my soul shall be joyful in my God; for he hath clothed me with the garments of salvation, he hath covered me with the robe of righteousness, as a bridegroom decketh himself with ornaments, and as a bride adorneth herself with her jewels." My harp is taken down from the willows, and I can sing the Lord's song in a strange land.

> Touch'd by the finger of thy love,
> Sweet melody of praise I bring;
> Join the celestial choirs above,
> And feel the bliss which makes them sing

Saturday, 26. A letter from London informs me, that poor old lady Goring is lately turned Papist. Surely, it is a debt I owe to God, to truth, my own conscience, and to the friendship with which that unhappy lady formerly honoured me, to write to her on this sad occasion. Lord, keep me steadfast in the purity of thy blessed gospel, and, if it please thee, recover her from this snare of the devil!

Was indisposed, great part of this day, with the head-ach; but enjoyed, toward evening, a measure of the peace of God. At night, a little before I went to bed, the Lord was pleased to give me a full assurance of his being with me in a way of grace and strength, and carrying me comfortably through the duties of the ensuing sabbath. I could no more doubt of his giving me a sabbath-day's blessing, than if the sabbath had been passed, and the blessing actually received.

Sunday, 27. *Palm-Sunday.* Between eight and nine this morning, the Lord visited my soul with a lively sense of his salvation. My comfort, joy and triumph were unutterable for some minutes; and the savour of his precious ointment, thus divinely shed abroad in my heart, abode with me, more or less, through the course of the whole day. In the morning, my congregation here at Fen-Ottery was very full; and I was enabled to read prayers, and to preach, with more inward liberty, and consolation of spirit, than I have done for some Sundays back. The gospel ordinances were sweet to my taste, and I experienced that animating promise, "He that watereth, shall be watered also himself."

In the afternoon, read prayers, and preached at Harpford, to a congregation indeed. "Behold the Lamb of God," was my subject: O Lamb of God, cause me, and

those who heard me this day, to behold thee, here, in the light of special faith; and hereafter, in the light of endless glory!

Though I have a violent cold upon me, with a tendency to a sore throat, yet I was carried through my duties, not only with great comfort, but with unusual strength of body and voice. A worse church to speak in I never knew, than Harpford; yet I am confident I was well heard by all present; whose number, I apprehend, was at least seven hundred; which, I dare believe, I should not have been, considering my hoarseness to-day, had not my soul been particularly happy in the Lord. The sense of his presence giveth power to the faint, and makes men act beyond themselves. Under the influence of his Spirit, the meanest believer becomes like the chariots of Amminadib, and goes forth like a giant refreshed with wine: the places of God's worship are, each, a banqueting house; and the means of grace are so many mountains of spices.

Tuesday, 29. That sweet text, "This God is our God for ever and ever; he shall be our guide, even unto death:" proved a cordial to my soul this morning. Blessed be his name, I could adopt those words of triumph, and still can, in the assurance of faith. I am, through grace, as clearly satisfied of my interest in the blessing they contain as if they were addressed to me by name.

I remember a delightful paraphrase of this golden passage, written by Mr. Hart; which I cannot help putting down here; and the rather, as it is the very language of my soul at present:

> This God is the God we adore,
> Our faithful, unchangeable friend;
> Whose love is as great as his pow'r,
> And knows neither measure nor end.
> 'Tis Jesus, the first and the last,
> Whose Spirit shall guide us safe home;
> We'll praise him, for all that is past,
> And trust him, for all that's to come.

In the afternoon, began, and about half finished, a sermon on Phil. ii. 8. which, if the Lord please, I hope to deliver from the pulpit next Friday. The Lord has already, while writing it, made it a means of grace to myself; and gave me to experience the power of that dying love which the text and the preceding context so sweetly celebrate. O Lamb of God, slain for me! Thy blood is balm; thy presence is bliss; thy smile is heaven. Through thy precious righteousness, sinners and salvation meet together. Thou hast knit me to thyself in the bonds of an everlasting covenant which shall not be forgotten and cannot be annulled. Thou hast set me as a seal upon thine arm, and hast set the seal of thy Spirit upon my heart. I can sing, with one of thy saints, now in heaven

> Love mov'd thee to die;
> And on this I rely,
> My Saviour hath lov'd me, I cannot tell why;
> But this I can find,
> We two are so join'd
> He'll not be in glory and leave me behind.

April 1. *Good-Friday.* In the morning, read prayers, preached, and administered the blessed Sacrament, at Harpford. Both in the pulpit, and at the Lord's table, my joy, consolation, and enlargement of soul, were great: and, I think, I never saw communicants more humble, serious, and devout. God's presence seemed to be manifested among us in a very uncommon manner. In the afternoon, read prayers and preached here at Fen-Ottery: and the glorious majesty of the Lord our God was evidently upon speaker and hearers. This has been a Good Friday indeed to my soul; and, I dare believe, to the souls of many beside. Lord, make the sensible unction of thy Spirit not only to descend upon us, but to abide with us!

Saturday, 2. After breakfast, rode to Exeter; where I dined at Mr. Holmes's. Found that dear and excellent man not only more resigned to the will of God, but even more cheerful than I could well have conceived. Mrs. Paul, of Topsham, and Mr. Lewis, a worthy Baptist minister, dined with us. Our conversation at table was on the best subjects; and I found our Christian discussions sensibly blest to my soul. After tea, myself and four more followed the remains of master Holmes to Eade, about two miles out of the city, where they were interred. Mr. Cole, curate of the parish, read the funeral service; and I preached a sermon, suitable to the solemn occasion, to a large auditory, and one of the most attentive ones I ever saw. I had a violent hoarseness upon me all the afternoon, which made me apprehensive I should both speak and be heard with difficulty. But, upon my entrance into the pulpit, while the first psalm was singing, I lifted up my heart to God, and prayed, "Lord, help me, this once." Nor was my supplication lost. I was helped indeed. I preached forty minutes, with great ease to myself, and with great strength, readiness, and distinctness. It was a blessed season to my own heart; and, I earnestly trust, to the souls of many that heard The word did indeed seem to come with the demonstration of the Spirit, and with power Returning to Exon, I supped with Mr. Holmes and the company; and thence, between eleven and twelve at night, returned home to Fen-Ottery

Sunday, 3. *Easter-Sunday.* Rose this morning, with such a cold, and hoarseness on my voice, that I could hardly speak either audibly or intelligibly. Read prayers, however (if it might be called reading) here at Fen-Ottery, and administered the blessed Sacrament; but, knowing it would be in vain to attempt preaching, ordered the clerk to make an apology to the congregation. At the table of the Lord, the Lord of the table was with me of a truth; and made my soul rejoice, amid all the weakness of my body.

In the afternoon, rode to Harpford; where, after reading prayers to a very great congregation, as well as I could, which was very badly, I was in some doubt whether I should attempt to preach or not. Considering, however, that, if I found I could not make myself heard, I could but cease; and grieving at the thought of sending away such a multitude, without even endeavouring to break to them the word of life; I went up into the pulpit, and besought the Lord to manifest his strength in my weakness: and he graciously did. I preached three quarters of an hour, with wonderful strength and unusual enlargement of soul. Awe and attention were visible on every face. I was enabled to exert myself greatly, and to pour out my whole soul in the ministry of the word. The sense of God's presence, together with the sweetness and dignity of the subject I was upon, melted me so, that, I think, I was never more strongly carried out. Once in particular, I could scarce refrain from bursting into tears. Hoarse and disagreeable as my voice sounded, yet, I am convinced, the voice of the Holy Spirit made its way to many hearts. Indeed all were struck, if there is any judgment to be formed by appearances. My wonder, at the ability with which I was endued, and my gratitude to the blessed God, for the comforts that were experienced, will hardly suffer me to desist from saying more of this memorable opportunity. Lord, who would not trust thee? Who would not love thee? The work, O God, was thine; and thine be all the glory! Amen, Amen.

Tuesday, 5. My hoarseness, blessed be God, begins to go off. Drinking tea, to-day, at Mr. Leigh's, at Hayne, the company went away early, and Mr. Leigh and I had the remainder of the afternoon to ourselves. Our conversation took a very improving turn. We talked much of death, the assurance of faith, and the invincibility of converting grace. My conversation on the latter subject never seemed to come to him with so much conviction and power, as now. He almost gave up his Arminianism, and drank in what I was enabled to say, with a seriousness and sensibility I never saw in him before. He even appeared to relish the doctrine of grace, and to feel some of its power. Lord, let not thy Spirit leave him, until thou hast made him cry, from the depth of his heart, "O, sovereign grace! I am nothing! thou art all!"

On my way home to Fen-Ottery, especially as I was riding over Tipton-bridge, my soul was in a very comfortable frame. O, the unutterable sweetness of sensible interest in God's election, the covenant of grace, and righteousness of Christ! I trust, I can say, they are all mine.

Wednesday, 6. ☞ This afternoon, about two o'clock, I received institution, at Exeter, to the living of Broad-Hembury. While on my knees, the chancellor was committing the souls of that parish to my care, my own soul was secretly lifted up to God for a blessing; which, I humbly trust, will be given, for his mercy's sake in Jesus Christ.

Immediately after I was instituted to Broad-Hembury, Mr. Luce was instituted to Harpford.

Thursday, 7. That gracious promise was given me to-day, "I will inform thee and teach thee in the way wherein thou shalt go; and I will guide thee with mine eye." I had been, previously, much dejected in spirit, and exercised with various doubts; but that word of comfort came with such power and effect, that I was soon set to rights again.

Friday, 8. Mr. Luce dined here to-day, we walked, in the afternoon, to Harpford; where I inducted him into that living. In the course of this day, I was favoured with some comfortable glimpses of my heavenly Father's countenance. O, that I could ever have a heart warm with love! But it is better to catch fire now-and-then, than to be always cold. Blessed be the Comforter of God's elect, a live coal, from the golden altar which is before the throne, is sometimes dropt into my heart; and then I can sing,

> Lov'd of my God, for him again
> With love intense I burn:
> Chosen of thee ere time began,
> I choose thee in return.

To have a part and lot in God's salvation, is the main thing; but to have the joy of it is an additional blessing, which makes our way to the kingdom smooth and sweet.

Saturday, 9. In the evening, while returning from Broad-Hembury (where I dined to-day); and at night after my return hither to Fen-Ottery; I had the comfort of sweet communion with God, and not only enjoyed that peace which the world cannot give, but was favoured with some delightful assurances of God's everlasting love to me a sinner. I was, like what is said of Naphthali, "satisfied with favour;" even with the favour of him, whose name is as ointment poured forth; whom to know, is life eternal; and whom to converse with, is heaven. The Spirit himself bore witness to my spirit, that I am a child of God, and a joint heir with Christ. Lord, doubtless thou art my Father; O enable me to love thee as such, and to walk worthy of my heavenly pedigree!

Sunday, 10. Did duty, this day, at the churches here, for, I suppose, the last time. In the morning, read prayers and preached at Fen-Ottery; and, in the afternoon, read prayers and preached at Harpford, to a very great congregation. At the latter church, God did indeed open to me a door both of knowledge and of utterance; insomuch that I could not possibly confine myself to my notes; but was carried out with extraordinary enlargement, readiness, and presence of mind; especially

while speaking of the certain perseverance of God's regenerate people, and of the utter impossibility of being justified by works. I did not take any leave of my dear people. Farewell-sermons, in my opinion, carry in them such an air of self-importance, that I have long resolved never to preach one again.—Let me rather close my ministry in this place, with, 1. Secretly begging pardon of God to-night, for my manifold sins, omissions, and infirmities, both as a man, and as a minister. 2. I earnestly intreat my gracious Lord to make me thankful for the innumerable mercies I have experienced, since I had the care of these parishes upon me. 3. I pray God to command his efficacious blessing on my weak, sinful, and unworthy labours here; most humbly beseeching him to own the messages of salvation I have delivered from time to time, and to grant that the seed he has enabled me to sow, may be found after many days. 4. I beg him to stay with these that stay, and to go with me when I go from them: that his presence and his blessing may be their portion, my portion, and the portion of those among whom I expect shortly to minister. O thou God of power and of grace! all hearts are in thy hand, and all events are at thy disposal! Set, O set, the seal of thy almighty *fiat* upon each of these petitions! And supply all our need, according to thy riches in glory by Christ Jesus! Amen, Amen.

Tuesday, 12. At night, the Lord gave me to experience some gracious meltings of heart. How sweet are the humiliations of penitential love! I desire no greater bliss, than to lie at my heavenly Master's foot-stool, dissolved in wonder, gratitude, and self-abasement.

Friday, 15. Several words of comfort were, this day, at different times, spoken to and sealed upon my heart: particularly these three, "Fear not; I will be with thee."—"Trust me."—"I will uphold thee with the right-hand of my righteousness." At another time these were powerfully suggested to my soul, "Be joyful in the Lord." To many, all this would appear as the most palpable enthusiasm; and there was a time, when I myself should have thought so too. But blessed be God the comforter, I know what it is to enjoy some degree of communion with the Father, and the Son by him. And, exclusively of this inward ελεγχος, which is, to myself, equivalent, in point of mental satisfaction, to ten thousand demonstrations; my experiences of this kind, considered even in the most rational view, cannot, I am well persuaded, be justly counted enthusiastic, or the offspring of a heated imagination; for, 1. They are attended with such a powerful sweetness, and such commanding weight, such satisfactory clearness, and such a perfect consistency with the promises of Scripture, as leave me no cause to doubt of its being indeed the voice of God to my soul. 2. My mind, on these occasions, is as absolutely passive as my body can at any time be on hearing any person speak with whom I converse. 3. I argue from events. I can, to the best of my remembrance and belief, truly say, that I never yet have had one promise, nor assurance, concerning temporal things, impressed on me beforehand in a way of communion with God, which the event did not realize; I never, that I know of, knew it fail in any one single instance. I do not say, that a particular assurance, concerning any particular futurity, is always given me beforehand: far from it: but when it has, two unisons never harmonized more exactly than my assurance and the subsequent providence. And, if this has, hitherto, been the case with me in temporal concerns, and matters of Providence; why should similar indulgences from above, respecting spiritual things, and matters of grace, be treated as fanciful?

At night, in my chamber, the Lord gave me several solid assurances of his future providential goodness to me. I was enabled to know the voice of Him that spake within, and to cast the anchor of faith on what he said. My complacency and satisfaction of soul were equally comfortable and unutterable. O my God, that, which thou hast promised, thou art able also to perform.

Saturday, 16. In the evening, rode to Broad-Hembury; where, at night, before I went to bed, the Lord gave me some comfortable assurances in secret prayer.

Sunday, 17. In the morning, read prayers and preached, at Broad-Hembury, to a large congregation. I opened (if I may so speak) my spiritual commission, by discoursing from those words, 2 Cor. iv. 5. "We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord." In the afternoon, read prayers and preached, *ibid.* to a very numerous congregation, from Jude 3; and baptized two infants. Great was my reason for gratitude and thankfulness to the gracious Author of all good. I was enabled, both parts of the day, to go through the duties of it with much satisfaction and presence of mind; and the word preached seemed to be relished by many, and to be well received by all.

In the evening, returned to Fen-Ottery; where I read, with great comfort and joy in the Holy Ghost, Mr. Hervey's sermon on "The Way of Holiness." In secret prayer, too, before I went to bed, the channel of comfortable intercourse was opened between God and my soul. All weakness and all unworthiness as I am, I have, in Christ, both righteousness and strength: and God, through him, is my portion for ever. In his favour is life: and that life is mine.

Monday, 18. Late to-night, when the rest of the family were retired to rest, the reading of Jenks's Meditations was much blessed

to my soul. Truly, my fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ, whose precious blood, in a way of expiation, cleanseth me from all sin.

Thursday, 21. Riding home, to-night, from Exeter, the Lord was with me in a way of spiritual communion. Applying to him for a blessing on my intended removal to Broad-Hembury, this answer was given me, "Go, and I will be with thee:" and, a little while after, "Thou shalt shake off every weight."

Friday, 22. Before I left my chamber, this morning, I was enabled to hold sweet intercourse with the Father of spirits in secret prayer. For a minute or two, my comforts, not to say raptures, were of a very exalted kind. Yet, within an hour after, I was grieved with the bubblings up of indwelling sin; and was, for some time, in a very uncomfortable state of inward temptation; but the Lord kept me from mine iniquity, and withheld me from actually falling. Towards evening, while finishing a sermon on Psalm xxxii. 1, I experienced some gracious meltings of soul, and sensibly enjoyed the rays of my heavenly Father's presence.

Saturday, 23. After dinner, rode to Broad-Hembury; where, at night, in my chamber, a little before I went to bed, my soul was harassed, in a sad and very unusual manner, with doubts and fears and unbelief. I was in spiritual darkness, even darkness that might be felt. I do not know that I ever was so much given up to the evil surmisings of my own heart, since I have been in orders. I could hardly act faith at all. Had it not been for fear of exposing myself and disturbing the family, I should have roared for the disquietness of my heart. My heavenly Pilot disappeared; I seemed to have quite lost my hold on the rock of ages; I sunk in the deep mire; and the waves and storms went over me. Yet, at last, in prayer, I was enabled, I know not how, to throw myself, absolutely and at large, on God, at all events, for better for worse: yet without comfort, and almost without hope. I was, in short, almost in a state of despair. My horror and distress were unutterable. And in this condition I remained, until it pleased God to give me some sleep.

Sunday, 24. When I awaked this morning, I had peace of soul, and a considerable measure of confidence in God.—Read prayers, and preached with strength of body and enlargement of mind.—After my return from public morning service, my consolations from above were inexpressible. Heaviness did indeed endure for a night; but joy came in the morning. My soul could magnify the Lord; and my spirit rejoiced in God my Saviour.—Read Bishop Wilkins' Preacher, with great approbation and pleasure, and not without improvement.—In the afternoon, read prayers, and preached to a very large congregation: and God was with me of a truth. My own soul was richly watered, and there seemed to be showers of blessing all around. I never preached so much extempore, in my life before. My whole introduction was off-hand; nor did I ever express myself more freely, pertinently, and to my own satisfaction. My text, both parts of the day, Psalm xxxii. 1. O, what infinite amends has God made me for the distresses of last night! Might I choose for myself (which, however, I am not qualified for, nor yet desirous of doing,) I should hardly, I think, care how much God humbled me in private before him, so I might but enjoy his presence and blessing in the discharge of my public duties.

What a day has this been! A sabbath-day indeed; a day of feasting to my soul; a day of triumph and rejoicing. He brought me into his banqueting-house, and his banner over me was love, I never was more assisted from above, than this afternoon; very seldom so much. Lord, bless the people as thou hast blessed me!

Here let me leave it on thankful record, for my comfort and support (if it please God) in future times of trial and desertion, that I never was lower in the valley than last night; nor higher on the mount than to-day. The Lord chastened me, but did not give me over unto death. And he never will. He may, indeed, for a small moment, hide his face from me; but with everlasting kindness will he have mercy on me.

Saturday, 30. After dinner, rode to Broad-Hembury; where I spent the evening, and lay at Mrs. Pynsent's. Very different, through the tender mercy of God, was my frame of mind, to-night, from what it was the Saturday before. I was now enabled to rest, with comfortable complacency, on the power, faithfulness, and grace of my heavenly Father. What a poor, feeble creature is a believer, when faith is not in exercise! He is like an eagle, whose wings are pinioned. But, when the south-wind of the Holy Spirit breathes upon the soul, and fans the smoking flax, the Christian grows as the lily, and casteth forth the root as Lebanon. He is, for the time being, almost tempted to sing that *requiem* which David, in similar circumstances, sang to his soul, "I shall never be removed; thou, Lord, of thy goodness, hast made my hill so strong."

May 1. *Sunday*. Read prayers, and preached, morning and afternoon, at Broad-Hembury. The Lord was with me both parts of the day.—In private, spent several hours in reading Seed's Sermons. Elegant, and masterly, is the composition; nervous, and refined, the reasoning: but the main thing, I apprehend, is wanting; even that spiritual unction, that vital vein of gospel experience, without which, the correctest performances of this kind are, to me, powerless and tasteless.—Read also Wall's Critical Notes on the New Testament; in which are many things useful and ingenious: yet I cannot help thinking that the alterations (improperly styled, amendments,) which the

learned author would make in the original text, are, for the far greater part, extremely flighty and conjectural; often quite injudicious; and, sometimes, astonishingly daring. Besides, the dead fly of Arminianism mars and taints the whole pot of ointment.

Thursday, 5. My honoured and most dear mother's birth-day. Gracious God, crown her inestimable life with many years to come; and crown each year with additional grace and re-doubled happiness!—After dinner, removed, for good, from Fen-Ottery to Broad Hembury: where, being arrived, I spent the evening in a comfortable frame of soul; humbly trusting, that the God and guide of my life, who fixeth the bounds of our habitations below, will, himself, vouchsafe to be the dwelling place of my soul, here and ever. At night, there was some thunder; during which especially, I was favoured with a sweetly awful sense of God's majesty and love. How happy, O Lord, is the soul which is enabled to wrap itself in thee!

Friday, 6. Enjoyed the peace of God to-day: particularly at night, before bed-time; when my communion with the Father of spirits was near and sweet. I could indeed say, "My Lord, my love, my all!"

Saturday, 7. Was occasionally comforted from above. Blessed, O God, unutterably blessed, is the man whom thou choosest, and causest to approach unto thee! Thy secret is with me; and thou hast shewn me thy covenant.

Sunday, 8. In the morning, read prayers, and read the Thirty-nine Articles, and the Declaration of Conformity. In the afternoon, read prayers, and preached, to a very large congregation. Between morning and afternoon service, I experienced much of God's presence, alone in my study, while revising the sermon I intended to preach. My comforts and joys did not only flow as a river, but rose like the waves of the sea.—In the evening read Turretin's *Theologia*: true is that great author's observation, and most happily expressed, "*αθανασιας fides est fundamentum ενθανασιας.*" Read also Dr. Sibbes's "Soul's Conflict:" in which the following observations are equally important, certain, and comfortable:

"The angel troubled the waters, which then cured those that stept in: it is also Christ's manner to trouble our souls first, and then to come with healing in his wings.—As for crosses, he doth but cast us down, to raise us up; and empty us, that he may fill us; and melt us, that we may be vessels of glory: loving us as well, in the furnace, as when we are out; and standing by us all the while.—In the worst condition, the church hath two faces: one towards heaven and Christ, which is always constant and glorious; another towards the world, which is, in appearance, contemptible and changeable.—In all storms, there is sea-room enough, in the infinite goodness of God, for faith to be carried with full sail.—Places and conditions are happy or miserable, as God vouchsafeth his gracious presence more or less.—God is nearest to his children, when he seems farthest off.—It is as natural for sin to raise doubts and fears in the conscience, as for rotten flesh and wood to breed worms. Sin, like Achan in the camp, or Jonas in the ship, is that which causeth storms within and without.—Of all troubles, the trouble of a proud heart is the greatest.—The greater part of our troubles we pull upon ourselves, by not parting our care so, as to take upon us only the care of duty, and leave the rest to God; and by mingling our passions with our crosses; and, like a foolish patient, chewing the pills which we should swallow down."

Tuesday, 10. Whilst taking my evening walk, by myself, on the hill that overlooks this village, and surveying the lovely vales, that lie beneath on either hand, the Lord melted me into gratitude and praise. I was not alone; for the great Father of all was with me.—On my return, wrote part of a sermon, after supper, on 2 Cor. v. 8. and my peace and joy in believing were great.

Sunday, 15. In the morning rode to Sheldon; where I read prayers and preached to a very attentive congregation; a small church, but well filled. After service, returned home to Broad-Hembury; where, in the afternoon, I read prayers and preached to a great auditory; and the Lord was with me in an especial manner. Spent the evening very comfortably and profitably, in writing part of a sermon. At night, those words dwelt much upon my mind, and were greatly blest to me, "The Lord is my portion, saith my soul:" through the influence of his good Spirit, I could see and rejoice in God as my portion indeed.

Sunday, 22. *Whitsunday*. In the morning, read prayers, preached, and administered the holy sacrament to thirty-six communicants. In the afternoon, read prayers, and preached, to a very large congregation. I trust the ordinances were blest to some: but, as to myself, I can only say, that I went through the duties of the day with strength, ease, and presence of mind. I desire to be thankful for this; yet am grieved, that I was not more fervent in spirit, and higher on the mount of divine love. I could ever wish to be

> Like the rapt seraph that adores and burns.
>
> Fain would I mount; fain would I glow;
> And loose my cable from below:
> But I can only spread my sail;
> Thou, thou must breathe th' auspicious gale!

Friday, 27. Notwithstanding my aggravated sinfulness and my absolute unworthiness, God gave me, this night, to drink of his consolations, as from a river. "Pardon and sanctification," was my prayer: "Mercy, pardon and salvation," was the gracious answer.

Sunday, 28. This evening, I was enabled to rejoice in spirit. God gave me not only a good hope in his grace, but the assurance of

faith. Finished a sermon on Rev. ii. 17. I do think and trust that I can say, that text is verified in me, even me, a sinner. Through the blood of the Lamb, I believe that I shall overcome; I am often fed with the hidden manna of communion with God; there are times when I can set to my seal, that the white stone of absolution and justification is mine; and that I have the new name, the privilege of adoption into the invisible family of God; the consciousness of which is attended with such comfort as is only known to those that receive it. To Father, Son, and Spirit, be all the glory!

Sunday, 29. Read prayers, and preached, morning and afternoon, to a much larger congregation, both times, than I expected, considering the wetness of the weather. God has watered the earth, to-day, with his rain, which has been, for some time, greatly wanted: but the spiritual shower of divine love did not descend upon my soul, until I retired to my study, this evening, after family prayer. I had then some short, but comfortable intercourse with God. An observation which I met with to-day, in reading Downame's "Christian Warfare," struck me much; speaking of the Holy Spirit as the sealer of the elect, he asks, "How is it possible to receive the seal, without feeling the impression?" O that I might feel it, more and more!

June 5. Sunday. This morning, I read prayers, and preached, to a large congregation; and, in the afternoon, to a very large one. My God was present with me, both times; and, I trust, I have reason to hope, that my labour was not in vain in the Lord. Visited and prayed with farmer William Taylor, twice to-day. The first time, particularly, I had great freedom of speech, in conversing with him on spiritual matters. He has, probably, not many days to live; and, I would hope, is not without some sense of divine things. Visited also, and prayed with Edward Granger: a very ignorant person, and full of what are called good resolutions, if God should restore him again to health. It is a melancholy thing, that, in a Protestant country, a minister should have so much ignorance to combat with, in most of the common people. I thank thee, Holy Father, if I am, in any measure, enlightened into the knowledge of thee; and beseech thee to make me an instrument, in thy hand, of giving light to others, so far as my little sphere extends. Was, through grace, very comfortable in my own soul, several times this day.

Thursday, 9. In the morning, visited and prayed with farmer William Taylor. One thing, which he said, I took notice of with satisfaction: his words were, "My pains are nothing to my hopes." Dined and drank tea at Grange. At night, after my return thence, I was happy in the Lord. I was enabled, from a sense of interest in Christ, to sing those sweet lines,

> Jesus, thou art my righteousness,
> For all my sins were thine, &c.

Sunday, 12. Read prayers, and preached, morning and afternoon. Might I judge of what others felt, by the comfortable enlargement I experienced myself, both parts of the day, I should trust that the arm of the Lord was revealed. The afternoon audience was very great; and God was with me of a truth. A door of knowledge, and of utterance, was opened to me: and I humbly hope, God opened to himself a door into the hearts of some that heard. I cannot forbear observing, that last night, and to-day, the Lord gave me some special assurances of his being with me in the discharge of the public duties of this sabbath: and his gracious intimations were verified indeed. The promises of man frequently exceed the performance; but God's performance exceeds even his promises.

Saturday, 18. All day at home. Wrote several hymns; and, while writing that which begins thus: "When faith's alert, and hope shines clear," &c. I was, through grace, very comfortable in my soul; so, indeed, I have been the whole day. Read bishop Hopkins's Works, which were sent me from Exeter yesterday, with much spiritual improvement. From morning until now, *i. e.* until eleven at night, I have enjoyed a continual feast within. Christ has been unspeakably precious to my heart, and the blessed Spirit of God has visited me with sweet and reviving manifestations. Temptations, of a particular kind, beset me more than once; but the Lord lifted up his standard, and I fell not; the gates of hell attacked me, but did not prevail against the grace of God which was with me. Glory be to God on high, who spreads a table for me in the wilderness, making me to banquet on his love; and who has caused my cup of joy to overflow this day. Yea, and I shall dwell in the house of the Lord, and be myself his house, for ever.

Sunday, 19. Though somewhat out of order in the morning, God carried me well through the duties of the day. Read prayers and preached, twice, as usual. In the afternoon, the congregation was very large. This has not been such a rejoicing day to my own soul, as yesterday was; but, I trust, the word preached was not powerless altogether. Yet this, I fear, I can truly say, that my lot has never hitherto been cast among a people so generally ignorant of divine things, and so totally dead to God. I know of but three persons, in all this large and populous parish, on whom, I have solid reason to trust, a work of saving grace is begun: and these are, Mrs. Hutchins, farmer William Taylor, and Joan Venn. But this I verily believe, that, if God had not some elect souls to call, he would not

have sent me hither. When vicar of Harpford, I laboured among that people for a great part of two years, before I could perceive a sensible out-pouring of God's Holy Spirit upon them: and yet, before I left them, God seemed to have owned my ministry in a very great and unexpected manner. Lord, grant, if it please thee, that I may have the same consolation here!

Wednesday, 22. Calling on Mrs. Hutchins this evening, I found Joan Venn there, from whom I had the comfort of hearing that my unworthy ministry has, in general, been attended with great power to her soul: but, above all, on the 24th of last April, in the afternoon, under that sermon from Psalm xxxii. 1. Lord, carry on thy work in her soul and mine, to the day of Christ!

Friday, 24. Visited and prayed with Sarah Granger. In the evening, had a very comfortable interview with old farmer William Taylor, who, though better than I ever expected to see him, is not, in all probability, far from the invisible world. God enabled me to pray with him extempore; and I never yet saw him so affected. If the Lord gives ability, I think to lay aside forms of prayer, in my future attendance on the sick. I generally find, that prayer, on these occasions, offered up as God gives utterance, is more blest to the souls I attend upon, as well as to my own. Lord, may thy good Spirit, which maketh intercession in thy saints, be ever present with me, to help my infirmities, and teach me to pray as I ought. There are, certainly, particular exigencies, and cases, which few, if any, prescribed forms can reach. With regard to this, and every other part of my duty as a minister, my help standeth in the name of the Lord, who hath made heaven and earth. I only wish that my natural diffidence was less, and my faith greater!

Sunday, 26. A sabbath of joy and blessing. Was somewhat cast down, last night, and early this morning, at the prospect of the public duties lying before me, as I have been, for some days past, troubled with a cough, which grows upon me more and more. But God heard my petitions, and was better to me than my expectations. I read prayers, and preached, in the morning, to a large congregation; and, in the afternoon, to an exceedingly full one; with unusual freedom of utterance, and strength of body, both times. After morning service, visited and prayed with Sarah Granger. In prayer, she was quite melted down, and wept greatly. God gave me both words and matter, suitable to her case. In the evening, visited and prayed with farmer William Taylor; and, on this occasion too, I was enabled to pray with much liberty of speech, and comfort to myself. In the course of our conversation, he told me, that "Being alone yesterday evening, and begging of God to hearken to his supplications, he thought he heard a voice say, 'I will hear thy prayers:' and that his hope of acceptance has been ever since, greater than usual." How this really was, I dare not say; but would choose to suspend my judgment about it. This, however, I am glad to observe in him, namely, that he is most earnestly desirous of gaining the assurance of his justification. Surely, if the foundation of true faith were not laid in his soul, he would hardly be so desirous of having the top-stone brought forth with joy. At night, finished a short morning sermon, which I began yesterday, on 1 Kings xvii. 21.

Tuesday, 28. In my way to Grange (where I dined and spent the evening), visited Sarah Granger. I found her surrounded with weeping friends and relatives, and herself little more than alive, in point of bodily strength, but perfectly sensible. My mouth was opened to speak much and pertinently to her case; and the Lord gave me very great freedom, enlargement, and warmth in prayer. I hope it was made a season of blessing both to her and to those who were present, as, though grace, it was to myself. She, strongly, and in a most affecting manner, requested me to have an eye over her children when she was dead and gone, and to do what I could in furthering them in the way to the kingdom of God. I assured her, that nothing in my power should be wanting, if I lived, which might conduce to their spiritual or temporal welfare.

Friday, July 1. Drinking tea, this afternoon, at Priory, we were surprised with a very unexpected storm of rain, thunder, and lightning. The flashes were so frequent, and so very violent, that Mrs. Sydenham proposed shutting the windows, letting down the curtains, and having candles brought in; which was done accordingly. I dropt an intimation of my readiness to go to prayer; but the hint was not accepted. After about two hours, the weather being fair again, I took that opportunity of returning home to Broad-Hembury. On my way, the thunder and lightning were renewed; but there being no rain, I kept on, and, blessed be God's good providence, arrived safe at the vicarage. The Lord preserved me from a slavish fear; but I felt a very desirable awe on my mind, even such as I would always wish to feel, on such a commanding occasion. I conversed much with God in mental prayer, and desire to bless his name, that the awful manifestations of his power were not commissioned either to hurt or destroy. I have heard much louder thunder; but never, I believe, saw such prodigious lightning; unless my being more exposed to it, than I ever was before, makes me think so. Thou, O Lord, commandest the waters; it is the glorious God who maketh the thunder: and (adored be the riches of thy mercy) it was Thou who didst bid the lightnings alarm, but prohibit them to strike. O take me, and seal me thine for ever!

Saturday, 2. God gave me, this night, some very express and comfortable assurances of his

blessing me in the course of the public duties to-morrow. Lord, I humbly say, Amen: I beg that it may be so; I believe that it will be so.

Sunday, 3. Early this morning, took horse for Fen-Ottery; where, being arrived, I went to captain Penney's. After being with him about half an hour, we walked to church. As we were going, the captain suddenly took hold of my left-arm: I, imagining he might have something particular to say to me, went closer to him; when he fell on me, with all his weight. At first, I supposed he might have stumbled, and lost his footing; but was alarmed when I found him continue motionless in my arms. In less than half a minute, he came to himself; and was as well as ever. It seems, he has, several times before, been struck in a similar manner: and, had I not been by his side, he must have fallen prostrate. O, that he may, in this his day, know the things that belong to his everlasting peace, before they are hid from his eyes! Being come to the church, I read prayers, and then preached, with very great enlargement and liberty both of mind and utterance. If I might judge by the tears, which some shed, under the word preached (and, indeed, I myself did with great difficulty refrain from weeping, toward the conclusion), the message of salvation seemed to be attended with power. After dinner, rode to Harpford; where I read prayers, and preached, to a very great congregation. Though my cough was somewhat troublesome, at intervals, I detained my old audience for fifty minutes, and great was my strength of voice and fervour of spirit; nor less their attention. After drinking tea at farmer Carter's, I returned to Fen-Ottery; where I lay at captain Penney's.

Upon a retrospective view of this Lord's-day, I find abundant reason to adore, admire, and praise the goodness of God. Mr. Luce's being at Plymouth, rendered it necessary for me, as a friend, to assist him, by officiating at his churches; and the Lord has been very gracious to me in my unworthy ministrations. I have had also, the additional satisfaction of delivering the tidings of peace and salvation to a people of whom I had, lately, the charge, and whom I affectionately love in the Lord. Thou God of all grace, command thy omnipotent blessing on what they have heard!

Tuesday, 5. Laying at Otterton last night, I took an airing, this morning, with Mr. Duke, in his coach, to Budleigh, Knowle, Tidwell, and Salterton; and the Lord enabled me, at times, to hold comfortable communion with himself by the way.

Saturday, 9. The merciful and gracious Lord was sensibly with me, the latter part of to-day.—"Awake and sing," and, presently after, "Arise and shine," were spoken to my soul, from above, with power and sweetness.

Late at night, God was again pleased to give me the knowledge of a sabbath-day's blessing to-morrow. Such comfortable and peremptory convictions of God's future presence and support on a succeeding Sunday (with which I have been so often favoured before-hand) I intend, henceforth, as often as God is pleased to grant them, to distinguish by the name of Saturday-Assurances. Assurances they are indeed; so clear, positive, and satisfactory. I never knew them once fail, nor deceive my trust. I have often been dejected and fearful, at the approached of a sabbath on which I was to minister publicly; and God has frequently, not to say generally, been better to me than my unbelieving fears; but, on those happy days (and, blessed be his name, they have, of late especially, been very many) when previous assurances have been given me of his help and presence on the Sunday following, those assurances have always been made good. The Lord has often disappointed my doubts, and the evil surmisings of unbelief; but he never once disappointed my hope, when he has said, previously, to my soul, "I will be with thee."

Sunday, 10. God has made this a comfortable sabbath indeed. In the morning, read prayers and preached to a considerable congregation; and, in the afternoon, to an exceeding great one, with great readiness, strength, and presence of mind, each time. In the evening, God delivered me out of a grievous temptation, and saved me from falling by it. Visited and prayed with Sarah Granger. I was heartily glad to find that the Lord has made her sensible of the deceitfulness of her heart. Her fears that she is not sincerely earnest in seeking God, and, to use her own expression, in her "longings after the Lord Jesus;" are to me, favourable signs of her being so. In praying with her, God gave me enlargement of mind, and great freedom of speech. Visited old Mrs. Hutchins, who longs for the assurance of faith; but whose fear of death rather increases than abates: I was enabled to speak a word in season; and trust it was not wholly in vain in the Lord. At night read Polhill's Treatise (late the property of the excellent Mr. Pearsall), entitled, "Precious Faith." It is a precious book, and on a precious subject.

Friday, 15. God shone upon my soul greatly this evening.

Sunday, 17. In the morning, read prayers and preached; but not with that sensible comfort which I sometimes enjoy. In the afternoon, Mr. Savery was so kind as to read prayers and preach in my stead. My cough was rather troublesome to-day. After evening service, I was much cheered and refreshed in soul, while reading Mr. Erskine's sermon, entitled, "Faith's Plea on God's Word and Covenant."

Sunday, 24. In the morning, rode to Sheldon; where I read prayers and preached. Returning thence, I read prayers and preached here, at Broad-Hembury, in the afternoon, with uncommon strength and liveliness, and to the

largest congregation I have yet seen in this place. Blessed be the God of all comfort, for the distinguished mercies of this delightful sabbath. I was carried, through the duties of it, as on eagles' wings; and, amidst the vast auditory, the word preached seemed to reach some hearts with power and the demonstration of the Spirit. May it be fastened as a nail in a sure place, and be found after many days!

Sunday, 31. Read prayers, and preached, both morning and afternoon, with strength and some liveliness, but with little spiritual joy.

At night, was visited with some tastes of comfort, and with the sweet rays of my heavenly Father's countenance, in reading Erskine's sermons. Read likewise, not without sensible improvement, some part of the acts of the synod of Dort; particularly the judgment of the British divines, "*De Perseverantiâ Sanctorum.*"

Saturday, August 6. Was much dejected in soul to-night; but, in seeking the Lord, received some comfortable intimations.

Sunday, 7. In the morning rode to Plymtree; where I read prayers, and preached, with very great freedom, strength, and enlargement, to a serious, attentive congregation; some of whom seemed to experience as much of the Holy Spirit's power as I did. After dining at Mr. Harward's, I returned to Broad-Hembury: where I read prayers, and preached, to a prodigiously full church, with equal fervour and liberty both of mind and utterance, as in the morning. I can never enough adore thy goodness, O thou God of all grace!

Monday, 8. I cannot help noting, to my shame, and as a mark of my exceeding depravity, that, after all the Lord's sabbath-day's mercies to me yesterday, I was never, that I know of, more cold, lifeless, and wandering, than I was in secret prayer last night, just before going to bed. Pardon, dearest Lord, my want of love! Alas, if I loved thee more, I should serve thee better. During the course of the present day, God gave me some very humbling and instructing views of myself. Abstracted from special, efficacious grace, nothingness (or, if any thing, utter sinfulness) may be written on all I have, and am, and do. Blessed be God, that I have some ground to hope myself interested in a better righteousness than my own!

Sunday, 14. Read prayers, and preached, morning and afternoon. Was, in general, greatly depressed in soul this day; but not so much during the seasons of public worship, as before and after. In the evening, and at night, my heart aspired to God with groanings that cannot be uttered. Yet, while reading Whitty's Sermons, I experienced a great degree of divine power, and, now and then, some sweetness; but I could not rejoice in the Lord; nor is it fit that such a sinner always should. Deal with me, O God, as thou wilt: but, O, seal me to the day of redemption, and make me be found in the number of thine at last!

Thursday, 18. At Exeter, to-day, I spent some time with that excellent Christian, good old Mr. Brewer; and, in the course of our conversation, I experienced much of the divine presence. Among other matters, he mentioned some particulars, spoken in a charge lately given at the ordination of a young dissenting minister, which I put down here, as they are too good to be lost. "I cannot conclude," said the old ambassador of Christ, "without reminding you, my young brother, of some things that may be of use to you, in the course of your ministry. 1. Preach Christ crucified, and dwell chiefly on the blessings resulting from his righteousness, atonement, and intercession. 2. Avoid all needless controversies, in the pulpit; except it be, when your subject necessarily requires it; or when the truths of God are likely to suffer by your silence. 3. When you ascend the pulpit, leave your learning behind you: endeavour to preach more to the hearts of your people, than to their heads. 4. Do not affect too much oratory. Seek rather to profit, than to be admired." In the afternoon, returned to Broad-Hembury.

Sunday, 21. In the morning, attended my friend, Mr. Savery, to Sheldon; where he read prayers and preached. Returned, by dinner, to Broad-Hembury, where I read prayers, and preached, in the afternoon, to a large congregation, with a spirit and life that seemed to reach the hearts of most present. It was a sabbath-day's blessing indeed. Surely, nothing but heaven itself can exceed such a golden opportunity! "Bless the Lord, O my soul; and all that is within me praise his holy name."

Saturday, 27. In secret prayer, to-night, God gave me a Saturday-assurance of a blessing to-morrow; and I was enabled to believe that it would be unto me even as the Lord had said.

Sunday, 28. Read prayers, and preached, both parts of the day, with uncommon strength of body, and with vast enlargement of soul. Between morning and afternoon service, being in my study, and comfortably engaged in secret prayer, the Lord visited me with a refreshing shower of divine love: so that my soul was like a watered garden. I never felt so intense a desire to be useful to the souls of my people; my heart was expanded, and burnt with zeal, for the glory of God, and for the spiritual welfare of my flock. I wished to spend and be spent in the ministry of the word; and had some gracious assurances from on high that God would make use of me to diffuse his gospel, and call in some of his chosen that are yet unconverted.—In the afternoon, the congregation was exceedingly great indeed. I was all on fire for God; and the fire, I verily believe, caught from heart to heart.—I am astonished, when I review the blessings of this Lord's day. That a sinner so vile, so feeble, so ill, and so hell-deserving, should be thus powerfully carried beyond

himself, and be enabled to preach with such demonstration of the Spirit. Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given, that I should preach, among the gentiles, the unsearchable riches of Christ. Lord, let thy word run, and be glorified! Out of weakness, I am made strong; to thy name alone be the entire praise! And go on, O, go on, to own the counsel of thy unworthiest messenger, and to make the feet of him that sent me sound behind me! Thy mercies to me, both as a man, as a believer, and as a minister, have already been so wonderful, that there is hardly any thing too great for me to hope for at thy hands.

Monday, 29. This evening, after my return from Grange, God was very gracious to my soul. My meditation of him was sweet, and he gave me songs in the night season. I had sweet, melting views of his special goodness, and of my own utter unworthiness. The united sense of these two keeps the soul in an even balance. I am then happiest, as well as safest, when my very exultations lay me lowest.

Wednesday, 31. Writing, this afternoon, to Mrs. Browne, of Bath, I could not help enumerating some of God's chief mercies to me, both in a way of providence and grace, since I saw her last. Among other things, I observed as follows: "God has also given me, in general, a much greater portion of health and strength than usual; and crowned his other mercies, by enabling me to dispense his gospel, for the most part, with a liveliness and fervour which I have seldom experienced for so long a time together.———I sing, and ought to sing, of mercy and loving kindness. I can indeed set up my Ebenezer, erect a monument of thankfulness, and inscribe every separate blessing with David's motto, This hath God done. May his grace lay me low at his footstool, as a Christian; and his almighty Spirit command success on my unworthy labours, as a minister! The Lord go on to make you, madam, happy in his love, and an instrument of extensive good to his people below. In the exercise of the grace he has given you, and in the discharge of the duties he has allotted to you, may your joy and peace flourish as the lily, and your comforts cast forth the root as Lebanon. Amid all your bodily complaints, may his strength be perfected in your weakness, and his right hand sustain you; until, by the blood of atonement, and the faithful guidance of his Spirit, he has brought you to that land of light and rest and joy, where the glorified inhabitant shall no more, in any sense whatever, say, I am sick. I propose, if Providence permit, to set out for London, the latter end of September; where I hope to spend the ensuing winter with my honoured mother: happy should I be, in the mean while, to hear, that your health is at least no worse than usual.—I rejoice to find, from several gentlemen of Dorsetshire, that Mr.———'s health is greatly improved. I have not taken the liberty of writing to him since last March was twelve-month; one reason of which is, lest he should think I had any interested views to serve: which I am sure, is very far from being the case; my present living being vastly more eligible, than any, of which my honoured friend is patron. When you send next to Frampton, you will oblige me in condescending to mention my name, and tendering my most respectful compliments. My affectionate remembrance, and best wishes, attend the three young gentlemen, your nephews; nor can I give a sincerer proof of both, than by praying that they may flourish as olive branches in the courts of the Lord's house; be made wise unto salvation, by his Spirit; and increase with the increase of God. Mr. and Mrs. Derham have my affectionate compliments: they may wonder, perhaps, that I have not done myself the pleasure of writing to them; but dear Mrs. D. deserves only a scolding letter (if I could find in my heart to send her such an one), for leaving London, last autumn, without seeing me, though she knew I was then in town; and the friend, at whose house she was, and who informed me afterwards of these particulars, was engaged to drink tea with me the very day Mrs. Derham set out for Bath."

Friday, September 2. Received, this morning, a letter from a gospel friend; informing me, that Mr. Morris, of the county of Wexford, in Ireland, whose ministry was, a little turned of twelve years ago, blest to my conversion, is waxing cold in the work of the Lord. Upon which, I thought it a debt due to friendship, and to the cause of God, to write him a letter.

Saturday, 3. God was graciously pleased, this night, to give me an assurance of his blessing on the public work of to-morrow. How tenderly and bountifully does the Father of consolations deal with his sinful messengers! Surely, doubting is doubly a sin in me!

Sunday, 4. In the morning rode to Sheldon; where I was enabled to read prayers, and preach, with great comfort to myself, and, I have reason to hope, with power to them that heard. On my return, being part of the way over Hembercombe (more properly, Hembury Common), a most violent storm of rain obliged me to turn back, and take shelter at Richard Lane's. After half an hour's stop there, I returned to Broad-Hembury; where, in the afternoon, I read prayers, and preached, with the greatest freedom and fervour, to a most attentive and (in appearance) affected congregation. Wet as the afternoon has proved, a great number of strangers were at church; and, I verily think, the presence and power of God was amongst us.—After service good old Mrs. Hutchings, and Joan Venn, drank coffee

with me at the vicarage. Our conversation was, for the most part, savoury and comfortable.——Was rejoiced to hear, that the word of God from my lips has been greatly blessed of late, to those two persons; to farmer Copp, and his eldest son; to old Mr. Thomas Granger, farmer Smith, and several other of my parishoners.—Since I came down last into Devonshire from London (*i. e.* not quite a twelvemonth ago), God has owned my ministry more than ever; particularly, at Harpford, and here. Blessed Lord, the work is thine alone: go on, I most humbly beseech thee, to speak to the hearts of sinners, by the meanest mouth that ever blew the trumpet in Zion!——At night, I was much comforted in spirit, in reading bishop Beveridge's Private Thoughts.

Monday, 5. Had some sweet, refreshing intercourse with God, several times to-day.—— Upon a review of my experience during the former part of last year, and occasionally in the course of the present, I cannot help observing, that great humiliations are, often, the best preparatives for ministerial usefulness.

Saturday, 10. God refreshed and satisfied my soul to-night, with a Saturday's-assurance. "I have blessed thee, and will bless thee again." was the answer I received.

Sunday, 11. In reading prayers, and in preaching, the Lord was signally with me, both parts of the day. In the afternoon, especially, the word, I verily trust, went forth with power and was glorified.

Saturday, 17. Received some satisfactory and comfortable intimations of a Sabbath-day's blessing to-morrow. Surely, the Lord is indeed good to those that wait for him, and to the soul that seeketh him!

Sunday, 18. Read prayers, and preached, morning and afternoon, with very great fervour, strength, and enlargement. That God is doing his work of grace upon the hearts of some, I have all the proof, both public and private, that the nature of the case will admit of. The Lord hath been to my soul, this day, both in my study, and in the temple, a place of broad rivers and streams.

This evening, I met with a paragraph from archbishop Usher, which well deserves to be entered here:—"I must tell you," says the excellent prelate, as my author relates it, "that we do not well understand what sanctification and the new creature are: it is no less than for a man to be brought to an entire resignation of his will to the will of God; and to live in the offering up of his soul continually, in the flames of love, as a whole burnt-offering to Christ." I trust, I have experienced and do frequently experience, something of this blessed work, in myself: Lord, make the little one become a thousand!

Saturday, 24. Dined at Ottery, to day, at Mr Dare's. Our conversation turned partly on historical, partly on religious subjects. We talked, particularly, on the nature of regeneration: and I took occasion, among other things, to observe that the whole process of the new-birth seems included in that threefold conviction, mentioned by our Lord, and declared by him to be the office of the Holy Ghost: namely, Conviction of sin, or of our total depravity by nature and practice; of the impossibility of our being justified by works; of our liableness to the whole curse of the law; and our absolute inability to help, save, or recover ourselves, whether in whole or in part: 2. Conviction of righteousness, *i. e.* of the perfection, necessity, and efficacy of Christ's righteousness, in order to justification before God: 3. Conviction of judgment, or that act of the Holy Spirit on the soul, whereby "the prince of this world is judged;" brought, as it were, to the bar; found guilty of usurpation; and dethroned: from which happy moment, the sinner is brought into sweet subjection to God, his lawful sovereign, sin is weakened as to its dominion (in order to its final extirpation), and the regenerate soul is more and more conformed to the image of God's holiness. So that, I suppose, conviction of sin is only another name for evangelical repentance; conviction of righteousness, for true faith in Christ; and conviction of judgment, a periphrasis for sanctification: which three capital graces are the constituents of regeneration. —Toward evening returned to Broad-Hembury.

Sunday, 25. In the morning, read prayers, and preached; and the power of God appeared to accompany the word spoken. Young Mr. Minifie, in particular, was, I am informed, greatly affected from above. In the afternoon, the congregation was by far the greatest I ever yet saw here; the people flocked like doves to the windows; and such an auditory, and that auditory so solemn and attentive, was a most awfully affecting sight. I read prayers, and preached, with a fervour, strength, and liveliness, which only God could give. His word seems to run like fire which none can quench. Lord, pardon my unworthiness, and accomplish the work of thy grace upon the hearts of them that hear, and on the base, sinful heart of me the feeblest and most undeserving of thy messengers!——After evening service, Mary Ellis called on me. If ever a soul was truly convinced of sin, I believe she is so. I endeavoured to administer balm to her wounded spirit, by opening up the promises, and unfolding a little of the unsearchable riches of Christ.——This morning, as I was going to church, Joan Venn put a paper into my hands. Last Tuesday, she gave me an account of God's past dealings with her soul; and I have seldom seen a person, of the truth of whose conversion I had so little cause to doubt. In consequence of our interview that day, she has had some exercises of mind, as I find from this paper, which, omitting what relates to

my unworthy self, runs thus: "I have had very deep thoughts, and very great trouble, since my last discourse with you. I have looked into my life past; I have ransacked my soul, and called to mind the sinful failings of my youth: and I find it very hard and difficult, to make my calling and election sure. I have earnestly desired to leave no corner of my soul unsearched; and I find myself a very grievous and wretched sinner. I have committed grievous sins, very grievous sins, such sins as are not fit to be named before God's saints. I have examined my soul by each particular commandment, and find myself guilty of the breach of all, and that in a high degree. And now, when I look upon the glass of the law, and there see my own vileness, I find God's justice and my own deserts even ready to surprise me and cast me down into the nethermost hell, and that most righteously: but O, see the goodness of a gracious God, in that he hath given me a sight of my sins! And I am inclined to think, that, if God did not work with me, this sorrow could not be. O, sir, I cannot but let you know, that sometimes I have some blessed thoughts of God; and O, how sweet are they to my soul! they are so ravishing, that I cannot possibly declare it; but they are like the morning cloud and early dew, soon gone, and then I am afraid. I have had abundance of trials and temptations in these three years almost; but if I could think that my dear Lord had shed his blood for me, I should not be so much shaken; and, because I cannot apply these things to myself, my heart doth mourn within me. I am greatly afraid of the deceitfulness of my heart, lest that should deceive me. But let the righteous smite me, and it shall be a kindness; and let him reprove me, and it shall be excellent oil which shall not break my head. O, that the Lord Jesus Christ would but sprinkle what I have said with his precious blood! And, now I have opened my soul to you, I most humbly beg and desire your advice concerning these weighty matters; for they are matters which concern my never dying soul.—And I have a high esteem for you: but what is my esteem? The esteem of a poor worm, of a poor sinful creature. O that the Lord would let me see, more and more, my own vileness! Now I have declared to you what the Lord, through grace, hath revealed to me; though I am unworthy to write to such," &c.

O, that all my parishioners were, not only almost, but altogether such, in spirit, as this woman! Illiterate she is, and, I believe, chiefly supports herself by spinning: but, when God teaches, souls are taught indeed.

October 2. *Sunday.* In the morning read prayers, and preached, to a large and affected auditory: afterwards, I administered the blessed sacrament. Last Whitsunday, I had but thirty-six communicants: to-day, I had the comfort of counting sixty-one. It was a season of spiritual joy and refreshment. Duty is pleasant, when God is present.—In the afternoon, read prayers, and preached, to a still more crowded church than ever. Great were my strength and joy in the Lord; and the word, I verily trust, was armed with divine power. Mr. Pratt, of Dalwood, in Dorsetshire, with two other gentlemen of the same place, were here, both parts of the day.—I know not that I ever spent a more comfortable and triumphant sabbath. How is it, O thou God of love, that thy tender mercies should thus accompany and follow the vilest sinner out of hell! That, to me, who am less than the least of all saints, this grace should be given, that I should both experience and preach the unsearchable riches of Christ!

Monday, 3. Good Mr. Bampfield, of Sheldon, called on me this morning; and our conversation, though short, was chiefly on the best subjects.——Having been informed, yesterday, that Mr. Rutter, a worthy dissenting minister in Honiton, was seized, a few days ago, with the palsy, and disabled from the work of the ministry, I wrote him a letter.

December 3. *Saturday.* Mr. Bottonley, a worthy person, for whom I have a very great esteem, but who has long been an Arminian, put a paper into my hands, last night, at the Queen's Arms, after the club broke up, containing some of his chief objections to the Calvinistic scheme. It is a copy of a letter, sent by him, some time ago, to Mr. Romaine; and runs in an humble, modest style; very different from the bigotry and fury, the abuse and wilful misrepresentations, too usually found in the productions of those who pretend, amidst all, to be advocates for universal love in the Deity; but of which they seldom shew any traces in themselves.

I gave my friend the substance of my thoughts in a letter.

We have now to take notice of Mr. Toplady, as entering the polemic field; and cannot help viewing him with a mixture of love and admiration. As a writer of true genius he has given scope to his own abilities, and thought as well as read. He has carried a classical taste into subjects which have been too often treated in a dry, jejune, and insipid manner. Though the track has been beaten, he has brought out something new on every subject he has entered upon. His style was chaste, animated, simple and grand, and so varied as to suit the different topics he canvassed. He had the peculiarity of spirit to strike off glowing images, and to seize the ridicule of character. The union of strength with elegance and precision characterises his diction, and entitles him to a distinguished rank amongst theological writers.

There was a singular unhappiness attending

our author in meeting with an opponent who should have been passed by in silent pity. The person alluded to was the Rev. Mr. John Wesley, a clergyman ordained in the church of England, but whose eccentric principles, and palpable deviations from his ecclesiastical parent, and from what has been received as sound principle in Protestant churches, was a peculiar trait in his character. His popularity as an itinerant preacher, by an assiduous perseverance, procured him a considerable number of votaries, who attached themselves to him as their leader. He published several books extracted from the writings of other men, which also conduced to render him conspicuous. His understanding, strictly speaking, was but ordinary. His imagination was fertile in littleness. The reader is disturbed and disgusted by the indistinctness of his ideas, and the inconclusiveness of his reasonings, the glaring misrepresentations and the plagiarisms of his pages. His arguments have been made up of undigested materials, heterogeneous and repugnant, without either shape or form, the frivolousness of their design and application have been completely destroyed by being only set in array against each other. If a prize had been given to dulness and the most superlative conceit, this gentleman might have started with the certainty of triumph. His resentment towards those who differed from him was intense. His self-importance was astonishing, so that no reprehension given, in ever so mild a way, could instruct him.

Those who have taken a cursory review, and were unacquainted with the parties, have taken our author's energy for indignation, his spirit for invective, and his retorts for passion and outrage. We pretend not that he was impeccable, we acknowledge the ebullitions of a little subacid humour now and then, and that we find him sometimes indulging himself in a flow of witticism, which may appear to the fastidious as bordering upon levity—but what is this but light and shade reciprocally setting off each other? It should be remembered, that those small faults, if they may be called such, are more than compensated by that great solidity and depth of thought, which, like a golden vein, runs through the whole of his writings.

Controversial divinity has been held in much disrepute, by the ill informed zeal with which it has been managed by various disputants. It has often produced a spirit of opposition and rivalship. The setting up of a party, as also bigoted attachments to certain ceremonies, or particular modes of thinking. The naked simplicity of truth has been covered under the shreds and patches of declamation. The result of which has been, that the demon of discord has too often found a lace in the very sacred sanctuary, so as to break that cement that unites professing Christians to one another. It has had such a disagreeable aspect to those who have been making a serious inquiry after divine knowledge, as to promote a lassitude and indifference towards the investigation of subjects that are of everlasting importance. Therefore, while on the one hand we reprobate every idea of an unbecoming asperity in things truly trifling, and of no consequence, let it not be supposed that, because strong truths prove offensive to weak eyes, a minister ought in any degree, by a wretched, dastardly, pusillanimity, to be so disingenous as to make any apology, for not contending earnestly for that faith once delivered to the saints, though it should expose him to the uncandid virulence of habitual dissention.

Mr Toplady, though so strenuous an advocate for the essentials of Christianity, so as not to recede an iota from his principles, was notwithstanding possessed of enlarged and expanded views. His intimacy and friendship with several valuable characters in the dissenting communion, evidently evinced the generous and liberal sentiments of his breast. He expressed great esteem for those who were engaged in promoting the Redeemer's interest among mankind: how much soever they may have differed on unimportant topics, they uniformly found in him the urbanity of a gentleman, accompanied with that suavity of disposition which rendered him agreeable to all who had the happiness of his acquaintance. It was his intention, had his health permitted, to employ his pen in endeavouring to refute opinions advanced by Dr. Priestley, in his book, entitled, "Disquisitions on Matter and Spirit." Though the doctor's theological principles and his were as opposite as it were possible to conceive, we cannot help anticipating, that if such an intellectual feast had taken place, from the specimen of their correspondence, we should have seen the truest respect given, by Mr. Toplady, to a great genius, and the moral integrity of the man, without sacrificing truth, by a fulsome adulation, or for one moment countenancing those destructive tenets which degrade the person, and annihilate the work of Christ in the redemption of sinners.

In the year 1768, six students were expelled the University of Oxford; much investigation relative to the cause took place, and several pamphlets were written on the occasion. It was in some degree the means of reviving an enquiry respecting the Calvinism or Arminianism of the church of England. Had some of the persons concerned in the dispute adhered to observations and facts, it would have saved much superfluous time, in repeating what others have said again and again before them. For it is undeniable, that to be zealously attached to the Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy of the establishment, the epithet of Calvinist is certain to be prefixed to the character who espouses those doctrines. The name of any man, however highly sanctioned, should be of no avail,

in enforcing or determining the belief of any one. We know of no infallible spiritual optimist: it is to the Scriptures every appeal must be made: nevertheless, so far as Calvin, or any other venerable character appear to embrace, and ardently stand forth to maintain the unadulterated system of the gospel, we have no objection to arrange ourselves under their banners, and to follow them so far as they followed Christ.

Dr. Nowel peremptorily asserted the Arminianism of the church of England in answer to *Pietas Oxoniensis*. This called forth the pen of our author, in a treatise published in the year 1769, with the following title: "The Church of England vindicated from the Charge of Arminianism, in a Letter addressed to Dr. Nowel." He has therein shewn, by the clearest deduction of argument, unconnected with laboured sophistry, or the studied distictions of the subtilties of the declaimer, on which side the church leans.

In the same year our author published a tract in English, from the Latin of Jerom Zanchius, with this inscription, "The Doctrine of absolute Predestination stated and asserted, with a Preliminary Discourse on the Divine Attributes, accompanied with the Life of Zanchius." This piece was finished by Mr. Toplady when he was about twenty years of age, but by a modesty of disposition, bordering upon timidity, it was not announced to the public until nine years after. The translation was undertaken with a view to illustrate the principles of the reformation, and obviate objections that have been urged, that the doctrine of predestination was but partially received by those eminent men, who had then lately left the church of Rome, at the same time the principles are discussed upon Scripture premises, and in analogy with the divine attributes.

Mr. John Wesley, in a printed sheet of paper, that it might be distributed with the greater facility, endeavoured to impose on the public a few mutilated extracts from the last mentioned pamphlet, signed with the initials of our author's name; the notoriety of such a weak procedure, if it had been left unregarded, would, in time, have shewn the imbecility of the attempt, and proved that uprightness had nothing to do with Mr. Wesley or his principles. It however appeared to Mr. Toplady of consequence enough to call forth his pen on the occasion, in a letter from the press, in the year 1770, "To the reverend Mr. John Wesley, relative to his pretended Abridgment of Zanchius." A few months after, a second edition was called for, which was enlarged with a postscript to the reverend Mr. Sellon. His sentiments were manly and spirited, conveyed in a close and nervous style.

This publication was succeeded by a discourse preached at St. Ann's church, Blackfriars, entitled, "A Caveat against Unsound Doctrines." Mr. Toplady in this sermon asserts a few of the essential doctrines of revelation that were stigmatised with every opprobrium, he appeals, and avows his principles, from the confession of faith asserted in that church, of which he was a minister. To those who depreciate every system, as the composition of men, liable to prejudice and error, and may therefore advance propositions which the Bible will by no means support, he places the Scripture as the grand object, and enforces the doctrines by arguments, solid and incompressible.

Mr. Toplady here presents himself before us as a public speaker, in which situation he stood eminently distinguished. A specimen of his judgment and perspicuity, accompanied with a nobleness of sentiment and sublimity of expression, are now before the public. Never did we see a man ascend the pulpit with a more serious air, conscious of the momentous work that he was engaged in. His discourses were extemporary, delivered in the strains of true unadulterated oratory. He had a great variety of talents, such as are seldom seen united in one person: his voice was melodious and affecting; his manner of delivery and action were engaging, elegant, and easy, so as to captivate and fix the attention of every hearer. His explanations were distinct and clear; his arguments strong and forcible; and his exhortations warm and animating; his feelings were so intensely poignant, as to occasion, in some of his addresses, a flow of tears; which, as it were by a sympathetical attraction, have drawn forth a reciprocal sensibility in his auditory. He despised those rhetorical tricks, that captivate and allure the multitude, and yet so numerous have been his assemblies, that the churches where he preached in the metropolis could not contain the hearers. He had an extensive knowledge of the several avenues to the human mind, so as by a sublimity of reasoning to astonish his adversaries. He was no servile imitator of any one, a pleasing originality in his manner was peculiar to himself, and had the appearance of an immediate perception. For to discourse well, something more than learning is wanting; the happy art of expressing with facility and elegance must, in a great degree, be born with the speaker, and is the immediate gift of heaven. A man may be unacquainted with the Grecian and Roman orators, or any preceptive treatise on the subject, and yet enter into the spirit of those great originals. Notwithstanding he was possessed of whatever study and application could impart, or learning, judgment, and genius could combine, we find him estimating all human attainments as of little consequence in divine things, without the effectual agency of the Holy Spirit. It was this that cast a lustre upon his abilities, and peculiarly characterized him a minister of the New Testament. He had the pleasure to see the work of the

Lord prosper in his hands, and many souls given him, which will be his crown of rejoicing in the day of the appearance of the Lord Jesus.

In the year 1771, were published, three sermons, by Mr. Toplady, preached in his church, at Broad-Hembury, Dec. 25, 1770, two of which were entitled, "Jesus seen of Angels," and the third, "God's Mindfulness of Man." In these elegant compositions, there is a novelty of sentiment in matters of the most common discussion: the beautiful pathos with which they abound, must at once excite the notice of the most cursory reader.

The publication of these discourses was succeeded by a pamphlet, entitled, "Free Thoughts on the projected Application to Parliament, in the year 1771, for the Abolition of Ecclesiastical Subscription." Our author therein acknowledges himself a defender of subscriptions to articles of faith, and that a community has a right to demand it from those whom they invest with any office in religious concerns, as a fence for keeping principles inimical to their views from entering among them, at the same time he enters his protest, and looks upon it as a grievance, that it should be exacted from the laity, particularly, those* who take the academical degrees in law or physic, and asserts, that no body of men whatsoever has any plea to obtrude their opinions upon others. It was his uniform sentiment, that the empire of the mind is peculiar to the dominion of God, in religious concerns; that, to exercise any authority over it, in any case, or in any degree whatever, is a sacrilegious invasion of the divine prerogative, and one of the highest offences that can be committed against God and man. He was a strenuous advocate for Christian benevolence, and for the unrestrained toleration of Protestant Dissenters, with an enlargement of mind, that has a tendency to unite good men of different persuasions into one bond of union, which is the great design of the gospel of Christ.

We find our author, in the year 1772, engaged again in vindicating the principles he patronised and avowed in his translation of Zanchius, in a publication under the title, "More Work for Mr. John Wesley, or a Vindication of the Decrees and Providences of God, against a Paper called the Consequence Proved." The decrees of God, or his immanent determination respecting either angels or men, are so inscrutable, that all human researches must utterly fail, when attempting an investigation. The bounds which should circumscribe our thoughts have been most indecently leapt over, so that in endeavouring to account for the divine procedure, and to reconcile what has been supposed to carry an incongruity of principle, have lead the inquirers to canvas the indefeasible prerogative of Deity. The result of which has been, they have found themselves enveloped in a maze of contradiction, and, instead of acknowledging the ambiguity attending human reasoning on such topics, they have substituted frivolous and vexatious objections, contradicting the analogy of divine revelation. We read, that when Christ entered decisively upon the subject, in the 6th chapter of St John's gospel, some of his disciples peremptorily asserted, that "It was a hard saying," and asked, "Who can bear it?" Our Lord reiterated the doctrine to them, in the same discourse, and many of them, we are there informed, were so inveterate against him, that they left his presence, "and walked no more with him." As it was then, so has it been in every period of time. For almost every sect, however they may have disagreed upon other subjects, have unanimously coincided to explode, with a degrading menace, the doctrine of predestination. Persons of atheistical, and deistical principles, with those unacquainted with the Scriptures, have joined in one decisive adherency of opinion; not considering that the counsel of God must stand, and that he will do all his pleasure, his decrees being, like himself, immutable. Mr. Toplady, in this tract, canvasses the objections urged against God's prescience, with that acuteness of penetration, which carries a pleasing ingenuity in his explanations, clothed with a vigour of language deserving commendation.

On the 12th of May, 1772, our author was appointed to preach a visitation sermon before the clergy of the archdeaconry of Exeter, held at Columpton, which was published a few weeks after under the title "Clerical Subscription no Grievance, &c." This discourse is richly laden with evangelical treasure, we wish it were put into the hands of every candidate for the sacred ministry, on examination it will be found to contain a choice epitome of sacred truths, enforced to the conscience, by several apposite texts of Scripture, shewn to comport with the fixed principles of the church of England.

Animated at all times with a laudable ardour for the interest of the established church, he unremittingly endeavoured to retard its decay, and to restore it to its primitive principles, by bringing to appearance the excellent edifice of her doctrines, as erected on marble columns, instead of posts, crumbling to putrefaction. This is particularly exemplified by referring to a work of his in two vols. octavo, published in the year 1774, inscribed "Historic Proof of the Doctrinal Calvinism of the Church of England, &c." In these volumes, he has shewn great classical taste, splendour of erudition and critical acumen, for while he is attending to the merit of others, he is raising a monument of his own abilities. In this history he investigates the principles of many of those great worthies who

* By an act 19 Geo. III. the Dissenters are tolerated to worship God, according to their consciences, on subscribing the Scriptures instead of the Articles.

were the agents, under Divine Providence, of bringing in the dawn of the morning, into the dark abodes of barbarism and ignorance. The light they were the means of diffusing has gradually increased, and continued as it proceeded in the midst of intervening clouds, until we in our day have experienced something descriptive of its meridian brightness. To that keenness of understanding so necessary to form a true critic, he has added that perseverance of investigation, and accuracy of research, which were essential in delineating the portraits of those great characters. In the details of the extracts, and examination of their principles, he gives an immediate transcript of the feelings of his own mind, and indisputably proves the Calvinism of the church he was so zealously espoused to

In the year 1774, were published by Mr. Toplady, two sermons, one preached at St. Ann's Blackfriars, May 25th, with the inscription "Free Will and Merit fairly Examined, or Men not their own Saviours." The other was preached at the Lock Chapel, June 19, entitled, "Good News from Heaven, or the Gospel a joyful Sound," both delivered in the above year. These two discourses are a desirable acquisition to the lovers of evangelical religion and sound reasoning. The materia principles contended for are comprised in narrow limits, their connection and existence are made to appear to depend on one another. The arguments are well distinguished and arranged. The clearness and precision of the definitions are such, that every thing extraneous is thrown up, and nothing redundant retained, which is not directly adherent to the points immediately in view. The topics introduced are prosecuted with great judgment, accuracy, and caution, so as to steer clear of Arminianism on one side, and Libertinism on the other

In the beginning of the year 1774, a religious pamphlet was printed, called The Gospel Magazine; being a new series of a former work under that name, which was continued statedly. The utility of such a periodical publication must be obvious, for the contents, when executed with discernment, will be various, interesting, instructive, and entertaining, and may be easily purchased by those who have scarcely means to procure a number of books. The above journal was carried on with reputable distinction for a few years. From December 1775, to June 1776, Mr. Toplady was the editor, which enhanced the sale considerably; some of the anonymous parts he composed therein shine conspicuous. He often appeared under the modest character of Minimus. Sometimes he adopted the descriptive signature of Concionator, and a few papers with the initials of his own name. With the assistance of ingenious and learned correspondents, he continued for a time to enrich and diversify this monthly entertainment for the public.

In the year 1775, Mr. Toplady published an 8vo. vol. entitled, "The Scheme of Christian and Philosophical Necessity Asserted." In this work he appears not only as a respectable divine, but as a philosopher and a man of taste; he adopts the opinion in behalf of physical and moral necessity, and rescues the doctrine from the pretended charge of irrationality brought against it by the self-taught opinionist; he combats the notion of man's determining power, and analyses the two component principles with much ingenuity, and with a palatable mixture of science and pleasantry. He vindicates God's preterition of some of the fallen race, as a Scripture doctrine, at the same time gives his opinion from circumstances, that the far greater part of the human race, are made for endless happiness. To this tract is sub joined a dissertation concerning the sensible qualities of colour, illustrated from the celebrated Mr. Locke. Our author, in his reasonings, by a natural and easy turn, carries persuasion into the heart of the reader without fatiguing him; and though there may not be always an agreement with the peruser and writer in metaphysical or philosophical matters, he must be a very nice critic who is not much taken with many parts of it, as an uniformity of opinion on some speculative subjects is almost impossible.

It may be remembered, that during the war between Great Britain and a large part of the inhabited globe of America, that the feuds and dissensions of party were carried to a considerable extent, discussions began to take place on subjects which before were held too sacred to be entered upon. It was well known that Mr. Toplady was against those coercive measures that had taken place, and was of opinion that no plea could be set up in justification of the proceedings of this country against the colonies, which could be defended on constitutional principles. He was so explicit as to confess, that the civil rights of mankind rank next in value, dignity, and importance, to the gospel of Christ. That the good Christian, and the good Englishman, are characters perfectly compatible, and that no book is more unfavourable to the claims of arbitrary power than the Bible. His sentiments were, that if ever English liberty perish, its perdition must be owing to want of spirit and of virtue in the English. While they as a people are wise to understand, virtuous to love, and firm to defend the palladium of their own constitution, no weapon formed against it can ultimately prosper. England must be a *felo de se*, and fall by political suicide; that is, she must tamely resign her throat to the knife of despotism before it be possible for her constitutional existence to fail, and that no such degenerate miscreants may ever arise to dishonour the name and betray the rights of Britain, were his fervent wishes on many public and private occasions. As an enemy to passive obedience, and unlimited sub-

jection to civil government, he was exposed to the malicious insinuations of those, who had an ingenuity in misrepresenting his motives, and traducing his character as a Republican in principle; indeed, so ridiculously prejudiced were some of his friends, that it occasioned a suspension of that mutual endearment that apparently subsisted between them in the paths of common amities. It happened very seasonably, that an occasion presented for him to remove the obloquy that had been thrown on his character, by his being appointed to preach at St. Mildred's Church, in the Poultry, on Friday, Dec. 13, 1776; being a day which was set apart for a general fast. His text was from Phil. iv. 5. The sermon was printed the beginning of the ensuing year. In this discourse, he unequivocally delivered his political sentiments, suitable to the clerical character, expressing a sincere attachment for the English constitution, and to legal liberty, with that subjection to a mild and equitable authority, which was the result of his good sense, prudence, and moderation.

It was the infelicity of our much loved friend to have a capacious soaring mind, inclosed in a very weak and languid body; yet, this by no means retarded his intense application to study, which was often prolonged until two and three o'clock in the morning; this and the cold moist air that generally prevails in Devonshire, which is extremelypernicious to weak lungs, it is more than probable laid the foundation of a consumption, which terminated in his death. He endeavoured to exchange his living for one in a southern part of the island, but could not obtain it. As his strength and health were greatly impaired, he was advised by the faculty to remove to London, which he accordingly did in the year 1775, and notwithstanding his debilitated frame, he continued to preach a number of sermons in the churches, for the benefit of public charitable institutions.

Having no settled situation in the metropolis to preach in, and many of his friends being desirous of receiving the advantages of his ministry, they procured, by an engagement with the trustees of the French Calvinist reformed Church, in Orange-street, Leicester Fields, their chapel for divine service, on Sunday and Wednesday evenings. Mr. Toplady accordingly preached his first lecture there on Sunday, April 11th, 1776, from the 44th of Isaiah, verse the 22d. It was on that spot where he closed his ministerial labours, which continued there for the term of two years and three months. In his addresses from the pulpit in that chapel, he appeared often, as it were, divested of the body, and to be in the participation of the happiness that appertains to the invisible state. It was not the mechanical process of preaching, regulated by the caprice of the moment; what he delivered he felt, and his feelings proceeded from thoughtfulness, meditation, and experience; an experience illuminated by divine knowledge, which continued copiously increasing the nearer he approached his heavenly inheritance.

During the time of his residence at Orange-street chapel he published, in the year 1776, a collection of Psalms and Hymns, for public and private worship. The compositions are four hundred and nineteen in number; they are judiciously selected, and some of them altered, where the phraseology is exceptionable. The whole tenour of them is truly evangelical. In an excellent and sensible preface, prefixed to this manual of sacred poetry, Mr. Toplady observes, that, "with regard to the collection, he could only say, that (excepting the very few hymns of his own, which he was prevailed upon to insert), it ought to be the best that has appeared, considering the great number of volumes (no fewer than between forty and fifty), which had, more or less, contributed to the compilation." A spurious edition has been printed, but so retrenched and augmented, as to leave no resemblance to the valuable original, which is replete with the richest odours of gospel truth.

The apprehensions entertained, for some time past, by those who loved him, that his health was on the decline, began now to be confirmed. For, on Easter Sunday, the 19th of April, 1778, as he attempted to speak from Isaiah xxvi. 19. "Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise," &c. his hoarseness was so violent, that he was obliged, after naming the text, to descend from the pulpit. But so ardently abounding was he in the ministry of the word, that when the least abatement in his disorder gave him a little strength, he entered upon his delightful work with that alacrity of spirit, as if he was in a state of convalescence: when done preaching, he has been so enfeebled as to create the most exquisite sensibility in the breasts of those who have beheld him. After the above Sunday, he preached four times, and on each occasion his words were to the congregation as if he should never see them more, until he met them in the kingdom of heaven.

While this great and invaluable Christian was waiting, and earnestly desiring a dismission from the body, and having, as himself expressed, settled all his concerns, respecting both worlds, so as to have nothing to do but die, he received a shaft from a quiver unexpected. Mr. Wesley, and some of his followers, had propagated, that Mr. Toplady had receded from his former principles, and had a desire to protest against them, in the presence of Mr. Wesley. Letters from the country were sent to him, mentioning his recantation, as also some verbal intimations from those who were present, when the intelligence was given. The suggestion of such a report was certainly prematurely made on the presumption that Mr. Toplady was in such a state, that it would not be communicated to him, and if it should, that his tongue and

pen would be so torpid, as to render him unable to enter his protest against the flagitious turpitude of such a procedure. When the above transactions were rehearsed to him, it rekindled the dying embers that remained. He acquainted his physician with his intentions of going before his congregation again, and to make a solemn appeal in reference to his past and present principles, so as to counteract the baneful effects of party rage, and misrepresentation, concealed under the robe of virtue, or Christian purity. He was informed, that it would be dangerous in him to make the attempt; and, that probably he might die in the execution of it. He replied, with his usual magnanimity, "A good man once said, he would rather wear out, than rust out; and I would rather die in the harness, than die in the stall." On Sunday, June the 14th, he came from Knightsbridge, and, after a sermon by his assistant, the rev. Dr. Illingworth, he went up into the pulpit, to the inexpressible surprise of his people, and made a short, but affecting exortation, from the 2nd Epistle of Peter, chap. i. ver. 13, 14. "Yea, I think it meet, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to stir you up, by putting you in remembrance: knowing that shortly I must put off this my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ hath shewed me." When mentioning the sensible peace he was a recipient of, and the joy and consolation of the Holy Spirit, that he participated of for several months past, and the desirable expectation, that in a few days he must resign his mortal part to corruption, as a prelude to his seeing the King in his beauty; the effect this had upon his auditory cannot be described or anticipated; but must be seen and felt, to be justly related. He closed his address, respecting the purport of his coming there, in substance as follows, which was printed in a week after, entitled, "The Rev. Mr. Toplady's Dying Avowal of his Religious sentiments:"

"Whereas, some time since, a wicked, scandalous and false report was diffused, in various parts of this kingdom, by the followers of Mr. John Wesley; purporting, that I have changed some of my religious sentiments, especially such of them as relate more immediately to the doctrines of grace, I thought it my indispensible duty, on the Sunday after I received this information, which was the 13th of June last, publicly to declare myself, from the pulpit in Orange-street Chapel, to the following effect: 'It having been industriously circulated, by some malicious and unprincipled persons, that during my present long and severe illness, I expressed a strong desire of seeing Mr. John Wesley before I die, and revoking some particulars relative to him, which occur in my writings: Now, I do publicly and most solemnly aver, that I have not, nor ever had, any such intention or desire; and that I most sincerely hope my last hours will be much better employed than in conversing with such a man.' To which I added: 'so certain and so satisfied am I, of the truth of all that I have ever written; that, were I now sitting up in my dying bed, with a pen and ink in my hand, and all the religious and controversial writings I ever published (more especially those relating to Mr. John Wesley, and the Arminian controversy), whether respecting facts or doctrines, could at once be displayed to my view, I should not strike out a single line relative to him or them.'

"Matters rested thus, when I received a letter, dated July 17, 1778, from a friend who lives near a hundred miles from town, in which letter is the following passage: 'I cannot help feeling an uncommon emotion and surprise at the report that you have recanted all that you have written and said against John Wesley, and many like things; and that you declared as much, to your congregation, a few weeks ago I was told this, by two persons, who said, they were there present at the time. How am I amazed at such falshoods! The party, and name, and character, that are established by lies, have no good foundation, and therefore can never stand long.

"This determined me to publish the presen address to the religious world. I pray God to give the perfect liars grace and repentance to the acknowledgment of the truth. And may every blessing, of the upper, and of the nether springs, be the portion of those who maintain, who experience, and adorn, the glorious gospel of the grace of God!

"Should any hostile notice be taken of this paper, I do not intend to make any kind of reply. I am every day in view of dissolution And, in the fullest assurance of my eternal salvation (an assurance which has not been clouded by a single doubt, for near a year and a half last past) am waiting, looking, and longing for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"I once intended subjoining to this paper, the specific outlines of my religious sentiments; but on farther reflection, I believe it may be more expedient to refer the reader to the several * writings I have published: every one of which I do hereby, as a dying man, ratify and declare to be expressive of my real religious principles, from any one of which principles I have never varied, in the least degree, since God enlightened me into the clear knowledge of his truth; which is now within a few weeks of twenty years ago.

"I was awakened in the month of August, 1755, but not, as has been falsely reported, under Mr. John Wesley, or any preacher connected with him.

"Though awakened in 1755, I was not led

* If the reader wishes to see a doctrinal compendium of these, he will find it in a sermon of mine, entitled, "A Caveat against unsound Doctrines," every part of which I hereby avow to be declarative of my fixed and ultimate judgment.

into a full and clear view of all the doctrines of grace, till the year 1758, when, through the great goodness of God, my arminian prejudices received an effectual shock, in reading Dr. Manton's Sermons on the xviith of St. John.

"I shall remember the years 1755, and 1758, with gratitude and joy, in the heaven of heavens, to all eternity."

A. M. TOPLADY.

Knightsbridge, July 22, 1778.

We have followed this ambassador of Christ in his public character, and have now to behold him in the closing scene of life immoveable and unappalled. The doctrines of the gospel which he so sweetly accented, and which were his constant theme in the house of his pilgrimage, proved his support and comfort, when his fabric was gradually falling to dissolution. His divine master was pleased to confer a peculiar honour upon him in his last hours, by sustaining him in that trying conflict, and by giving him a view by faith of the glory that awaited him. The Psalmist's words were verified in him, That "light is sown for the righteous, and gladness for the upright in heart." How does the lustre of what men call great, and the splendid actions by which they are dazzled, appear to fade, and prove to be as illusive shadows, when we view a believer in his dying moments, felicitated in the bright and uncloaded prospect of eternal felicity!

We shall here introduce a few extracts from a small narrative, published a short time after his death. Some of his observations and remarks were, by a few persons, who were present, committed to writing, that they should not be effaced from the memory, and for the satisfaction of others.

In conversation with a gentleman of the faculty, not long before his death, he frequently disclaimed, with abhorrence, the least dependance on his own righteousness, as any cause of his justification before God, and said, that he rejoiced only in the free, complete, and everlasting salvation of God's elect by Jesus Christ, through the sanctification of the Holy Spirit. We cannot satisfy the reader more than by giving this friend's own relation of intercourse and conversation. "A remarkable jealousy was apparent in his whole conduct, for fear of receiving any part of that honour which is due to Christ alone. He desired to be nothing, and that Jesus might be all, and in all. His feelings were so very tender upon this subject, that I once undesignedly put him almost in an agony, by remarking the great loss, which the church of Christ would sustain by his death, at this particular, juncture. The utmost distress was immediately visible in his countenance and he exclaimed to this purpose: What; by my death? No! By my death? No,—Jesus Christ is able, and will, by proper instruments, defend his own truths.—And with regard to what little I have been enabled to do in this way, not to me, not to me, but to his own name, and to that only, be the glory.

"Conversing upon the subject of election, he said that God's everlasting love to his chosen people; his eternal, particular, most free, and immutable choice of them in Christ Jesus; was without the least respect to any work, or works, of righteousness, wrought, or to be wrought, or that ever should be wrought, in them or by them: for God's election does not depend upon our sanctification, but our sanctification depends upon God's election and appointment of us to everlasting life.——At another time he was so affected with a sense of God's everlasting love to his soul, that he could not refrain from bursting into tears.

"The more his bodily strength was impaired, the more vigorous, lively, and rejoicing, his mind seemed to be. From the whole tenor of his conversation during our interviews, he appeared not merely placid and serene, but he evidently possessed the fullest assurance of the most triumphant faith. He repeatedly told me, that he had not had the least shadow of a doubt, respecting his eternal salvation, for near two years past. It is no wonder, therefore, that he so earnestly longed to be dissolved and to be with Christ. His soul seemed to be constantly panting heaven-ward; and his desires increased, the nearer his dissolution approached. A short time before his death, at his request, I felt his pulse; and he desired to know what I thought of it? I told him, that his heart and arteries evidently beat (almost every day) weaker and weaker. He replied immediately with the sweetest smile upon his countenance, Why, that is a good sign, that my death is fast approaching; and, blessed be God, I can add, that my heart beats every day stronger and stronger for glory.

"A few days preceding his dissolution, I found him sitting up in his arm chair, and scarcely able to move or speak. I addressed him very softly, and asked, if his consolations continued to abound, as they had hitherto done? He quickly replied; O, my dear sir, it is impossible to describe how good God is to me. Since I have being sitting in this chair this afternoon (glory be to his name!) I have enjoyed such a season, such sweet communion with God, and such delightful manifestations of his presence with, and love to my soul, that it is impossible for words, or any language, to express them. I have had peace and joy unutterable; and I fear not, but that God's consolations and support will continue. But he immediately recollected himself, and added, What have I said? God may, to be sure, as a sovereign, hide his face and his smiles from me; however, I believe he will not; and if he should, yet still will I trust in him: I know I am safe and secure; for his love and his covenant are everlasting."

To another friend, who, in a conversation

with him upon the subject of his principles, had asked him, whether any doubt remained upon his mind respecting the truth of them; he answered; Doubt, sir, doubt! Pray, use not that word, when speaking of me. I cannot endure the term; at least, while God continues to shine upon my soul, in the gracious manner he does now: not (added he) but that I am sensible, that while, in the body, if left of Him, I am capable, through the power of temptation, of calling into question every truth of the gospel. But, that is so far from being the case, that the comforts and manifestations of his love are so abundant, as to render my state and condition the most desirable in the world. I would not exchange my condition with any one upon earth. And, with respect to my principles; those blessed truths, which I have been enabled in my poor measure to maintain, appear to me, more than ever, most gloriously indubitable. My own existence is not, to my apprehension, a greater certainty.

The same friend calling upon him a day or two before his death, he said, with hands clasped, and eyes lifted up and starting with tears of the most evident joy, O, my dear sir, I cannot tell you the comforts I feel in my soul: they are past expression. The consolations of God to such an unworthy wretch are so abundant, that he leaves me nothing to pray for, but a continuance of them. I enjoy a heaven already in my soul. My prayers are all converted into praise. Nevertheless, I do not forget, that I am still in the body, and liable to all those distressing fears, which are incident to human nature, when under temptation and without any sensible divine support. But so long as the presence of God continues with me in the degree I now enjoy it, I cannot but think that such a desponding frame is impossible. All this he spake with an emphasis, the most ardent that can be conceived.

Speaking to another particular friend upon the subject of his "dying avowal," he expressed himself thus, My dear friend, those great and glorious truths which the Lord, in rich mercy, has given me to believe, and which he has enabled me (though very feebly) to stand forth in the defence of, are not (as those, who believe not or oppose them, say) dry doctrines, or mere speculative points. No. But, being brought into practical and heart-felt experience, they are the very joy and support of my soul; and the consolations, flowing from them, carry me far above the things of time and sense. Soon afterwards he added: So far as I know my own heart, I have no desire but to be entirely passive; to live, to die, to be, to do, to suffer, whatever is God's blessed will concerning me; being perfectly satisfied, that, as he ever has, so he ever will do that which is best concerning me; and that he deals out, in number, weight and measure, whatever will conduce most to his own glory, and to the good of his people.

Another of his friends, mentioning likewise the report that was spread abroad of his recanting his former principles, he said, with some vehemence and emotion, I recant my former principles! God forbid, that I should be so vile an apostate. To which he presently added, with great apparent humility, And yet that apostate I should soon be, if I were left to myself.

To the same friend, conversing upon the subject of his sickness, he said: Sickness is no affliction; pain no curse; death itself no dissolution.

All his conversations, as he approached nearer and nearer to his decease, seemed more and more happy and heavenly. He frequently called himself the happiest man in the world. O! (says he) how this soul of mine longs to be gone! Like a bird imprisoned in a cage, it longs to take its flight. O, that I had wings like a dove, then would I flee away to the realms of bliss, and be at rest for ever! O, that some guardian angel might be commissioned; for I long to be absent from this body, and to be with my Lord for ever. Being asked by a friend, if he always enjoyed such manifestations? he answered: I cannot say, there are no intermissions; for, if there were not, my consolations would be more and greater than I could possibly bear; but, when they abate, they leave such an abiding sense of God's goodness, and of the certainty of my being fixed upon the eternal rock Christ Jesus, that my soul is still filled with peace and joy.

At another time, and indeed for many days together, he cried out, O, what a day of sun-shine has this been to me! I have not words to express it. It is unutterable. O, my friends, how good is God! almost without interruption, his presence has been with me. And then, repeating several passages of Scripture, he added, What a great thing it is to rejoice in death! Speaking of Christ, he said, His love is unutterable! He was happy in declaring, that the viiith chapter of the epistle to the Romans, from the 33d to the end of the six following verses, were the joy and comfort of his soul. Upon that portion of Scripture he often descanted with great delight, and would be frequently ejaculating, Lord Jesus! why tarriest thou so long! He sometimes said, I find as the bottles of heaven empty, they are filled again; meaning, probably, the continual comforts of grace, which he abundantly enjoyed.

When he drew near his end, he said, waking from a slumber; O, what delights! Who can fathom the joys of the third heaven? And, a little before his departure, he was blessing and praising God for continuing to him his understanding in clearness; but (added he in a rapture) for what is most of all, his abiding presence, and the shining of his love upon my soul. The sky (says he) is clear; there is no cloud: Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly!

Within the hour of his death, he called his friends and his servant, and asked them, if they could give him up? upon their answering in the affirmative, since it pleased the Lord to be so gracious to him, he replied; O, what a blessing it is, you are made willing to give me up into the hands of my dear Redeemer, and to part with me: it will not be long before God takes me; for no mortal man can live, (bursting, while he said it, into tears of joy) after the glories, which God has manifested to my soul. Soon after this he closed his eyes, and found (as Milton finely expresses it)

————A death like sleep,
A gentle wafting to immortal life.

On Tuesday August 11th, 1778, in the 38th year of his age.

While rehearsing these particulars, we cannot help laying down the pen to drop a tributary tear to the revered memory of this highly respectable minister of Jesus Christ.———— Yet a little time and all painful recollection and sensations of this kind will be at an end, we shall have no more occasion to mark the vicissitudes of human affairs, nor to reflect on the nature and mixture of all earthly enjoyments; the transient duration of mortality shall never more be experienced, for the lustre of all that is great and lovely in the human character will be absorbed in the presence and in the perfect fruition of the adorable Trinity.

On Monday, August the 17th, 1778, at four o'clock in the afternoon, his remains were brought from Knightsbridge, to Tottenham Court Chapel, to be interred. Though the time was kept as private as possible, there were notwithstanding, several thousands of persons present on the solemnity. It was his particular request that no funeral sermon should be preached, he desired to slip into the tomb unnoticed and unregarded. His soul disdained to borrow posthumous fame. He had no wish to have his memory perpetuated by those little arts and finesses so often practised; he knew that his record was on high, and that is name was written in the Lamb's Book of Life. He sought for no eulogium while living, and any panegyrics bestowed upon him when his course was run, he knew could be of no service, and that they are too often justly construed to proceed from pride, vanity, and weakness.

The Rev. Mr. Rowland Hill, prior to the burial service, could not refrain from innocently trespassing upon the solicitation of his departed friend, by addressing the multitude on the solemn occasion, and embraced the opportunity of affectionately declaring the love and veneration he felt for the deceased. The beautiful simplicity of his pathos, and the incomparably exquisite sensibility he shewed, were more than equivalent to the most studied harangue, furnished with all the trappings of meretricious ornaments. The funeral obsequies were read by Dr. Illingworth, and concluded with a suitable hymn. The casket which held this intrinsic jewel now lies entombed in the family grave of Mr. Hussey, 13 feet deep, under the gallery opposite the pulpit in the above chapel, whereon is fixed a plain stone, with only his name and age inscribed. His clay tenement rests there until the morning of the resurrection, when the trump of God, and the voice of the archangel, shall call forth his sleeping dust to join the disembodied spirit, now in the realms of bliss and glory.

The precious remains of this good man had not been long in the earth, when Mr. Wesley publicly asserted that he died blaspheming, and in the horror of despair; such unparalleled virulence of conduct undoubtedly exposed the personal enmity that rankled in Mr. Wesley's breast towards Mr. Toplady. Men have a natural propensity to divide in opinion, an aberration from the purest system may attend the path of the most cautious traveller, and no impeachment whatever may be charged upon his benignity or integrity; but when materials, or facts of an important tendency, are accessible, and these are reserved or distorted by an interested falsehood, a display of conduct so mischievous in its consequence must lose all pretensions to veracity, and be too obvious to need any comment.

Sir Richard Hill, a character of eminence, who has for many years appeared as a disinterested volunteer in behalf of evangelical religion, and whose excellent virtues have at the same time adorned his Christian profession, stood forward, unsolicited, and detected the malignant conduct of Mr. Wesley, on this occasion, in an anonymous letter in a morning paper, and in a few weeks after he addressed him again in a small pamphlet, signed with his own name, and acknowledged himself the writer of the former. As these particulars are of material consequence in this narration, we shall not make any circuitous apology for inserting them here verbatim, with only this observation, that Mr. Wesle made no reply in any way.

Copy of a Letter addressed to the Rev. John Wesley, which appeared in the General Advertiser on the eight day of October last.

Rev. Sir,

I give you this public notice, that certain persons who are your enemies, perhaps only because you keep clear of their calvinistic doctrines, have thought proper to affirm, that you and some of your preachers, have been vilifying the ashes, and traducing the memory of the late Mr. Augustus Toplady. Nay, it was even positively alleged, that you told Mr. Thomas Robinson of Hilderthorpe, near Bridlington, in Yorkshire, and the Rev. Mr. Greaves, curate to Mr. Fletcher of Madeley, that the account published concerning Mr. Toplady's

death was a gross imposition on the public; for that he died in black despair, uttering the most horrible blasphemies; and that none of his friends were permitted to see him. All which was repeated at Bridlington, by one of your preachers, whose name is Rhodes, who further compared Mr. Toplady's case to the awful one of Francis Spira; and added, "that the dreadful manner in which he died, had caused a woman who attended him to join your societies."

Now, sir, as many living, respectable witnesses can testify that Mr. Toplady departed this life in the full triumph of faith, and that the account published to the world of the state of soul he was in during his long illness, and at the hour of dissolution, was strictly and literally a true one, you are earnestly requested, for the satisfaction of your friends, thus publicly to assure the world, that you never advanced any thing of this sort to Mr. Robinson, Mr. Greaves, or to any other person; or else that you will produce your authority for your assertions; otherwise, it is to be feared, that your own character will suffer much, for having vented a most gross, malicious falsehood against a dead man who cannot answer for himself, in order to support your own cause and party."

I am, Rev. Sir,

Your sincere well wisher,

VERITAS.

Letter to the Rev. Mr. John Wesley.

Hawkstone, Nov. 29, 1779.

Rev. Sir,

The cause of my thus publicly addressing you, is owing to an information I received that you wished to know who was the author of a letter which appeared in the General Advertiser, on Friday the 8th of October last, wherein were some queries put to you concerning certain reports which it was supposed you had spread, relative to the illness and death of the late Mr. Augustus Toplady. I was further given to understand, that you had declared your intention of answering that letter, if the writer would annex his name to it. This being the case, though no names can at all alter facts, yet as I really wish to be rightly informed myself, and as the reports which have been propagated about Mr. Toplady have much staggered and grieved many serious Christians, I now (under my real signature) beg with all plainness, and with no other design than that the real truth may be known, again to propound those questions to you which were put in that letter, of which I confess myself to have been the sole author. And as I hear you have been pleased to call the letter a scurrilous one, I should be glad if you would point out to me wherein that scurrility consists; for though it was anonymous, I am not in the least conscious that there was any thing in it unbecoming that respect which might be due to a gentleman of your venerable age and function; and when you have shewn me wherein I have been culpable, I shall then readily and submissively ask your pardon. The letter itself I shall annex to this. The queries contained in it may be reduced to the following.

1*st.* Did you, sir, or did you not tell Mr. Thomas Robinson, of Hilderthorpe, near Bridlington in Yorkshire, that Mr. Toplady died in black despair, blaspheming; and that a greater imposition never was imposed on the public than that published by his friends relative to his death?

2*dly.* Did you ever tell the same in substance to the Rev. Mr. Greaves,* curate to Mr. Fletcher of Madely, or to any other person?

3*dly.* Did you, or did you not say, that none of Mr. Toplady's friends were permitted to see him during his illness?

I now beg leave to tell you, that the cause of my offering these queries to you was owing to the following letter, which I received just before, from a kind friend, and worthy minister of the gospel at Burlington (or Bridlington) in Yorkshire:

"Honoured and dear friend,

"Grace, mercy and peace be multiplied unto you from the Father, and from Jesus Christ, by the blessed Spirit. On the 21st day of August, 1779, I received from Mr. Thomas Robinson, of Hilderthrope, the following awful, and no less shocking, account respecting the death of Mr. Toplady. He said, Mr. J. Wesley told him, that Mr. Toplady died in black despair, blaspheming; and that a greater imposition was never imposed on the public, than that published by his friends relative to his death. He added also, that none of his friends were permitted to see him in his illness; and that one of Mr. John Wesley's preachers, whose name is Rhodes, did on the 20th instant, declare, that Mr. Toplaly's case was equal to that of Francis Spira; and that the servant who waited upon him did, after his death, join Mr. Wesley's societies, signifying that there was something very awful.† Now, dear Sir, as I know nobody more capable of giving me some satisfation respecting this heart-affecting report than what you are; please to excuse the liberty I have taken in troubling you; wishing and beseeching you, to give me if you can, a true account of this gloomy story, and you will very much oblige one who wishes you the peaceable enjoyment of every temporal and spiritual good. Believing, nevertheless,

* I hope this worthy gentleman, for whom I profess a sincere esteem, will pardon my having introduced his name without asking his permission.

† I cannot believe so ill of Mr. Rhodes, as to suppose he himself invented this horrid tale. He best knows whence he had it. But Mr. Wesley and he being at Burlington about the same time, there is reason to suppose he received it from the same quarter Mr. T. Robinson did.

that the foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, the Lord knoweth them that are his. The redeemed of the Lord shall return and come with singing unto Zion, &c.

" Dear Sir, believe me to be
your sincere, affectionate friend,
and humble servant, in the gospel of
Christ Jesus our Lord,
J. GAWKRODGER."

Bridlington, August 30, 1779.

Methinks, sir, this letter breathes the language of real Christianity, and of a heart deeply concerned and interested in the welfare of one from whose works I know, that Mr. G. had received the highest delight and satisfaction. He had read the account of Mr. Toplady's illness and death; he rejoiced to see the doctrines of the gospel confirmed and established in the experience of that eminent servant of Jesus Christ; and his own heart found strong consolation whilst he meditated on the triumphant victory which his late brother in the ministry had obtained over the king of terrors, through faith in our glorious Immanuel.

Amidst these views and meditations, he is told, by a pious friend and neighbour of his, that Mr. John Wesley had assured him, "that Mr. Toplady died blaspheming, in black despair; that none of his friends were permitted to see him in his illness; and that the account of his death, published by his friends, was a gross imposition on the public; and that a preacher of Mr. Wesley's had moreover asserted the same, with this farther circumstance, that the person who attended Mr. Toplady in his illness, struck with horror at his awful departure, had joined the methodists."

Overwhelmed with grief and amazement at this declaration, and the authority produced in defence of it (an authority which he dares not call in question), he writes to me to be farther informed of the matter. Upon the receipt of this letter, I thought it best to go to the fountain head, in order to investigate the truth, and therefore called upon you, in the public papers, to know whether you did, or did not, assert the things which are charged upon you. If you did not assert them, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Greaves, and several other persons, have treated you in a manner the most injurious, by making use of the sanction of your name for the propagation of a most wicked and malicious lie. If you did assert them, either you had, or had not, authority for your assertions; if you had no authority, then you, yourself, must have been the inventor of them. If you had authority, then you must know whence that authority came. In order, therefore, to exculpate your own character before the world, be pleased now to name that authority. Tell us how you became so well acquainted with what passed in Mr. Toplady's sick chamber, and on his dying-bed, when even his most dear and intimate friends were not permitted to see him? Did his nurse, Mrs. Sterling, who attended him, and was with him when he died, communicate this intelligence? I hear she has called upon you on purpose to vindicate herself from the charge of any such assertion; and is ready to declare to all the world, that throughout Mr. Toplady's long illness, to the hour of his dissolution, prayer and praise, joy and triumph in the God of his salvation, were the continual employment of his lips and heart. But as your conduct will probably make one of the many friends who were permitted to see Mr. Toplady in his illness think it necessary to give the public some farther particulars relative to the state of his soul in that trying season; I shall only, in this place, present you with a short abstract, from a letter which I received from a worthy clergyman, a friend of Mr. Toplady's, soon after his departure; his words are as follow:

" You will be pleased with the two following remarks made by Mr. Toplady, not long before his death: ' To a person interested in the salvation of Christ, sickness is no disease, pain no affliction, death no dissolution.' The other was an answer to Doctor Gifford, in consequence of the Doctor's expressing hopes that Mr. Toplady might recover, and be again useful. Mr. Toplady heard what his friend had to say, and then expressed himself nearly in the following words: 'I believe God never gave such manifestations of his love to any creature, and suffered him to live.' "—Thus far, my friend.

We can now look to no other source whence these reports may have flowed, than to the most deliberate malice of Mr. Toplady's avowed foes, among whom, notwithstanding your continual preaching about " love, love; peace, peace, my brethren," I fear you are chief. Till therefore you produce your authority for what you told Mr. Thomas Robinson and others, I have full right, nay, I am absolutely necessitated to fix upon you, rev. sir, as the raiser, and fabricator of this most nefarious report; which I cannot look upon merely as a common falsity, but as a malicious attempt to invalidate and set aside the testimony which God, the eternal Spirit himself, was pleased to bear to his own truth, and to his own work, upon the heart of a dying believer; and even turn that testimony into the blasphemies of Satan. And in this view of it, how far short it falls of the unpardonable sin against the Holy Ghost, must be left to your awful consideration.

When one Jane Cowper, a person belonging to your societies, died, you were ready enough to give your imprimatur and recommendation to every wild flight of fancy she uttered, as " all strong sterling sense, strictly agreeable to sound reason." " Here, (says Mr. Wesley in his preface) are no extravagant flights, no mystic reveries, no unscriptural enthusiasm The sentiments are all just and noble." The cause is plain. The Lord (it seems) had pro

mised this Jane Cowper, "that Mr. J. Wesley's latter works should exceed his former," therefore she must be canonized;* but Mr. Toplady, in his dying avowal, had borne his open testimony both against Mr. Wesley and his principles, therefore, "the devil himself could not have invented any thing worse than what he had uttered," and he must be sent blaspheming and despairing into the bottomless pit. Behold! Sir, what self partiality and a desire to make known your own importance leads you to. The like spirit runs throughout all your publications, whether sermons, journals, appeals, preservatives, Arminian magazines, &c. &c. in all of which, it is too evident, that the grand design in view is that of trumpeting forth your own praises. Tedious and fulsome as this appears in the eyes of men of sense and judgment, yet a gentleman of Mr. Wesley's cunning and subtlety can, hence, suck no small advantage, as there are multitudes amongst your own people who, through a blind attachment to your person, and a no less blind zeal to promote your interests, look upon it as perfectly right and proper; and are at all times, and upon all occasions, ready to pay the most implicit obedience to your *ipse dixits*, and to believe, or disbelieve, just as you would have them. But I have nothing to do with such bigots: to endeavour to open their eyes, by argument, would be as vain as to attempt to wash the Æthiopian white, or to change the leopard's spots. There are, however, many persons of good sense and true piety in your societies, who, in spite of all your artifices, begin to form a judgment of you according to facts. It is for the benefit of such persons, as well as to vindicate the memory of a departed saint from your foul aspersions, that you are presented with this epistle; though I confess I was some time before I could bring myself to write or print it. I considered, that a misjudging, prejudiced world would be happy to take advantage from its contents, and to cry "There, there, so would we have it;" "the methodists† are all fallen together by the ears, and are discharging their artillery at one another." I considered again, that as to expose you was not my motive, so to bring you to any submission was never in human power. I had well nigh resolved to be silent. On the other hand, I perceived that the sealing testimony which God vouchsafed to his own truths in the experience of Mr. Toplady, during his illness, and at the time of his death, was not only denied by you, but even construed into a gross imposition of his friends to deceive the public, and thereby the good effects which might justly have been hoped for were in great measure counteracted; that his enemies were hardened against the truths he maintained and so ably vindicated; and even his friends staggered by the shocking accounts forged and propagated: I say, when I saw this to be the case, I determined (to adopt an expression of your own) to "write and print." I said, Let God be true, and every man a liar. If you make no reply, I cannot avoid construing your silence into an acquiescence of your being guilty of the matter brought against you. If you do "write and print" in answer, let me beg you, for once, to avoid quibbles and evasions.

I am, rev. sir,
Your sincere well wisher, &c.
and most humble servant,

RICHARD HILL.

"We whose names are underwritten are willing to testify upon oath, if required, that all the particulars published to the world in the late Memoirs, relative to the illness and death of the late rev. Augustus Montague Toplady, are strictly true; we ourselves having been eye and ear witnesses of the same. And therefore we all heartily join the author of the foregoing letters, in calling upon Mr. John Wesley, to produce his authority for what he told to Mr. Thomas Robinson of Hilderthorp, the rev. Mr. Greaves, and others, as specified in the letter.

Andrew Gifford, D.D. British Museum.
John Ryland, senior, Northampton.
* Thomas Evans, Apothecary, Knightsbridge.
William Abington, Beaufort-buildings, Strand.
Thomas Hough, Surgeon, 3, Coventry-street.
William Cowley, Barbican.
John Cole, Upper Seymore-street, Portman-sq.
Thomas Jarvis, Charing-cross.
Thomas Burgess, Mill-street, Hanover-square.
William Hussey, } Coventry-street.
Susannah Hussey, }
† Elizabeth Sterling, Nurse.
James Matthews, No. 18, Strand.

It would be an unpardonable omission, not to take notice of the nervous reprehension Mr. Wesley received on his unjust assertions, by a pious dissenting minister, who expostulated with him, in a pamphlet, in the following

* Notwithstanding this young woman might, in some instances, be under the influence of a spirit of enthusiasm, yet far be it from me to affirm, that the whole of her experience was a delusion. On the contrary, I am persuaded she was a sincere, devoted Christian, and believe that she is now in heaven.

† I observed, upon a former occasion, that the name of Methodist, as it is indiscriminately given by way of reproach to all who have more zeal for religion than is consistent with the fashion of the times, I have no desire to shake off; on the contrary, I would glory in it as the badge which every real Christian is allotted to wear; and I would pray that I might deserve it much more than I do. But as it conveys the idea of an attachment to the tenets of Mr. Wesley, in opposition to the word of God and to the doctrines of all the Protestant Churches, that of this nation in particular; in this view of it, I desire totally to renounce it.

* Mr. Evans attended Mr. Toplady the whole time of his last illness until his death.

† Mrs. Elizabeth Sterling was the only nurse who attended Mr. Toplady until his death, and of course must be the person falsely charged by Mr. Wesley, to have joined his societies in consequence of his (Mr. Toplady's) awful departure. A charge equally false with all Mr. Wesley's other assertions.

words:* Mr. Wesley, and his confederates, to whom this letter is addressed, did not only persecute the late Mr. Toplady during his life, but even sprinkled his death-bed with abominable falsehood. It was given out, in most of Mr. Wesley's societies, both far and near, that the worthy man had recanted and disowned the doctrines of sovereign grace, which obliged him, though struggling with death, to appear in the pulpit, emaciated as he was, and openly avow the doctrines he had preached, as the soul support of his departing spirit. Wretched must that cause be, which has need to be supported by such unmanly shifts, and seek for shelter under such disingenuous subterfuges. O! Mr. Wesley, answer for this conduct at the bar of the supreme. Judge yourself, and you shall not be judged. Dare you also to persuade your followers, that Mr. Toplady actually died in despair? Fie upon sanctified slander! Fie! fie!"

We here subjoin a copy of the last Will and Testament of Mr. Toplady, ratified six months prior to his decease.

In the name of God, Amen. I, Augustus Montague Toplady, Clerk, Batchelor of Arts, and vicar of the Parish and Parish-church of Broad-Hembury, in the county of Devon, and diocese of Exeter; being mindful of my mortality, (though at present in a competent state of bodily health, and of perfect mind and memory) do make and declare this my last will and testament (all written with my own hand, and consisting of three folio pages), this twenty-eighth day of Feburary, in the year of our Lord, One Thousand, Seven Hundred and Seventy eight, in manner and form following: That is to say, First: I most humbly commit my soul to the hands of Almighty God; whom I know, and have long experinced to be my ever-gracious and infinitely merciful Father. Nor have I the least doubt of my election, justification, and eternal happiness, through the riches of his everlasting and unchangeable kindness to me in Christ Jesus his co-equal Son; my only, my assured, and my all-sufficient Saviour: washed in whose propitiatory blood, and clothed with whose imputed righteousness, I trust to stand perfect and sinless and complete, and do verily believe that I most certainly shall so stand, in the hour of death, and in the kingdom of heaven, and at the last judgment, and in the ultimate state of endless glory. Neither can I write this my last will without rendering the deepest, the most solemn, and the most ardent thanks, to the adorable Trinity in Unity, for their eternal, unmerited, irreversible, and inexhaustible love to me a sinner. I bless God the Father, for having written, from everlasting, my unworthy name in the Book of Life; even for appointing me to obtain salvation, through Jesus Christ my Lord. I adore God the Son, for his having vouchsafed to redeem me by his own most precious death; and for having obeyed the whole law for my justification. I admire and revere the gracious benignity of God the Holy Ghost, who converted me, to the saving knowledge of Christ, more than two-and-twenty years ago, and whose enlightening, supporting, comforting, and sanctifying agency is, and (I doubt not) will be, my strength and my song, in the house of my earthly pilgrimage. Secondly: As to my body, I will and desire it may be interred in my chancel, within the parish church of Broad Hembury, aforesaid, if I should be in Devonshire, or near to that county at the time of my death. But, in case I die at, or in the neighbourhood of, London; or at any other considerable distance from Devonshire; let the place of my interment be wheresoever my executor (hereinafter named) shall choose and appoint; unless, in writing or by word of mouth, I should hereafter signify any particular spot for my place of burial. Thirdly: Let me be buried where I may, my express will and desire is, that my grave be dug to the depth of nine feet, at the very least, from the surface of the ground; or (which would be still more agreeable to my will and desire) to the depth of twelve feet, if the nature of the soil should admit of it. I earnestly request my executor to see to the performance of this article, with particular care and exactness. Fourthly: My express will is, that my funeral expenses may not, if possible, exceed the sum of twenty pounds sterling. Let no company be invited to my burial. Let no rings, scarves, hat-bands, or mourning of any kind, be distributed. Let no funeral sermon be preached. Let no monument be erected.* Fifthly: whatsoever worldly substance and effects I shall die possessed of; and whatsoever worldly substance and effects I may be entitled to, before, at, or after, the time of my decease; whether money, plate, china, books, coins and medals, paintings, linen, clothes, furniture, and all other effects, of whatsoever kind, and to what amount soever, whether in town or country, at home or abroad; together with all arrears, and dues, of every sort; I do, hereby, give and bequeath the whole and every of them (excepting only such single sum as shall be herein-afterwards distinctly named and otherways disposed of) to my valuable and valued friend Mr. William Hussey, china and glass-dealer of Coventry-street, in the county of Middlesex, and parish of St. James, in the Liberty of Westminster; and who [viz. the said

* See a tract, entitled, "The Foundry Budget Opened," printed for Johnson, 1780, by the reverend Mr. Macgowan, author of the Shaver, Death a Vision, &c. &c.

* Some part of this was altered by his own verbal direction.

Mr. William Hussey] when not resident in town is likewise of Kensington-Gore, in the said county of Middlesex, and parish of St. Margaret, Westminster. And I do hereby nominate, constitute, and appoint him, the said William Hussey, the whole and sole executor of this my last will and testament, and my whole and sole residuary legatee. Sixthly: My will is, that my effects, so left and bequeathed, as above-said, to the aforenamed William Hussey, shall be, and hereby are, charged with the payment of the clear and neat sum of one hundred and five pounds, good and lawful money of Great Britain, to Elizabeth Sterling, now or late of Snow's-Fields, in or near the Borough of Southwark in the county of Surrey, spinster. Which said sum of one hundred and five pounds lawful money of Great Britain, as aforesaid, I will and desire may be paid, clear and free of all deduction whatever, to the said Elizabeth Sterling, by my before named executor, Mr. William Hussey, within three months, at farthest after my decease; for and in consideration of the long and faithful services, rendered by her, the said Elizabeth Sterling, to my late dear and honoured mother of ever-loved and revered memory. Seventhly: Let all my manuscripts of what kind soever (I mean, all manuscripts of and in my own hand-writing,) be consumed by fire, within one week after my interment.* Eighthly: Whereas, it may seem mysterious, that I leave and bequeath no testamentary memorial of my regard to any of my own relations, whether by blood or by alliance, and whether related to me by my father's side or by my mother's, it may be proper just to hint my reasons. In the first place, I am greatly mistaken, if all my own relations be not superior to me, in point of worldly circumstances. And, secondly, as my said relations are rather numerous, I deem myself more than justified in passing them all by, and in not singling out one, or a few, in preference to the rest; especially seeing my good wishes are impartially divided among them all. Ninthly: With respect to many most valued and honoured persons, whose intimacy and friendship have so highly contributed to the happiness of my life, though not related to me by any family tie; these I likewise omit, as legatees, First, because they are, in general, abundantly richer than myself; and, Secondly, because they too are so extremely numerous, both in town and country, that it is absolutely out of my power to bequeath, to each and every one of them, a substantial or very valuable memento of the respectful love which I bear to them in Christ our common Saviour! and to distinguish only some of them by legacies, might carry an implication of ingratitude to the rest.—In testimony of all which premises, (and at the same time, utterly revoking, cancelling, annulling, and rescinding every and all other will or wills by me heretofore made) I hereunto set my hand and seal, the day and year first above written, viz. Saturday, the twenty eighth day of February; and in the year of our Lord, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-eight; and of the reign of his majesty, king George the Third, the eighteenth year.

AUGUSTUS MONTAGUE TOPLADY. (L. S.)

Signed, declared, and published, as and for the last will and testament of him, the said Augustus Montague Toplady, in the presence of us, who subscribe our names in the testator's presence, and at his request.

JOHN BERNARD JUNTHER,
THOMAS WILKS.

We have now exhibited with much diffidence the outlines of the distinguished character of him who is the subject of these Memoirs, without any view either directly or obliquely, to set up or varnish the hypothesis, or the dogmas of a party. We have no connection whatever with any religious department. There is only one Master unto whom we bow and acknowledge implict obedience, and unto whose doctrine and discipline we profess a cordial attachment. The religion of Jesus Christ we take up as the only solid basis of truth, our guide and comfort through this world, our hope and support in death, and our felicity in an immortal state, to which we are hastening.

In order to rescue from oblivion the following small fragment which necessarily attends the destiny of some fugitive Pieces, and at the particular solicitations of a few friends, this Elegiac Poem on the death of Mr. Toplady, written by Mr. John Fellows, is inserted.

DESCEND, ye shining seraphs from on high!
Ye, who with wonder and with praise survey
The great Redeemer's love to fallen man;
Ye, who with ceaseless songs surround the throne
Of filial Godhead, basking in the blaze
Of boundless glory; ye, who burn with love
To all the saints; and have, at Christ's command,
Oft join'd in bright assemblage, and come down
From heaven's high summit turo' these lower skies,
To bear his sons triumphant to his throne,
Descend! and in full legion aid the flight
Of a fair saint, who now rejoicing lies
On death's cold verge: who, in his God's embrace,
Smiling resigns his mortal breath, and stands
On love's strong pinions ready to ascend.
Salvation to the Lamb who once was slain!
Dominion, glory, majesty, and praise!
Unerring wisdom shines, and boundless might
In all his deeds. By his almighty power
He hath disarm'd the monster of his sting,
The tyrant death is now a conquer'd foe.
Wide as the sound of mighty seas, let all
The heavenly multitudes begin the song.
Let all the skies with hallelujahs ring:
And each angelic harp resound his praise.

Thus, as AUGUSTUS yielded up his breath
And smiling sank into his Saviour's arms,
His guardian angel sang. Meanwhile a train

* This was revoked by his own desire, and left to the discretion of his executor.

Of mighty cherubs, by heaven's King's command,
Assembled, wait the signal to descend,
And bring the saint in triumph thro' the skies.
Michael, the chief of the angelic hosts,
With Gabriel, the fast friend of all the heirs
Of glory, now commanded: The glad chiefs
Prepare their trophies, and with heavenly pomp,
Worthy the great occasion, swift descend
Thro' the pure ether. All the shining train,
With strong immortal pinions, cleave the skies.
Michael, the prince, before the troop descends,
Exulting thus to friendly Gabriel spake:

MICHAEL.

Gabriel, behold with what ecstatic joy
Our favour'd train receive the high command
To fetch AUGUSTUS to the climes of bliss!
With eager haste each cherubim proceeds;
Fix'd to the chariot stand the steeds of fire,
Which beat with burning hoofs the sounding plain,
And snorting toss on high their beamy heads
Reluctant to the rein. The fervid wheels
Instinct with spirit, and with love inspir'd,
Burn for the course. Each cherub waves his shield,
And claps his wings, impatient of delay.

GABRIEL.

If any thing can add to heavenly bliss,
Or give new relish to the boundless joys
We feel in doing our great Maker's will,
It is the holy pleasure which expands
Our glowing hearts, when from the lower world
We bear on high Immanuel's ransom'd sons,
The chosen objects of his early love:
But when we bring to his eternal hill
Those who have labour'd in his righteous cause,
And have each glorious gospel truth maintain'd
Against the rage of Zion's numerous foes,
Our joys are greater: and these earthly stars
We bear to heavenly heights and set to shine
In brighter skies. But see, the signal made
For our departure! Down the steep of heaven
As swift as light, ye legions bear away!

MICHAEL.

Here! this ways lies our course! Behold yon star
Which feebly glimmers thro' the distant void;
And scarce to angels' sight appears in view.
This is the sun that fills the lower skies
With light and heat; and hath, successive years,
Pour'd from his burning throne the blazing day
Which cheers the world where the Redeemer bled.
A world where horrid guilt outrageous reigns,
And black rebellion seeks to storm the skies:
Where haughty man, the lord of all the globe,
Presumes with daring insolence t' arraign
The conduct of his Maker; break his law,
And disbelieve his word. A world where hell's
Black horrid king in ceaseless tumult reigns,
Fomenting rage, and cruelty, and war,
In all their horrid forms; and every vice
So hateful and abhorr'd that heavenly lips
Disdain to mention; but for this devote
To ample vengeance, at th' appointed day
When she shall burn by heaven's awakened ire,
And God in thunder vindicate his law.

GABRIEL.

Yet in this world, such is the sovereign will
Of heaven's dread Monarch, and his high decree,
The sons of grace and heirs of glory dwell.
Here they are kept at distance from his throne,
And from surrounding evils safe preserv'd
By powerful grace; and here they undergo
Such discipline as trains them for the skies.
On their account it is that vengeance stays,
And heaven's rich blessings crown this wicked world
In wide profusion. When the last of all
The ransom'd race hath pass'd the gates of death,
Almighty vengeance, like a flood, will burst
From heaven's high throne, and wrap the world in fire.

MICHAEL.

These are the objects of his choice regard
Whom the bright natives of the sky adore,
Who once was dead, but lives and reigns for ever.
He keeps them in his eye; his power supports
In every trouble. At the hour of death
His arms receive them; and his guards he sends
In shining squadrons, his cherubic guards,
To fetch them to his throne.

GABRIEL.

This is the cause,
The joyful cause which wings our present flight
Nor is a common saint our precious charge;
But one whose love and labours well are known
On heavenly ground. How often have his prayers
Ardent ascended thro' thick night, and burn'd
Like grateful incense, which heaven's King receiv'd
With pleasing smiles which bright'ned all the sky.

MICHAEL.

How oft amongst the happy sons of light,
Hath the Redeemer spoke his servant's praise;
And, smiling, held him up to heavenly view,
As a defender of his righteous cause!
Mention'd his labours, and his holy zeal
With approbation; and enjoin'd the throng
Of listening cherubs to adorn their harps
With flowery garlands, and prepare new songs
Against the joyful, th' appointed day
Which brings him to the skies!

GABRIEL.

How oft with joy
And holy wonder hath the ardent train
Of warrior angels, when from earth's low plains
They brought some precious saint to heavenly heights
And taught their unfledg'd wings to scale the skies,
Heard them relate, how from their native night
And heavy slumber on the brink of hell,
They were awoke to see their dreadful state,
And sue for mercy, by the mighty power
Of sovereign grace, which to their hearts apply'd
Some powerful portion dropping from the lips
Of that dear servant of the Lord, who now
Demands the care of our surrounding shields,
Our wiftest pinions and our sweetest songs!

MICHAEL.

And with what transport have we often heard,
As we ascended thro' the trackless void
With some fair charge, how the Redeemer's love
Was first display'd to cheer their drooping hearts
By some sweet words which heavenly power apply'd,
Warm from the heart and flowing from the lips
Of this dear man! How have the saints been warn'd
Not to erect their building on the sand,
But on th' eternal Rock, which all hell's powers
Can never shake! How have their doubts been clear'd
By the full blaze of heavenly truth! How were
Their minds enlighten'd, comforted, upheld
By his instructions! With what fervent praise
Have they approach'd the great Redeemer's throne,
And, safe on heavenly ground, have bless'd the day
When first they sat attentive at his feet
And heard his words!

GABRIEL.

'Tis true, he was indeed
A burning and a shining light; set up
By heavenly power to lead the ransom'd race
Safe thro' the darkness which o'ershades the land.
The heights of science in his youth he gain'd,
And with a rapid course explor'd the' extent
Of learning's province. Then, by powerful grace,
Call'd out, and to his Saviour's vineyard sent,
His ardent soul, inspir'd with love divine,
Pour'd all her faculties and all her strength
Into the noble work; and all her powers
Burn'd to display a bleeding Saviour's love,
And teach a wond'ring world Immanuel's praise.

MICHAEL.

The great Redeemer's glories to reveal,
And make the saints more ready to embrace
A free salvation, 'twas his constant care
To shew the wretched state of native man.
How from the bitter fountain of the fall,
In every stream, the dire pollution runs.
Corrupt and wicked all the rising race
Of Adam stands. Not one but in his heart
Dares to withstand his Maker's sov'reign will,
And all his father in his soul rebels.
For this devote to death each sinner stands
And heavy vengeance hangs o'er all the race;
Which none escape but thro' a Saviour's blood.

GABRIEL.

But with what holy extasy and joy
Did wond'ring crowds hang on the precious lips,

Of the dear saint for whom we now descend;
While in his powerful, soul-affecting strain
The great Redeemer in full glory rose!
How glow'd each heart with joy while he display'd
His glorious person, his amazing love,
His great salvation, his victorious deeds,
And pardon preach'd to sinners through his blood.

MICHAEL.

How did the skies with acclamations ring,
When new ascended souls, on heavenly plains,
Beneath the trees of life, were heard to relate
To listening angels, in what powerful strain
He spake the glories of th' incarnate God;
And the exalted Lord of life display'd
In the full blaze of Deity supreme!
Ador'd, as such, by all the happy throng
Of saints and angels, while he fills the skies
With boundless glory.—Hence, ye impious throng!
Whose darken'd minds and eyes unus'd to light,
Ache at the glories of the Son of God.
Ye, whose bold pride presumes such daring heights
As would degrade the sovereign of the skies;
And will not worship at the glorious throne
Where every bright archangel veils his face,
And falls with deepest reverence. But, vain man
Would fain be wise; and in his native filth
Boldly rush in where angels dare not tread,
And make a god himself can comprehend!

GABRIEL.

And with what clearness did the pious saint,
Whose voice on earth will now be heard no more,
Display the glories and the mighty power
Of sovereign Grace! Not by the will of man,
He plainly shew'd, but the all-conquering might
Of God the Spirit, is each sinner call'd.
'Tis his resistless power that first begins,
Maintains, and, thro' each stage, he carries on
The noble work; prevailing o'er the filth
Of ruin'd nature, 'till it stand complete,
In heavenly glory. All the ransom'd race,
Safe-guided thro' the wilderness, shall find
Their Father's house. Not one of all the train
Shall ever perish. All the powers of hell,
Tho' all their rage unite against one saint,
Can never pluck him from his Saviour's arms.
But sinful man, such is his native pride,
Would fain be sharer in this noble work;
Of his own doings a proud structure raise,
And from its summit boldly mount the skies.
But heaven, with anger, views the impious toil
Of all such builders; mocks their vain attempts,
O'erturns their boasted fabrics, in its ire,
"And buries madmen in the heaps they raise."

MICHAEL.

How great the folly of mistaken man,
To think his works are worthy to appear
On heavenly ground! Who hopes to share the praise
Of his salvation; and with dirty feet
Would dare pollute the bright transparent stream
Of love divine; which, from th' eternal throne,
Flows pure and clear, and in this lower world
Streams like a fountain thro' a Saviour's blood.
But will not with the muddy waters mix
Which rise from nature's fountain.

GABRIEL.

Whether pride,
Or stupid folly in mistaken man,
Most calls for censure, is a puzzling question
No angel can resolve. How much of each
They all betray, when they presume to rise
Against the glories of a sovereign God,
Who sits enthron'd, amidst the boundless blaze
Of uncreated brightness and that light
No mortal can behold! He from his throne,
At one vast comprehensive view, beholds
The universe, and all created things,
Past, present, and to come. How oft have we
And all the heavenly multitude, retir'd
With trembling awe, while the eternal King
Hath in surrounding darkness veil'd his throne;
And not the tall archangel durst presume
To pry into the secrets of his reign!
But man, vain man! can boldly dare to blame,
Oppose and contradict his high decree:
In his own narrow limits would confine
Eternal love, nor give heaven's Sovereign leave
To choose amongst his creatures whom he will,
And bring the happy objects of his choice
Safe to his throne by his almighty power,
Because proud man can see no reason why.

MICHAEL.

But see the world, to which we wing our way,
Appears in view. Behold the clouded spheres
Of earth and water form'd. The darker parts
Are spacious seas; the lighter solid land,
The seat of man. See, in triangular form
Great Britain rise, and swell upon the sight.
Here, in full peace, the heirs of glory dwell,
And sit beneath the gospel's joyful sound.
And from this favour'd land each day we bring
Numbers of shining saints, and bear on high,
To people all the skies.

GABRIEL.

What cause for praise
Hath every native of this happy land!
Happy! thrice happy! knew they how to prize
Each precious privilege which they enjoy,
Since their deliverance from th' oppressive power
And purple tyranny of haughty Rome.
But, cold and careless grown, they sit supine,
And her ungrateful sons behold the place,
Without emotion, where their fathers bled:
And, fearless now, they with the serpent play,
Ey whose deceitful wiles, and bloody rage,
A world hath smarted.

MICHAEL.

See, the tools of Rome
With demons join'd, how cunningly they bide
Their base designs! How, in the dark, they work,
And on unwary and unstable minds
Too much prevail; while, like a lamb they paint
The papal monarch! But if once he rear
His bloody standard, this revolted land
Will hear him like a dreadful lion roar:
And late, by sad experience, will be taught
That the old dragon has not lost his sting.

GABRIEL.

And now to bring about her base designs,
See, how the fraud of Rome hath undermin'd
The British counsels! For the land declines
In strength and glory, while the sword of war
She hath, by madness urg'd, and cruel rage,
In her own bowels plung'd.*

MICHAEL.

But see, we stand
On earthly ground, and at our journey's end.
Just rising from the frozen arms of death,
And from the change of matter now broke loose
Our charge appears. His guardian angel smiles
To see our squadron. Not unknown, he views
Each cherub's features; and presumes the cause
For which we left the skies.

GUARDIAN ANGEL.

Hail! ye bright train
Of happy angels! Welcome to the land
Where great Immanuel trains his chosen sons
For boundless glory! And, when fit to rise,
Having perform'd his holy work and will,
Sends his bright guards to bear them to his throne.
Such is the cause which brings you now from heaven,
With ardent joy I your assembly join,
And to your care commit my precious charge,
Who burns with heavenly love, and longs to rise
With you to worship, and to join your songs.

GABRIEL.

Sing, all ye seraphs, the deserved praise
Of our incarnate God! who reigns on high
And dwells amidst the unutterable blaze
Of uncreated light. Him all the skies,
With awful reverence, and with holy joy,
Adore and praise: and his immortal deeds
Will find fresh matter for our soaring songs,
When we, assembled, sit on heavenly hills;
Nor can eternal ages e'er exhaust
The boundless theme. Salvation to the Lamb!

* This Poem was written during the American war. Editor.

Immortal glory, honour power and praise,
Are justly his! He triumphs over death,
The yawning grave, and all the powers of hell.

SOUL.

What songs are these which charm my wond'ring
And fill with growing joy, unknown before! [mind,
What stream of heavenly harmony is this
Which breathes my welcome to the immortal shores!
And sings the triumphs of the mighty God
Whom all my ardent spirit burns to see.
Say, ye bright natives of the heavenly land,
Who in transcendent glory shines around;
Who cheer me with your condescending smiles,
And fire me with your songs! for I perceive
You also worship at Immanuel's throne,
And all your heavenly harps resound his praise.
Tell me! Oh, tell me, for my vigorous powers
Burn to behold my Saviour and my God,
Where shall I find him? which way thro' the sky
Lies my long journey? Or will you, bless'd train
Permit me with your squadron to ascend,
And learn the way to the Redeemer's throne?

MICHAEL.

Yes, happy saint! we come, at the command
Of heaven's Supreme, from his eternal hill;
And a bright chariot bring with steeds of fire,
To bear thee up in triumph thro' the sky,
And lodge thee in thy dearest Lord's embrace.
For know, thy labours and thy ardent love
Are not in heaven unknown: nor will they fail
To find their full reward. The heavy toil
Thou hast sustain'd; and now remains the rest,
Thine are the bliss, the glory, and the joy.

SOUL.

But say, bright armies of the heavenly King!
Whose condescending love brings you so far
From your bless'd home; for, strange it seems to me
You on such errand should forsake the sky;
What need is there of this amazing pomp?
Or why should your bright legions take such care
Of one that's most unworthy? while the praise
Of the Redeemer claims your ceaseless songs;
And the great King who fills th' eternal throne,
Your constant worship?

MICHAEL.

Think not heaven so thin
Of happy natives, or th' eternal throne
So slightly guarded, but the Lord of all
Can numbers spare to fetch his chosen sons.
Nor think the blessed objects of his choice
So little honour'd by the sons of heaven
That we should be unwilling to bestow
Such tokens of respect as our great King
Commands. Nor would the brightness of our train
Employ thy wonder, had thine eyes beheld
The various beauties of the heavenly land,
The boundless glory of th' eternal throne,
And the transcendent grandeur of the courts
Of our exalted King!

GABRIEL.

Blest soul! thy need
Of our cherubic guards thou wilt perceive
Far greater than at present may appear.
Thro' the vast trackless void thy journey lies,
And great the distance from this world to heaven.
Thy unexperienced flight might miss the way,
And far aside explore with devious wing
The dreary waste. Besides, th' apostate crew
Of wicked spirits, whose dominion lies
Between the earthly and th' aetherial plains,—
These, though they could not wound, might much annoy
And want not malice to attempt their worst.
They, by their arts, might shake the trembling air
With mimic thunders; and their lightnings play
Full in thy face; while with delusive powers
They raise around thee various horrid forms
To shock thy peace and make thy courage fail.

MICHAEL.

Or if these airy terrors miss'd their end,
And, still unmov'd, thou could'st thy flight maintain
They might assume the drapery of the skies,
Array'd in light, attract thy wond'ring view,
And seem bright cherubs to thy erring sight.
Then bold delusive scenes of pleasure draw
Green shades and silver fountains might be seen,
And heavenly music seem to charm thine ear;
But all deceitful, tending to ensnare,
And lead thee far away from real joy.

GABRIEL.

These are their arts, but, of our power afraid,
They tremble when our squadrons come in view.
For heavenly glories shock their aching sight,
And gloomy, murmuring, they in haste retire,
Howl o'er the waste, and shelter in their dens.

SOUL.

What reason have I then to love and praise
The great Redeemer! Who to guard me safe
Thro' every danger, sends his winged train
Of warrior angels to protect my flight.
And you, bright heavenly messengers, demand
My warmest gratitude.—But let's ascend!
My spirit burns to mount the bless'd abodes,
To join your praises, learn your noblest songs,
And worship with you at Immanuel's throne.
Adieu! my dearest brethren and my friends,
Whom heavenly providence had made my charge
Whose souls I watched for with unceasing care
Both day and night: and, to my utmost power,
As grace assisted and occasion serv'd,
Labour'd to fix you on the Rock of ages,
And build you up in every gospel truth.
Mourn not for me! but rather lift your eyes
To where the great Redeemer lives and reigns.
He can repair your every loss, and give
Such portions of his Spirit as may fill
Your ardent souls with heavenly love and joy.
Your teachers die, but your Redeemer lives!
Shout, all ye saints! your Jesus lives for ever!

GUARDIAN ANGEL.

Now happy soul thy painful labours end,
And thou art rising far above the reach
Of all that would disturb, or wound thy peace
Thine and the gospel's foes may strive in vain
With falsehood and deceit to blast thy name,
They cannot hurt thy Master's cause, nor thee

CHORUS OF ANGELS.

Now we ascend, and thro' the skies proclaim
Glory to God! Salvation to the Lamb!
Him all the armies of the sky adore:
We sing his boundless goodness as we soar:
His glories shine thro' all the heavenly plain
Thy God, O Israel! thy Redeemer reigns!

HISTORIC PROOF OF THE DOCTRINAL CALVINISM OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

ADVERTISEMENT.

For prevention of mistake, I request leave to apprize the reader,

1. That in the following Essay I use the words Calvinism and Calvinist merely in compliance with custom. The doctrinal system, established in England, which Luther and Calvin were the honoured instruments of retrieving, subsisted, from the beginning, in the faith of God's elect people, and in the sacred Scriptures. But, "Dandum aliquid consuetudini."

2. I use the terms Pelagianism and Arminianism in their literal and proper signification, as denoting the system originally fabricated by Pelagius, and afterwards rebuilt by Arminius. Though, in strictness of speech, that system should rather be denominated, Morganism and Van Harminism; the real name of Pelagius having been Morgan, as that of Arminius was Van Harmin.

3. By the word Methodists, which likewise frequently occurs, I mean the approvers, followers, and abettors of Mr. John Wesley's principles and practices, and them only. If some folks, either through want of knowledge, or want of candour, apply the name of Methodist to such as agree in all points with the Church of England, it cannot be helped; nor have I the least objection to being involved under that title, in this sense of it: but I myself never use the term, except in the meaning above defined.

4. Mention is often made of the Anabaptists, and of their theological enormities. Be it, therefore, observed, that the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century were a very different sort of people from the baptists of the last century, and of the current; consequently, what is observed of the former, does by no means affect the latter.

5. I foresee one objection, in particular, to which the ensuing work is liable: viz. that the two Pelagian Methodists, namely, Mr. John Wesley and Mr. Walter Sellon, whose fraudulent perversions of truth, facts, and common sense, gave the first occasion to the present undertaking, "are not persons of sufficient consequence to merit so large and explicit a refutation." I acknowledge the propriety and the force of this remark. It cannot be denied, that the Church of England has seldom, if ever (at least since the Civil Wars), been arraigned, tried, and condemned, by a pair of such insignificant adversaries. Yet, though the men themselves are of no importance, the Church and her doctrine are of much. Which consideration has weight enough with me, not only to warrant the design and extent of the following vindication, but also to justify any future attempts of the same kind, which the continued perverseness of the said discomfited Methodists may render needful. I mean, in case the united labours of that junto should be able to squeeze forth any thing which may carry a face of argument. For, otherwise, I have some thoughts of consigning them to the peaceable enjoyment of that contempt and neglect due to their malice and incapacity. Lord Bolingbroke somewhere observes, that "To have the last word is the privilege of bad writers:" a privilege which I shall never envy them.

Mr. Wesley and his subalterns are, in general, so excessively scurrilous and abusive, that contending with them resembles fighting with chimney-sweepers, or bathing in a mud-pool. So they can but raise a temporary mist before the eyes of their deluded adherents, they care not what they invent, nor whereof they affirm.

6. Let it not, however, be supposed, that I bear them the least degree of personal hatred; God forbid; I have not so learned Christ. The very men, who have my opposition, have my prayers also. I dare address the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls in those lines of the late Dr. Doddridge:

> Hast thou a lamb, in all thy flock,
> I would disdain to feed?

But I likewise wish ever to add,

> Hast thou a foe, before whose face
> I fear thy cause to plead?

Grace, mercy, and peace, be to all who love, and who desire to love, our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.

INTRODUCTION.

Before I enter on the principal design of the present undertaking, it may be proper to throw together some preliminary observations, by way of Preface, that the main thread of our historic enquiry may, afterwards, proceed the more evenly and uninterruptedly.

In Feburary 1769, I published a pamphlet, entitled, "The Church of England vindicated from the Charge of Arminianism, and the Case of Arminian Subscription particularly considered:" which I addressed to a learned and respectable Oxonian, who had lately presented us with an apology for the Arminian principles; and whose arguments against the real doctrines of our Established Church my counter vindication was designed to obviate.

That Omniscient Being, to whom "all hearts are open," knows, that a feeling regard to his glory, and a tender solicitude for the honour of truth, were my sole determining motives to that

humble attempt. I could sincerely adopt the appeal of archbishop Bradwardin, who wrote on a similar occasion, and in defence of the same doctrines: *Scis, quòd nusquam virtute meâ, sed tuâ, confisus, tantillus aggredior tantam causam (a).* Far, exceeding far, from presuming on any imaginary abilities of my own, and equally remote from wishing to distinguish myself on the stage of public observation, I resolved to conceal my name; though I could not resolve, by continuing entirely silent, to forego my allegiance to God, and my duty to the church.

The controversy had, indeed, been recently in the hands of a person whose zeal for the principles of the Reformation adds dignity to his rank and lustre to his talents; I mean the able and learned author of *Pietas Oxoniensis:* and I freely confess, that I was under some doubt, whether it might not carry an implication of self-confidence, should I glean up, and lay before the public, a few of those authentic facts and testimonies, the mention of which had, for the most part, been omitted by that masterly writer. Considering, however, that, of old, even those persons who had but a mite to throw into the treasury, were not therefore wholly exempted from the duty of contribution; I fluctuated no longer; but hastily threw together such observations as then occurred, and in a few weeks transmitted them to the printer. I have much reason to bless God for their publication. That tract, hurried and unfinished as it was, met with a reception, which, in such an age as the present, I could neither expect nor imagine.

Upwards of two years after, i. e. in the summer of 1771, a Mr. Walter Sellon (who stands in the same relation to Mr. John Wesley, that Celestius did to Pelagius, and Bertius to Arminius; viz. of retainer-general and white-washer in ordinary) hands a production into the world, designed to prove that Arminianism and the Church of England are as closely connected as the said Messieurs Walter and John are with each other. The piece itself is the joint offspring of the two associated heroes. As, therefore, in its fabrication, those gentlemen were united, even so, in its confutation, they shall not be parted.

Arminianism is their mutual Dulcinea del Toboso. And, contrary to what is usually observed among co-enamoratos, their attention to the same favourite object creates no jealousy, no uneasiness of rivalship, between themselves. High mounted on Pine's Rosinante, forth sallies Mr. John from Wine-street, Bristol, brandishing his reed, and vowing vengeance against all who will not fall down and worship the (*b*) Dutch image which he has set up. With almost an equal plenitude of zeal and prowess, forth trots Mr Walter from Ave-maria-lane, low mounted on Cabe's halting dapple. The knight and the squire having met at the rendezvous appointed, the former prances foremost, and, with as much haste as his limping steed will permit, doth trusty Walter amble after his master.

How successful these combatants are, in their attack on my first defence of the Doctrinal Calvinism of the Church of England, I cheerfully leave to the decision of the Public. This, however, I may venture to say, that, after a tedious incubation of six-and-twenty months, they ought to have hatched an answer that might carry some shew, at least, of plausible argument. But even craft itself seems, in the main, to have discharged them from her service. Here is neither subtlety, nor solidity. I am, in fact, going to encounter a phantom. No laurels, therefore, will crown the conquest; and the poor phantom should, for me, have stalked unmolested, had not the importance of the subject retrieved, in some measure, the insignificancy of the performance.

One of them (for it is not always easy to distinguish the immediate speaker) charges me with "crying up the abilities of some against whom I have written, only that I myself may appear to have greater abilities of my own, in vanquishing such able antagonists." Malice has here forged an accusation too ignoble even for malice to believe. The brace of brothers are, indeed, either too blind to see, or too disingenuous to acknowledge, the excellencies of any from whom they dissent; else they would never have termed those great reformers, Luther and Calvin, a pair of "weather-cocks;" (*c*) nor have contemptuously styled St. Austin the "giddy apostle of the Calvinist." (*d*) For my own part, I ackowledge, with pleasure, the eminent talents of very many worthy persons, from whom I differ extremely in opinion. Mr. Sellon, however, may make himself easy as to this particular. Unless he should improve miraculously, I shall never cry up his abilities. I must want common sense, to suppose him a man of parts; and I must want common modesty, to represent him as such. I can distinguish a barber's bason from a helmet; of course, all the fruit to be reaped from the contest now depending, is, not an ovation for myself, but the acquisition of a tributary pepper-corn to the doctrines of the Church.

Mr. Wesley should have laid the burden of his alliance on other shoulders than those of Mr. Sellon. The lot could not possibly have fallen on a more incompetent man. He is much too unknowing, and too hot, to come off with any degree of credit, in an engagement which has foiled so many of the wise and prudent. He should have remembered the example of Dr. Waterland and others.

As the Church is now internally constituted, her Calvinism is impregnable; while she lives, this is immortal. The legislature have it, indeed, in their power (God forbid they should ever have the inclination!) to melt down her Liturgy, Homilies, and Articles; and, when her component particles are severed by state chemistry, to cast her into the Arminian mould: but, until this is really done, all the artifice of man will never be able to fix the banner of Arminius in the citadel, how daringly soever some of his disciples may display it on the walls. Our pulpits may declare for free-will; but the desk, our prayers, and the whole of our standard writings as a Church, breathe only the doctrines of grace.

(*a*) In Pref. ad libros *De Causa Dei.*

(*b*) Pelagianism was revived in Holland, under the new name of Arminianism, toward the beginning of the last century.

(*c*) Page 11. (*d*) Page 7.

Several respectable men have reduced themselves to a state of pitiable embarrassment, in attempting to disprove this, during, and since, what has been properly enough denominated, the ecclesiastical reign of archbishop Laud. Had that prelate been a Calvinist, and had the Calvinists of that age joined hands with the enemies to civil and religious liberty, the Calvinism of the Church of England would, probably, have passed uncontested to the present hour: but that prelate attached himself to the new system (and it was then very new indeed) of Arminius; and, which weighed still more against them in the Court balance, the Calvinists were friends to the civil rights of mankind; they (observe, I speak only of the doctrinal, not of the disciplinarian Calvinists) were steady to the true religious and political constitution of their country. They opposed, with equal firmness, Laud's innovations in the Church, and Charles's invasions of civil freedom. Unhappily both for the nation and the Church, and no less fatally for himself, Charles, nurtured in despotism, deemed it his interest to support the Arminians, for purposes of state. I shall have occasion, in the progress of the ensuing Essay, to trace this evil to its source. In the meanwhile, I return to Mr. Wesley and his understrapper; whom though I shall not constantly persist to mention together, but hold them up to view, sometimes singly, sometimes conjointly, as just occasion may require; the intelligent reader will not fail to notice, that every exhibition of Mr. John involves his man Walter; and that Walter cannot be exhibited without involving Mr. John.

Monsieur Bayle has an observation, perfectly applicable to the two furiosos above-mentioned; had the cap been made for them, it could not have fitted them more exactly. "In hot constitutions," says that able critic, "zeal is a sort of drunkenness, which so disorders the mind, that a man sees every thing double and the wrong way. The Priestess of Bacchus, who fell upon her own son, whom she mistook for a wild boar, is an image of that giddiness which seizes the zealots." (*e*) I am very far from peremptorily affirming, that Mr. Sellon is as intimately connected with Bacchus, as was the above Priestess; but his conduct certainly bears a strong resemblance of hers. He pretends, that the Church of England is his mother; now, his supposed mother is an avowed, thorough-paced Calvinist; but Mr. Sellon abominates Calvinism, and yet wishes to be thought a churchman. What can he do in so distressful a dilemma? Necessity dictates an expedient. Amidst some qualifying professions of filial respect, this petty Nimrod bends his twelve-penny bow against her he calls his mother; and pretends, all the while, that he is only combating a wild beast, which has chanced to find its way from Geneva to England.

But the Church, and the truths of God, have nothing to fear from the efforts of this jaculator. Parthians might aim their arrows at the sun; wolves may exhaust their strength by howling at the moon; yet, neither the weapons of those could wound the one, nor can the clamour of these so much as alarm the other. The sun persists to shine, and the moon to roll, unextinguished and unimpeded by the impotence of rage, and the emptiness of menace from below.

I have heard, or read, of a picture, which exhibited a view of the apostate angels, just fallen from their state of blessedness. Every attitude and feature were expressive of the extremest horror, indignation, and despair. An artist, into whose possession it came, by only a few touches with his pencil, transformed the shocking representation into a master-piece of loveliness and beauty; so that seraphs seemed to smile and sing, where tormented fiends appeared before to blaspheme for rage and to gnaw their tongues for pain. Mr. Sellon has pursued a plan directly contrary to that of the amiable artist. The methodist's grand business (in which, however, he utterly fails) is, to deform the gospel picture, and to disfigure the beauty of the Church. He labours to metamorphose, if it were possible, the wisdom and glory of God into a caricature equally frightful and ridiculous: but all his cavils are *infra jugulum*; they come not up to the point. Mr. We-ley and his auxiliaries resemble the army of Mithridates, who lost the day, by mistakenly aiming their arrows, not at the persons, but at the shadows, of the Roman soldiers.

Supposing the principles of the Church of England to be ever so exceptionable in themselves, the mode of assault, adopted by the mock vindicators, is by no means calculated to gain its end. The far greater part of mankind can readily distinguish fury from zeal, and abuse from argument. A writer, like Mr. Sellon, who dips his pen in the common-sewer, injures and disgraces the cause he seeks to advance. "The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God." It is so far from being a part, that it is the very reverse, of that righteousness which the example of God prescribes, and his written will enjoins.

I am charged with violating the meekness I recommend, and with being no less than "a persecutor" of the Arminians. (*f*) Aggressors are often the first to complain. When Mr Wesley thinks proper to scatter his firebrands, "zeal for the Lord of hosts," and "earnest contention for the faith delivered to the saints," are the varnish which his abusive rage assumes: but if no more than a finger be lifted up in self-defence, the cry is, "Oh, you are without gospel love; you are a persecutor of Mr. John; you will not let the good old man descend quietly to his grave."

As to intolerancy and persecution, I have already declared this to be my steadfast opinion, that "the rights of conscience are inviolably sacred, and that liberty of private judgment is every man's birthright:" yet Mr. Wesley cannot fully avail himself of this concession; for, by having solemnly set his hand to the Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy of the Established Church, he comes within the exception immediately added, and which I here repeat: "If, however, any like Esau have sold their birthright, by subscribing to Articles they do not believe, merely for the sake of temporal profit or aggrandizement, they have only themselves to thank, for the little ceremony they are entitled to." (*g*)

It is not necessary to be timid in order to be meek. There is a false meekness, as well as a

(*e*) Hist. Dict. vol. 3. p. 538, Art. Hunnius. (*f*) P. 32.

(*g*) See my Caveat against Unsound Doctrines. p. 17.

raise charity. Genuine charity, according to the Apostle's description of it, rejoiceth in the truth. The conduct of our Lord himself, and of the first disciples, on various occasions, demonstrated, that it is no part of christian candour, to hew millstones with a feather. Rebuke them sharply (*αποτομως*, cuttingly,) says the Apostle, concerning the depravers of doctrinal christianity; wish well to their persons, but give no quarter to their errors. The world have long seen, that unmixed politeness, condescending generosity, and the most conciliating benevolence, can no more soften Mr. Wesley's rugged rudeness, than the melody of David's harp could lay the North wind, or still the raging of the sea. Mr. Hervey, in his famous Eleven Letters, has handled Mr. Wesley with all the delicacy and tenderness that a virtuoso would shew in catching a butterfly, whose plumage he wishes to preserve uninjured; or a lady, in wiping a piece of china, which she dreads to break. Did Mr. Wesley profit by the engaging meekness of his amiable and elegant refuter? nay, but he waxed worse and worse: like Saul, he strove to stab the name of that inestimable friend, whose gospel music was calculated to dispossess him of his evil spirit. Like the animal, sigmatized in the lviiith Psalm, he stopped his ears, and refused to hear the voice of the charmer, though the strains were no less sweet than wise. Every artifice that could be invented has been thrown out, to blacken the memory of the most exemplary man this age has produced. Mr. Wesley insulted him, when living, and continues to trample on him, though dead. He digs him, as it were, out of his grave, passes sentence on him as an heretic, ties him to the stake, burns him to ashes, and scatters those ashes to the four winds. Rather than fail, the wretched Mr. Walter Sellon is stilted to oppose the excellent Mr. Hervey; and most egregiously hath the living sinner acquitted himself against the long-departed saint! In much the same spirit, and with just the same success, as the enemy of mankind contended with Michael the arch-angel, about the body of Moses.

Every Reader may not, perhaps, know the true cause (at least, one of the principal causes) of Mr. Wesley's unrelenting enmity to Mr. Hervey; an enmity, which even the death of the latter has not yet extinguished. When that valuable man was writing his Theron and Aspasio, his humility and self-diffidence were so great, that he condescended to solicit many of his friends to revise and correct that admirable work, antecedently to its publication. He occasionally requested this favour even of some who were enemies to several of the doctrines asserted in the Dialogues; among whom was Mr. John Wesley. The author imagined, that the unsparing criticism of an adversary might observe defects, and suggest some useful hints, which the tenderness and partiality of friendship might overlook, or scruple to communicate. Several sheets having been transmitted to Mr. John (an honour of which he soon shewed himself quite unworthy,) he altered, added, and retrenched, with such insolence and wantonness of dictatorial authority, as disgusted even the modest and candid Mr. Hervey. The consequence was, Mr. Wesley lost his supervisorship, and in return, sat himself to depreciate the performance he was not allowed to spoil.

By what spirit this gentleman and his deputies are guided, in their discussion of controverted subjects, shall appear, from a specimen of the horrible aspersions which, in "The Church vindicated from Predestination," they venture to heap on the Almighty himself. The recital makes me tremble; the perusal must shock every Reader, who is not steeled to all reverence for the Supreme Being. May the review cause the daring and unhappy writers to fall down, as in the dust, at the footstool of insulted Deity! Wesley and Sellon are not afraid to declare, that, on the hypothesis of divine decrees, the justice of God is "no better than the tyranny of Tiberius." (*h*) That God himself is "little better than Moloch." (*i*)—"A cruel, unwise, unjust, arbitrary, and self-willed tyrant."(*k*)—"A being void of wisdom, justice, mercy, holiness, and truth." (*l*)—"A devil, yea, worse than a devil."(*m*) Did the exorbitancies of the ancient ranters, or the impieties of any modern blasphemers, ever come up to this? Surely, if such Methodists should finally be converted and saved, we can need no stronger proof that grace is infinitely free, and its operation absolutely invincible! Observe, Reader, that these are also the very men who are so abandoned to all sense of shame, as to charge me with blasphemy, for asserting, with Scripture, that God worketh all things according to the council of his own will; and that whatever God wills is right.

We have seen their portrait of the great and blessed God: let us, next, hear Mr. Sellon's account of his own self; this he has tacked to the fag end of his work. Be it my humble office, to rescue so brilliant a passage from the ignominy of its present situation, and place it (where it deserves to stand) in the front.

"As to myself," says the Arminian, "I make no scruple to tell you, I am what some call an exotic; one (*n*) destitute of the honour of an academical education. The highest degree I lay claim to, is that of a poor fellow of Jesus College, in the University of Christianity (*o*)."

Never, surely, till now, did such low, whining cant ooze from the pen of meanness!

And is the pretended vindicator of a national Church dwindled, by his own confession, into an exotic? That his doctrines are exotic, or foreign and far-fetched, I always knew; but I was, hitherto, not botanist enough to ascertain the exoticism of the man. I hope, in his next vindication, he will inform us, to what class of exotic plants he belongs, and whether himself be not as Dutch as his principles.

He adds, that he never had an "academical education;" I believe him; nor is he in any danger of being mistaken for a man of learning. He will never frighten his brother enthusiasts with

(*h*) Page 3. (*i*) Page 45. (*k*) Page 59. 71.
(*l*) Page 74. (*m*) Page 107.
(*n*) And true enough it is. Mr. Sellon is, in very deed, destitute of the said honour. His education was as illiberal as are his principles: he was, at his first setting out in life, a low mechanic; he then got himself enrolled on the list of Mr. Wesley's lay-preachers; he next insinuated himself into the favour of a certain person of distinction, who (not being endued with the gift of foresight) procured him admission into Holy orders: and thus he came to wear prunella.
(*o*) Page 126.

that horrible bugbear (so alarming to most fanatics) called human literature. He does not so much as know the difference between a degree and a fellowship: "The highest degree I lay claim to," says this pigmy on stilts, "is that of a poor fellow, &c." You should have said, of the Foundry College, in Moorfields, whereof Mr. John Wesley is president, and wherein Thomas Olivers the preaching shoe-mender hath taken his degree in ignorance: that, Mr. Sellon, is the college to which you belong: for into what you cantingly style the "University of Christianity," it does not appear that you are so much as entered. In proof of this, I appeal to your preceptor, Mr. Wesley himself; and to your fellow pupils, his followers. Your own Arminian friends, for whom you falsify through thick and thin, will not acknowledge you for a believer (*p*). However, as you seem to insist on passing, for "a poor fellow," I shall in the following sheets, attentively consider what the poor fellow has to say against the doctrines of the Church of England.

One who has drawn so blasphemous a character of God, and who has, moreover, given the public so contemptible a sketch of himself, can hardly be thought likely to draw a very favourable account of his opponents. His representation of me, in particular, is so very curious, and composed of such contradictory ingredients, that I must, for the Reader's amusement, submit it to his view. I had before been delineated, by an Arminian helpmeet of Mr. Wesley's, as "sitting in my easy chair, and enjoying all the comforts of life." One would think, that the seo of Durham had been transferred to Broad Hembury, and that the Devonshire Vicar was warmly enrobed in lawn and black satin. So much for my attitude and enjoyments; next for my titles; these Mr. Sellon enumerates. I am, it seems,

"A Flaming Calvinist (*q*)
"A Dragon (*r*).
"An Hooter (*s*).
"A Venomous Slanderer (*t*).
"A Persecutor, possessing the same butcherly spirit that was in bishop Gardiner; yea, ten times more (*u*).
"A Perfectionist (*x*).
"A malapert Boy, severely scratching and clawing with venomous nails (*y*).
"A Papist (*z*).
"A Socinian (*a*)
"A Mahometan (*b*).
"The greatest Bigot that ever existed, without one grain of candour, benevolence, forbearance, moderation, good-will, or charity (*c*).
"A wild Beast of impatience and lion-like fury (*d*).
"A Materialist (*e*);" that is, an Atheist.

A goodly string of appellations! and not a little extraordinary, that they should all centre in one and the same man! Being so uncommon a person myself, my writings too must be something singular. Take a description of them in the words of the said Sellon: "I find sophistry, fallacy, false insinuations, raillery, perversion of Scripture and the Church Articles, self-contradiction, self-sufficiency, haughtiness, pride and vanity, glaring in almost every page (*f*)."

Thus, enthroned in my easy chair, dignified with titles, and accurately developed as a writer, I only want a suitable address, to render my magnificence complete; and who so well qualified to prepare it, as the eloquent Mr. Sellon? Lo, he attends; and, respectfully advancing, pays me the following compliments: "Unhappily daring, and unpardonably bold, thy tongue imagineth wickedness, and with lies thou cuttest like a sharp razor. Thou hast loved unrighteousness more than goodness; and to talk of lies more than righteousness. Thou hast loved to speak all words that may do hurt, O, thou false tongue!" (*g*) Such are the candour and politeness of these Methodists; and such are the arguments, by which they would persuade us, that Arminianism is the religion of the Church of England.

These are the men that set up for "universal love;" who call one another by the cant names of "precious believers," "most excellent souls," "charming children of God," "sweet christians," and "the clean-hearted." If their hearts are no cleaner than their mouths, they have little reason to value themselves on their "sinless perfection."

These are they who seek to bottom election on faith and goodness foreseen; of which foreseen goodness, humility and benevolence, meekness and forbearance, are, I suppose, some of the ingredients. Woe be to those "sweet christians," if their election has no better foundation than their "sweet" tempers, words, and works.

And why all this torrent of abuse? The plain truth is this: I detected Mr. Wesley's forgeries, and chastised the forger. *Hinc ille lacrymæ.* Hence the outcries of John himself, together with those of Thomas Olivers and Walter Sellon. The camp of the Philistines gave a scream, when they saw the levelled stone penetrate the brass of their Goliath's forehead: but of all the tribe, none screamed so loud as the frighted Walter; of whose talent at screaming, a specimen has been exhibited to the reader. Let me whisper a friendly hint to this notable screamer. If you wish your scurrilities to obtain belief, restrain them within the banks of probability; malice, when too highly wrought, resembles a cannon too highly charged, which recoils on the engineer himself, instead of reaching its intended object of direction.

I might, with the most justifiable propriety, have declined joining issue, in controversy, with a person of Mr. Sellon's cast, who is, by those that know him, deemed ignorant and unpolished, even to a proverb: he is, indeed, to borrow the language of another, "a small body of Pelagian divinity, bound in calf, neither gilt nor lettered." I once hoped, that his friends were too severe, in branding him with such a character; but he has been so weak as to publish; he has gibbitted himself in print. I am fully convinced, that his friends were in the right, and my charitable hope mistaken.

Let none, however, suppose, that I harbour any degree of malevolence against either him or his master. Whatever I have already written, or may hereafter have occasion to write, in opposi-

(*p*) See the Gospel Magazine, for March, 1771, p. 135.
(*q*) Page 77. (*r*) Page 117. (*s*) Page 17, 18.
(*t*) Page 98. (*u*) Page 31, 52. (*x*) Page 13.
(*y*) Page 79. (*z*) Page 118. (*a*) Page 84.
(*b*) Page 18. (*c*) Page 117. (*d*) Page 124.
(*e*) Page 113. (*f*) Page 126.

(*g*) Page 2. 25.

tion to them, or to any others, on whom the toil of defending them may devolve, has been, and, I trust, ever will be, designed, not to throw odium on their persons, nor to wound their cause unfairly, but, simply, to strip error of its varnish; to open the eyes of delusion; to pluck the vizor from the face of hypocrisy; to bring Arminian Methodism to the test of fact and argument; to wipe off the aspersions thrown, by the despairing hand of defeated heterodoxy, on the purest Church under heaven; and to confirm such as have believed through grace.

Indeed, the purity of my intention speaks for itself. At a time of such general defection from the doctrines of the Church Established, I cannot possibly have any sinister ends to answer, by asserting those doctrines. It cannot be to gain applause; for, were that my motive, I should studiously swim with the current, and adopt the fashionable system; neither can it be to acquire preferment, for the doctrines of grace are not the principles to rise by. In the reigns of Edward VI., Elizabeth, and the former part of James I., the Calvinistic points were necessary steps to advancement, and led directly to the top of the Church: but the stairs have been long turned another way: what was, once, the *causa sine quâ non* of ascending, is now a *causa propter quam non*; or, considered as a reason for keeping unfashionable divines as low on the ecclesiastical ladder as possible.

I bless God, for enabling me to esteem the reproach of Christ greater treasure than all the applause of men, and all the preferments of the Church. When I received orders, I obtained mercy to be faithful; and, from that moment, gave up what is called the world, so far as I conceived it to interfere with faith and a good conscience. The opposition which I have met with, in the course of my ten years ministry, has been nothing, compared with what I expected would ensue, on an open, steady attachment to the truths of God: and what insults have been thrown in my way came, for the most part, from a quarter equally abusive and contemptible; I mean, from Mr. John Wesley, and a few of his unfledged disciples; whose efforts give me no greater apprehension than would a fly that was to settle on my hat.

Some readers may suppose, possibly, that, in the course of the annexed Treatise, I have handled my assailants too severely: I request, that such will suspend their judgment, until they have perused the performance which gave rise to the present. In my opinion, I am persuaded, will then be reversed; and they will wonder, either at my deigning to take any notice at all, of an invective so exceedingly low and frivolous; or, at my not chastising the authors of it with a severity proportioned to their demerits: but, for abstaining from the latter, I had, among others, two reasons: 1. I should have sinned against meekness; and, 2. The poverty of Mr Sellon's talents, in particular, is so extreme, as to render him an object rather of pity than of resentment. As the man cannot reason, nor even write grammatically, I often allow him to rail with impunity. If a malicious ignoramus comes against me with a straw, self-defence does not oblige me, and christian charity forbids me, to knock him down with a bludgeon.

Moreover, the period may arrive, when this very person, as also his commander-in-chief, may see the justness, and experience the energy, of those heavenly truths which they now unite to blaspheme: they may even preach the faith to which they have subscribed, and which they impotently labour to destroy. If having once been an Arminian, were incompatable with future conversion and salvation, we might indeed ask, who then can be saved? For every man is born an Arminian. Unrenewed nature spurns the idea of inheriting eternal life as the mere gift of Divine Sovereignty, and on the footing of absolute grace. I will not affirm, that all, who heartily embrace the Scripture system of Calvinism, are savingly renewed by the holy Spirit of God; for St. Stephen teaches us to distinguish between the circumcision of the ears, and the circumcision of the heart. Thus much, however, I assert, without hesitation, that I know, comparatively, very few Calvinists, of whose saving renewal I have reason to doubt. I will even go a step farther: sincerely to admit and relish a system so diametrically opposite to the natural pride of the human heart, is, with me, an incontestible proof, that a man's judgment, at least, is brought into subjection to the obedience of Christ: and, to every such person, those words may be accommodated, "flesh and blood have not revealed this to thee, but my Father who is in heaven."

I cannot give the two Pelagian gentlemen stronger evidence of my concern for their welfare, than by wishing them to renounce those unhappy principles, which, under pretence of extending the grace of God, by representing it as a glove accommodated to every hand, and which lies at the option of free-will either to make use of, or to fling behind the fire, do, in fact, annihilate all grace whatever, by ultimately resolving its efficacy into the power, merits, and caprice of man. Mr. Wesley and Mr. Sellon may find, in Strype's Collections, a form of recantation, ready drawn to their hands. The historian introduces it thus:

"Another letter there was, writ (A. D. 1555) by one in prison (for the Protestant faith, during the Marian persecution), who had lately been one of these Free-willers (b), but now changed in his judgment, to certain of that persuasion, in prison also for the gospel." The persecution of Protestants was so indiscriminate, that not only the bishops, clergy, and members of the Church of England, felt its iron hand, but even some of the Free-will Men (as they were then called), who dissented from the Church, and had formed a separate conventicle of their own, came in for a taste of the common trouble: but, though a few of the few Free-willers (for their whole number was then exceedingly small) were imprisoned for a while, I cannot find that so much as one of them

(b) During the preceding reign of King Edward VI. there had been a congregation of Free-willers, in some part of London, who were Separatists from the Church of England; and, indeed, all Free-willers were then accounted Dissenters, and openly professed themselves to be such. Certain subtlers for duplicity, which have since been adopted, were not then invented. The Free-willers of that age were, with all their mistakes, too honest, either to subscribe to the Articles and Homilies of the Church, or statedly to frequent her public worship.—I shall have occasion to mention the Free-will Congregation hereafter.

either died in confinement, or was brought to the stake. If Mr. Wesley and his friend can give authentic evidence, that so much as a single Free-willer was burned by the Papists, let them point him out by name; and, at the same time, remember to adduce their proofs. Such an instance, or instances, if producible, will reflect some honour on the Pelagians of that æra, though unable to turn the scale in favour of Pelagianism itself. I now return to the letter of the converted Free-will man. In it, says the historian, he lamented "the loss of the gospel (*i. e.* the revival of Popery by queen Mary); shewing the reasons of it: whereof one he made to be, that they (*viz.* himself and his Pelagian brethren) had professed the gospel (*i. e.* Protestantism) with their tongues, and denied it in their (*i*) deeds: another, that they were not sound in the doctrine of predestination. In this letter he mentioned what a grief it was to him, that he had endeavoured so much to persuade others into his error of Free-will; and that divers of that congregation of Free-will men began to be better informed; as namely, Ladley and Cole, and others unnamed: the report of whom gave him and his prison-fellows much rejoicing, (adding) that he was convinced (*i. e.* converted from being a Free-will man) by certain preachers in prison with him, who reconciled St. Paul and St. James together, to his great satisfaction (*k*)."

A great part of this choice letter is published by Mr. Strype, at the close (*l*) of the volume referred to below. For Mr. Wesley's sake, and for the sake of those who are led captive by him at his will, I here transcribe the following passages, which may serve him as a model of retractation, in case it should please God to grant him repentance to the acknowledgment of the truth.

"What high lauds, thanks and praise, am I bound to give always to God, who hath certified my conscience, by his spirit, that he will not impute my sins unto me, for his son Jesus Christ's sake, in whom he hath chosen his elect before the foundations of the world were laid; and preserveth us all, so that there shall never any of us finally perish, or be damned.

"I, for my part, repent, that ever I was so bitter unto them that were the teachers of this undoubted truth: verily, I am not able to express the sorrows that I have in my heart: most especially, in that I went about, by all means, to persuade others, whereby they might be one with me in that error of Free-will. With joy unspeakable I rejoice, giving thanks to God night and day, in that it hath pleased him to vouch me worthy his fatherly correction at this present shewing me what I am by nature; that is to say full of impiety and all evil: therefore, the great grief which I daily feel, is, because I see the horribleness and the great dishonour, that the filthy Free-will of man doth render unto God. I sigh and am grieved, because I soake evil of that good I knew not.

"Wherefore, my beloved, I am provoked by the Holy Ghost, to visit you with my letter; hoping, and believing, that God will give it good success: weereby God's glory may be the more set forth. For I have a good opinion of you, my dear brethren; trusting in God, that he will reveal unto you the knowledge of himself: for I believe verily, that you will be vessels of God's mercy; therefore I am assured, that you shall lack no necessary article of your salvation. I have good cause so to judge of you; not only because God hath opened his truth to me alone, but I also see how mercifully he hath dealt with many of our brethren, whom you do know well enough, as well as though I did recite them by name. God forbid that I should doubt you, seeing it hath pleased God to reveal himself, in these days, to them that heretofore were deceived with that error of the Pelagians, yea, and suffered (*m*) imprisonment in defence of that which now they detest and abhor. God be thanked for them. This is the Lord's doing: and it is marvellous in our eyes.

"Like as you have the truth, as concerning the Papists' sacrament, in despising and hating that, as I do, it is well worthy: so likewise is Free-will a great untruth, undoubtedly.

"I think that God will receive me home unto himself shortly; therefore, I am moved to signify unto you in what state I stand, concerning the controversy between the opinions of the truth of God's predestination and election in Christ. I do not hold predestination to the end to maintain evil, as there be some have full ungodly affirmed that we do; God forgive them, if it be his will. We are sure that none, who have the full feeling of their election in Christ, can love or allow those things which God hateth.

(*i*) This is one proof, among a million, that the doctrines of Free-will and of Justification by Works (both which were stiffly contended for by these Pelagians, and to which most of them added the belief of sinless perfection) are not doctrines really calculated to promote holiness of life, whatever the assertors of those tenets may pretend. Observe, they "were not sound in the doctrine of Predestination;" and "their deeds" were so dishonourable to a gospel profession, as to amount even to a "denial" of it.—As it was in the beginning, it is now, and ever will be; generally speaking.—Unsoundness and unholiness seldom fail to walk arm in arm.

(*k*) Strype's Eccles. Memorials, vol. 3. p. 247. Edit. 1721.

(*l*) Ibid. Append. No. xliii. p. 116—123.

(*m*) It appears hence, that, in the foregoing reign of king Edward, *i. e.* from the very first establishment of the Protestant Church of Eng and, Pelagianism or holding and maintaining the doctrine of Free-will and its connected principles, was punished with imprisonment. I acknowledge, that such a method of dealing with the "Free-will Men" reflects very great dishonour on the moderation of those times. It demonstrates, however, the high Calvinism of the church of England, whose secular and spiritual governors (among the latter of whom were the principal Reformers themselves) could proceed, with such extreme rigour, against the abettors of those very tenets, which some modern Arminians, more rash than wise, would persuade us, were even *ab origine*, the doctrines of the Church herself. I must add, that the usage of "the Free-will men" was very severe, both on the right hand and on the left. In the Protestant reign of Edward VI. they had been imprisoned for being too Popish, in the articles of Justification, Election, and Grace; all three of which they supposed to be conditional and emissable. In the Catholic reign of Mary, they were liable to imprisonment, and some of them actually were imprisoned, for not being Popish enough, in the Articles of Image-worship and Transubstantiation. Their troubles, under Mary, were no more than might be expected; but their sufferings under Edward and the Reformers, were absolutely unnatural and unexcusable.

"I would wish, that men should not allow the fruit of faith to be the cause of faith. Faith bringeth forth good works, and not good works faith; for then of necessity we must attribute our salvation to our good works; which is great blasphemy against God and Christ so to do.

"But, I thank God, I do allow good works in their (proper) place. For I was created in Christ unto good works: wherefore I am bound to allow them, according to the Scriptures; and not to the end to merit by them any thing at all; for then I were utterly deceived; for Esay saith, all our righteousnesses are as a filthy cloth, and are not as the law of God requireth them: wherefore, I acknowledge, that all salvation, justification, redemption, and remission of sins, cometh to us wholly and solely by the mere mercy and free grace of God in Jesus Christ, and not for any of our own works, merits, or deservings. I myself could not understand St. Paul and St. James, to make them agree together, till our good preachers, who were my prison-fellows, did open them unto me. I praise God for them, most humbly; and yet I cannot be so thankful for them as I ought to be.

"Paul saith, faith only justifieth, and not the deeds of the law: and St. James saith, faith, without deeds, is dead. Here are contraries to the carnal man. When I saw these two Scriptures plainly opened, I could not stand against the truth therein: and thus were they opened unto me; that faith only doth justify before God; and the good deeds which St. James speaketh of, justify before the world.

"I thank God that they, who I thought would have been my enemies, are become my friends in the truth: as in sample, by our brethren Ladley and Cole, and such like: if it had lain in their own wills, they would have been enemies to that excellent truth which they do now allow: praised be God for them; for it is he who worketh both the will and deed. If he had not been merciful unto them and to me, and prevented our wills, we had been still wallowing in the mire. The prophet Jeremy saith, "Turn thou me, and I shall be turned; heal thou me, and I shall be healed." And David saith, "The Lord hath prepared the hearts of the poor, and his ear hearkeneth unto them:" so that it is the Lord who doth all that good is. And again, David saith, "Ascribe all honour and glory to God, who alone is worthy: for no man cometh unto me, saith Christ, except the Father, who hath sent me, draw him." And again he saith, "All that the Father hath given me, shall come unto me; and him that cometh to me, I cast not away."

"Therefore, I believe that we shall, every one, be preserved and kept, in him and for him, according to his own word. I dare boldly say, with our everlasting Saviour Jesus Christ, that all the elect shall be preserved and kept for ever and ever: so then, none of them shall be damned at any time. They who say that any of them may be lost for ever, do as much as in them lieth to make (*i. e.* to represent) Christ unable to preserve and keep them: denying the power of Christ, in so saying: for he saith, he loveth his unto the end: which love remaineth, and shall never be extinguished, or put out; and is not as the love of man, which is sometimes angry, and sometimes pleased. God, at no time, is so displeased with any of his elect, to the end that he will deprive them of the purchased possession, which he hath laid up in store for them in Christ before, and were elect according to the foreknowledge of God the father, through sanctifying of the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ; which Lamb was killed from the beginning, according to God's divine will and providence. Christ was ordained to die in the flesh; and all was for our sins. Christ was ordained in this respect; that the Father, seeing the fall of Adam, for that purpose only he ordained Christ, to the end that he would preserve a remnant of the posterity of Adam, even as it pleased his godly wisdom.

"What, will some say a remnant, and not all? St. Paul saith, Like as all died in Adam, &c. And St. John saith, Not for our sins only, &c. Ah! will these Free-will men say, Where is your remnant now become? To whom I answer by the Scriptures, whereas Christ shall say, in the last day, Depart from me, ye cursed; I know you not: I pray you, tell me, did not God know them, as concerning their creation, and also their wickedness? Yes, verily: but he knew them not for his elect children.

"The true Church of Christ doth understand these all (*viz.* the all, and the whole redeemed world, mentioned by St. Paul and St. John,) and all other such like Scriptures, to include all the elect children of God. None otherwise I am sure, that these all can be understood except we should make the Scripture repugnant to itself; which were too much ignorance, and too great an absurdity, to grant.

"I affirm, that all they be blasphemers to God, that do slander the truth in predestination; that say, If I be once in, I cannot be out, do what evil I will or can: all such do declare themselves to be reprobates, and children of God's ire and wrath, rather than any of his. For whosoever delighteth in those things which God hateth and abhorreth, doth declare himself to be none of God's: but, if he be any of his, he will give him repentance, for to know the truth, by his Spirit. For the Spirit maketh intercession for the saints, according to the pleasure of God. For we know that all things work for the best, unto them that love God, who are called of purpose. For those which he knew before, he also ordained before, that they should be like fashioned unto the shape (*i. e.* here, to the glorious, hereafter, to the glorious, resemblance) of his Son.

"And seeing God hath made all his elect like to the shape (the spiritual and moral similitude) of Jesus Christ, how is it possible, that any of them can fall away? Whosoever he be, that doth so hold, is against God and Christ; and may as well say, that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ may perish as any of them; for Christ said unto the Father, Thou hast loved them as thou hast loved me: although Christ spake these words to the comfort of his disciples at the present, so likewise is it to the comfort of all us, his chosen. Those that St. Paul speaketh of that God knew before, he meant by it, all his elect; and immediately he addeth, saying, Whom he appointed before, them also he called; and whom he called, them also he justified; and

whom he justified, them also he glorified. What shall we then say to these things? If God be on our side, who can be against us? That is to say, if God have appointed to glorify us and to save us, who can then deny (deprive) him of any of us, or take us out of his hands?

"My sheep, saith Christ, hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me; and I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish. O, most worthy Scriptures! which ought to compel us to have a faithful remembrance, and to note the tenor thereof; which is, the sheep of Christ shall never perish.

"Doth Christ mean part of his elect, or all, think you? I do hold, and affirm, and also faithfully believe, that he meant all his elect, and not part, as some do full ungodly affirm. I confess and believe assuredly, that there shall never any of them perish: for I have good authority so to say; because Christ is my author, and saith, if it were possible, the very elect should be deceived. *Ergo*, it is not possible that they can be so deceived, that they shall ever finally perish, or be damned: wherefore, whosoever doth affirm that there may be any (*i. e.* any of the elect) lost, doth affirm that Christ hath a torn body."(*n*)

The above valuable letter of recantation is thus inscribed: "A Letter to the Congregation of Free-willers, by One that had been of that Persuasion, but come off, and now a Prisoner for Religion:" which superscription will hereafter, in its due place, supply us with a remark of more than slight importance.

To occupy the place of argument, it has been alleged that "Mr. Wesley is an old man;" and the Church of Rome is still older than he. Is that any reason why the enormities, either of the mother or the son, should pass unchastised?

It has also been suggested, that "Mr. Wesley is a very laborious man:" not more laborious, I presume, than a certain active being, who is said to go to and fro in the earth, and walk up and down in it: (*o*) nor yet more laborious, I should imagine, than certain ancient Sectarians, concerning whom it was long ago said, "Woe unto you Scribes, Pharisees, hypocrites; for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte:"(*p*) nor, by any means, so usefully laborious, as a certain diligent member of the community, respecting whose variety of occupations the public have lately received the following intelligence: "The truth of the following instance of industry may be depended on: a poor man, with a large family, now cries milk, every morning, in Lothbury, and the neighbourhood of the Royal Exchange; at eleven, he wheels about a barrow of potatoes; at one, he cleans shoes at the 'Change; after dinner, cries milk again; in the evening, sells sprats; and at night, finishes the measure of his labour as a watchman."(*q*)

Mr. Sellon, moreover, reminds me (p. 128.) that, "while the shepherds are quarrelling, the wolf gets into the sheep fold;" not impossible: but it so happens, that the present quarrel is not among "the shepherds," but with the "wolf" himself; which "quarrel" is warranted by every maxim of pastoral meekness and fidelity.

I am farther told, that, while I am "berating the Arminians, Rome and the devil laugh in their sleeves." Admitting that Mr. Sellon might derive this anecdote from the fountain-head, the parties themselves, yet, as neither they nor he are very conspicuous for veracity, I construe the intelligence by the rule of reverse, though authenticated by the deposition of their right trusty and well-beloved cousin and counsellor.

Once more: I am charged with "excessive superciliousness, and majesty of pride:" and why not charged with having seven heads and ten horns, and a tail as long as a bell-rope? After all, what has my pride, or my humility, to do with the argument in hand? Whether I am haughty, or meek, is of no more consequence either to that, or to the public, than whether I am tall or short: however, I am, at this very time, giving one proof, that my "majesty of pride" can stoop; stoop even to ventilate the impertinences of Mr. Sellon.

But, however frivolous his cavils, the principles for which he contends are of the most pernicious nature and tendency. I must repeat, what already seems to have given him so much offence, that Arminianism "came from Rome, and leads thither again." Julian, bishop of Eclana a cotemporary and disciple of Pelagius, was one of those who endeavoured, with much art, to gild the doctrines of that heresiarch, in order to render them more sightly and palatable. The Pelagian system, thus varnished and palliated, soon began to acquire the softer name of Semipelagianism. Let us take a view of it, as drawn to our hands by the celebrated Mr. Bower, who was himself, in the main, a professed Pelagian, and therefore less likely to present us with an unfavourable portrait of the system he generally approved.

Among the principles of that sect, this learned writer enumerates the following:

"The notion of election and reprobation, independent on our merits or demerits, is maintaining a fatal necessity, is the bane of all virtue, and serves only to render good men remiss in working out their salvation, and to drive sinners to despair.

"The decrees of election and reprobation are posterior to, and in consequence of, our good or evil works, as foreseen by God from all eternity."(*r*)

Is not this too the very language of modern Arminianism? Do not the partizans of that scheme argue on the same principles, and express their objections against Calvinism even in the same identical terms? Should it be said, "True, this proves that Arminianism is Pelagianism revived; but it does not prove, that the doctrines of Arminianism are originally Popish:" a moment's cool attention will make it plain that they are. Let us again hear Mr. Bower, who, after the passage just quoted, immediately adds, "on these two last propositions, the Jesuits found their whole system of grace and free-will; agreeing therein with the Semipelagians, against the Jansenists and St. Austin."(*s*) The Jesuits were

(*n*) Strype, u. s. (*o*) Job i. 7. with 1 Pet. v. 8.
(*p*) Matth. xxiii. 15.
(*q*) Bath Chronicle, for Feb. 6, 1772.

(*r*) Bower's Hist. of the Popes, vol. i. p. 350.
(*s*) Bower, *ibid.*

moulded into a regular body, towards the middle of the sixteenth century: toward the close of the same century, Arminius began to infest the Protestant churches. It needs therefore no great penetration, to discern from what source he drew his poison. His journey to Rome (though Monsieur Bayle affects to make light of the inferences which were at that very time deduced from it) was not for nothing. If, however, any are disposed to believe, that Arminius imbibed his doctrines from the Socinians in Poland, with whom, it is certain, he was on terms of intimate friendship, I have no objection to splitting the difference: he might import some of his tenets from the Racovian brethren, and yet be inbedded, for others, to the disciples of Loyola.

Certain it is, that Arminius himself was sensible, how greatly the doctrine of predestination widens the distance between Protestantism and Popery. "There is no point of doctrines (says he) which the Papists, the Anabapists, and the (new) Lutherans more fiercely oppose, nor by means of which they heap more discredit on the reformed Churches, and bring the reformed system itself into more odium; for they (*i. e.* the Papists, &c.) assert, that no fouler blasphemy against God can be thought or expressed, than is contained in the doctrine of predestination."(*t*) For which reason, he advises the reformed world to discard predestination from their creed, in order that they may live on more brotherly terms with the Papists, the Anabaptists, and such like.

The Arminian writers make no scruple to seize and retail each other's arguments, as common property. Hence, Samuel Hoord copies from Van Harmin the self-same observation which I have now cited. "Predestination (says Samuel) is an opinion odious to the Papists, opening their foul mouths, against our Church and religion:"(*u*) consequently, our adopting the opposite doctrines of universal grace and free-will, would, by bringing us so many degrees nearer to the Papists, conduce to shut their mouths, and make them regard us, so far at least, as their own orthodox and dearly beloved brethren: whence it follows, that, as Arminianism came from Rome, so "it leads thither again."

If the joint verdict of Arminius himself, and of his English proselyte Hoord, will not turn the scale, let us add the testimony of a professed Jesuit, by way of making up full weight. When archbishop Laud's papers were examined, a letter was found among them, thus endorsed with that prelate's own hand: "March, 1628. A Jesuit's Letter, sent to the Rector at Bruxels, about the ensuing Parliament." The design of this letter was to give the Superior of the Jesuits, then resident at Brussels, an account of the posture of civil and ecclesiastical affairs in England; an extract from it I shall here subjoin: "Father Rector, let not the damp of astonishment seize upon your ardent and zealous soul, in apprehending the sodaine and unexpected calling of a Parliament. We have now many strings to our bow. We have planted that soveraigne drugge Arminianisme, which we hope will purge the Protestants from their heresie; and it flourisheth and beares fruit in due season. For the better prevention of the Puritanes, the Arminians have already locked up the Duke's (of Buckingham) eares; and we have those of our owne religion, which stand continually at the Duke's chamber, to see who goes in and out: we cannot be too circumspect and carefull in this regard. I am, at this time, transported with joy, to see how happily all instruments and means, as well great as lesser, co-operate unto our purposes. But, to return unto the maine fabricke:—Our foundation is Arminianisme. The Arminians and projectors, as it appeares in the premises, affect mutation. This we second and enforce by probable arguments."(*x*)

The "sovereign drug, Arminianism," which, said the Jesuit, "we (*i. e.* we Papists) have planted" in England, did indeed bid fair "to purge" our Protestant Church effectually. How merrily Popery and Arminianism, at that time, danced hand in hand, may be learned from Tindal: "The churches were adorned with paintings, images, altar-pieces, &c. and, instead of communion tables, altars were set up, and bowings to them and the sacramental elements enjoined. The predestinarian doctrines were forbid, not only to be preached, but to be printed; and the Arminian sense of the Articles was encouraged and propagated."(*y*) The Jesuit, therefore, did not exult without cause. The "sovereign drug," so lately "planted," did indeed take deep root downward, and bring forth fruit upward, under the cherishing auspices of Charles and Laud.

Heylyn, too, acknowledges, that the state of things was truly described by another Jesuit of that age, who wrote thus: "Protestantism waxeth weary of itself. The doctrine (by the Arminians, who then sat at the helm) is altered in many things, for which their progenitors forsook the Church of Rome: as *limbus patrum*; prayer for the dead, and possibility of keeping God's commandments; and the accounting of Calvinism to be heresy at least, if not treason."(*z*)

The maintaining of these positions, by the Court divines, was an "alteration" indeed; which the abandoned Heylyn ascribes to "the ingenuity and moderation found in some professors of our religion." If we sum up the evidence that has been given, we shall find its amount to be, that Arminianism came from the Church of Rome, and leads back again to the pit whence it was digged.

The mention of Rome naturally enough paves the way for saying something about John Goodwin: and the rather, as Mr. Sellon seriously supposes that I paid his friend Wesley a very great compliment, when I styled him, which I still do, the John Goodwin of the present age. The greatness of this compliment will appear, from the following short particulars, which some historians have transmitted to posterity, concerning the said Goodwin.

(*t*) Porro, nullum est doctrinæ caput, quod Papistæ, Anabaptistæ, et Lutherani acrius oppugnent; perque cujus latus ecclesiis nostris gravius invidiam concilient, totamque adeo doctrinam in odium vocent: statuentes, nullum tam fœdam adversus Deum blasphemiam excogitari aut verbis proferri posse. Arminius, in Oper. p. 115. Ludg. 1629.

(*u*) Hoord, in Bishop Davenant's Animadversions, Camb. 1641

(*x*) Hidden works of darkness, p. 89, 90. Edit. 1645.

(*y*) Tindal's Contin. of Rapin, vol. 3. octavo, 1738.

(*z*) Life of Laud, p. 238.

About the year 1652, when Cromwell's design of usurping the sovereign power became more and more apparent, a set of visionaries, known by the name of Fifth-Monarchy Men,(*a*) grew very turbulent and conspicuous. Their grand ring-leader was John Goodwin, the Arminian; who had also rendered himself remarkable, by aspersing the Calvinistic doctrines of the Church of England, and by publishing a folio Vindication of King Charles's Beheaders: yet, behold the art of this crafty Arminian! though the Fifth-Monarchy Men were not a little odious and formidable to Oliver Cromwell, and though John Goodwin was actually at the head of those odious and formidable fanatics, Goodwin, notwithstanding plyed Cromwell so assiduously with flattery and obsequiousness, as to gain no small measure of that Usurper's confidence: even the dissembling Oliver was, in part, over-reached by the still more exquisite dissimulation of master Goodwin.

Let not the candid reader imagine, that my colouring is too strong, or laid on too thickly: to cut off the very possibility of such a surmise, I shall express what I farther have to observe concerning the sly Fifth-Monarchy Man, in the words of others: not forgetting, at the same time, to subjoin, from bishop Burnet, as much as may suffice to authenticate what has been already placed to John Goodwin's account.

"The Fifth-Monarchy Men seemed (*viz.* A. D. 1652 and 1653,) to be really in expectation, every day, when Christ should appear. John Goodwin headed these; who first brought in Arminianism among the sectaries. None of the preachers were so thorough-paced for him (*i. e.* for Cromwell) as to temporal matters, as Goodwin was; for he (Goodwin) not only justified the putting the King to death, but magnified it as the gloriousest action men were capable of. He (Goodwin filled all people with such expectation of a glorious thousand years speedily to begin, that it looked like a madness possessing them (*b*)." Such being the principles of John Goodwin, what a master-piece of political cunning must his conduct have been which could fix him so tightly in the saddle of Cromwell's esteem! On the one hand, Cromwell was taking large strides toward the throne; and, soon, actually acquired kingly power, though (by spinning his thread of affected moderation too finely) he missed the name of King. On the other hand, Goodwin, who had long represented kingship as the great Antichrist which hindered

(*a*) The leading principle, and the extravagant spirit, of these double-dyed enthusiasts, will appear, in part, from the titles of two famous Tracts published by them, about this æra:—1. "The sounding of the last Trumpet; or, several Visions, declaring the universal overturning and rooting up of all earthly Powers in England: with many other Things foretold, which shall come to pass in this Year 1650, lately shewed unto George Foster, who was commanded to print them."—2. "Sion's approaching Glory; or, the great and glorious Day of the Lord King Jesus's appearing; before whom all the Kings of the Nations must fall, and never rise again. Accurately described, according to the Prophets, Christ, and his Apostles, in Three-and-forty Sections: by James Freze, Merchant, 1652." See Grey's Notes on Hudibras, vol. 2. p. 245.

The Fifth-Monarchists were not entirely extinguished, at the Restoration of Charles II. "That king (says bishop Burnet) had not been many days at Whitehall, when one Venner, a violent Fifth-Monarchy Man, who thought it was not enough to believe that Christ was to put the Saints into the possession of the kingdom, but added to this, that the Saints were to take the kingdom themselves, gathered some of the most furious of the party to a Meeting in Coleman-street (which, by the way, was the very part of the town where John Goodwin, at that very time, privately exercised his ministry; and it is not improbable, but Goodwin's own Meeting-house might be the place of rendezvous, to which Venner convened his brother conspirators. See Calamy's Account of the Ejected Ministers, p. 53. Edit. 1713.) There they concerted the day and the manner of their rising to set Christ on his throne, as they called it: but, withal, they meant to manage the government in his name; and were so formal, that they had prepared standards and colours, with their devices on them, and furnished themselves with very good arms; but, when the day came, there was but a small appearance, not exceeding twenty; however, they resolved to venture out into the streets, and cry out, No King but Christ. Some of them seemed persuaded, that Christ would come down and head them. They scoured the streets before them, and made a great progress; they killed a great many; but were at last mastered by numbers; and were all either killed, or taken and executed." Burnet's own Time, vol. i. p. 160, 161. Folio.

Bishop Kennett justly observes, that the Fifth-Monarchy Men were "the most bold and bloody of all sorts of enthusiasts." Complete Hist. of Engl. vol. 3. p. 225.

Dr. Echard will, more than any historian yet quoted, let us into the true knowledge of the unparalled exorbitances, which marked the temper and proceedings of this species of fanatics. Venner himself was, it seems, a preaching Cooper, and used to hold forth in John Goodwin's pulpit (that tub without hoops,) in Colman street. The topics, on which Venner and his associates usually harrangued their Arminian auditory, were, the expedience and necessity of "taking up arms for king Jesus (I shudder at the blasphemy), against the powers of the earth, the king, the duke of York, general Monk, &c. assuring them, that no weapons formed against them (*i. e.* against their own sect) should prosper, nor an hair of their heads be touched; for one should chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight. Upon which they got a declaration printed, entitled, A Door of Hope opened: in which they said and declared, that they would never sheath their swords, till Babylon (as they called monarchy) became an hissing and a curse; and (till) there be left neither remnant, son, nor nephew: that, when they had led captivity captive in England, they would go into France, Spain, Germany, &c. and rather die, than take the wicked oaths of supremacy and allegiance: that they would not make any leagues with monarchists, but would rise up against the carnal to possess the gate, or the world; to bind their kings in chains and their nobles in fetters of iron." The historian then gives a circumstantial account of Venner's insurrection, in consequence of these godly resolutions: but he, and nineteen others, being at length overpowered and taken, were tried at the Old Bailey, "for treason and murder; which being fully proved on Venner and sixteen of the rest, when sentence was pronounced against them, and Lord Chief Justice Foster seriously charged Venner with the blood of his unhappy accomplices, Venner impudently replied, It was not he, but Jesus, that led them. Being sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, Venner and Hodgkins were, on the 19th of January, executed, over against their Meeting-house, in Coleman-street." Echard's Hist. of Engl. vol. 3. p. 42—14.

Bishop Kennett affirms, that most of the Fifth-Monarchy Men, who were executed on account of Venner's insurrection, died "raving, and threatening judgment, and calling down vengeance on the king, the judges, and the city" of London. Complete Hist. u. s.

And yet Mr. John Wesley and Mr. Walter Sellon are for referring us to the writings of John Goodwin (the very man who was at the head of the Fifth-monarchy Men, and whose Meeting house in Coleman-street appears to have been the rendezvous and head quarters of the party,) as the school of orthodoxy, wherein we are to learn what are the genuine doctrines of the Church of England!"—*Credat Judæus apella, non ego.*

(*b*) Burnet's Own Times, vol. i. p. 67.

Christ's being set on his throne (*c*)," carried himself fairly with the Protector, who was, every day, visibly approximating nearer and nearer to that very "kingship" which Goodwin abhorred as "the great Antichrist" that excluded the Messiah from possessing his right. A little to save appearances, Cromwell canted, occasionally, to Goodwin, and the rest of the Fifth-Monarchy Men; and in return, Goodwin as cantingly pretended to be convinced of Cromwell's holy and upright intentions!

It surprised every body, says Burnet, that John Goodwin, who had been so furious and active against Charles I. should come off with impunity, after the restoration of Charles II. "But (adds the right reverend historian), Goodwin had been so zealous an Arminian, and had sown such division among all the sectaries, on these heads, that, it was said, this procured him friends (*d*)." It has long been universally known and acknowledged that Charles II. himself had been, for some time before the commencement of his reign, a concealed Papist; and that he continued such, to the last moment of his life. No wonder, therefore, that Goodwin's Arminianism (*e*) atoned for the rancour and frenzy of his political principles and behaviour. "Goodwin had, so often, not only justified, but magnified, the putting the king to death, both in his sermons and books, that few thought he could have been either forgot or excused; for (Hugh) Peters and he were the only preachers who spoke of it in that strain (*f*)." Who will say, that John Goodwin knew not how to balance a straw? During the civil commotions, the ranter kept himself secure, by his abhorrence of monarchy. After the nation was resettled, he preserved his neck, and his treasons were overlooked, on account of his zeal for Arminianism. He had been already serviceable to the Popish cause, by "sowing divisions" among Protestants; and he was suffered to live, by a Popish prince who aimed at arbitrary power, in order to his being farther useful in the same laudable department.

So much for Goodwin, as a politician: a word or two now, concerning him as a divine, and an individual; for it is, chiefly, in these latter respects, that I have honoured Mr. John Wesley with, what Mr. Sellon calls, "the great commendation" of being the John Goodwin of the present age.

Dr. Calamy informs, us, that, on the Restoration, Goodwin, "not being satisfied with the terms of the Uniformity-act, lived and died a Non-conformist. He was a man by himself; was against every man, and had every man almost against him. He was very warm and eager (in) whatsoever he engaged in (*g*)." The same writer observes, that Goodwin "wrote such a number of controversial pieces, that it would be no easy thing to reckon them up with any exactness (*h*)." If instead of the word "wrote," we only substitute the word "pilfered," the whole of these two passages will fit both the Mr. Johns as neatly as their skins.

A very humorous circumstance, respecting Goodwin, is related by Antony Wood: an ingenious writer of that age published a book against Goodwin, with this facetious title: "Coleman-street Conclave visited; and that grand impostor, the Schismatic's Cheater in Chief (who hath long slily lurked therein) truly and duly discovered, containing a most palpable and plain Display of Mr John Goodwin's Self-conviction, and of the notorious Heresies, Errors, Malice, Pride, and Hypocrisy, of this most huge Garagantua. London, 1648." The title is curious; but the frontis-piece, prefixed, was exquisitely laughable, and most justly descriptive of the original. "Before the title (continues Wood) is John Goodwin's picture, with a windmill over his head, and a weathercock upon it, with other hieroglyphics, or emblems, about him, to shew the instability of the man (*i*)." The writer of the above piece was Mr. John Vicars, the famous author of "The Schismatic sifted;" who, if he sifted all schismatics as searchingly as he appears to have sifted John Goodwin, the schismatics of that age had no great reason to be much in love either with the sifter, or the sieve. What a masterly sifting would such a man have given to John Wesley and Walter Sellon! But they must now content themselves with Goodwin's legacy of the windmill surmounted by a weathercock.

Goodwin had an excellent talent at scurrility and abuse; whereof take the following concise example: Mr. Nedham had written two treatises against him; the one entitled, "Trial of Mr. John Goodwin at the Bar of Religion and right Reason:" the other, "The great Accuser cast down;" on which the inflammable Arminian immediately took fire, and gave vent to his rage in explosions not the most gentle. He characterized Nedham as having "a foul mouth, which Satan had opened against the truth and mind of God," as being "a person of infamous and unclean character for the service of the triers;" as "a man that curseth whatsoever he blesseth, and blesseth whatsoever he curseth (*k*)." And yet John Goodwin is represented as having been, like Mr. John Wesley, "a meek, loving-hearted" Arminian! Let me add, concerning the first of these Johns, that (among a multitude of other refuters) he was taken to task, in 1653, by the learned Mr. Obadiah Howe, in a performance entitled, "the Pagan Preacher silenced (*l*)." I question, if any of Goodwin's Pagan preachments are still extant: but such of his Pagan treatises as have reached the present times, are, I find, the very Bible and Common Prayer-book of Mr. Walter Sellon. I shall close these remarks on Goodwin with some of the encomiums heaped on him by his said admirer. John Goodwin, saith this sagacious critic, was a man "whom envy itself cannot but praise; a glorious champion for the truth of

(*c*) Burnet, ibid.
(*d*) Burnet, ibid, p. 163.
(*e*) Goodwin, however, soon after the coming of Charles II. trembled for his neck, and thought proper to lie hid for a season. The immediate occasion of which panic was this: in August 1660, "was called in a book of John Goodwin (then lately a Minister in Coleman-street, London), entitled, The Obstructers of Justice; written in defence of the sentence against his Majesty Charles I. At which time also the said Goodwin absconded, to prevent justice." (Wood's *Athenæ*, vol. i. col. 882. Edit. 1691.) The fox, however, at length, ventured out of this hole, and was not earthed till 1665.
(*f*) Burnet, ibid.
(*g*) Account of Ejected Ministers, p. 53.
(*h*) Continuation, vol. i. p. 78.
(*i*) *Athenæ*, vol. ii. col. 65.
(*k*) *Athenæ*, vol. 2. col. 469:
(*l*) Ibid. 558.

the gospel, and for the genuine doctrines of the Church of England (*m*)." Thus chaunts the godly and loyal Mr. Sellon: the veracity, the modesty, and the propriety of whose panegyric, may be amply collected from the foregoing testimonies, which I have produced, concerning the rantiug-Fifth-Monarchy Man, J. Goodwin.

Mr. Sellon is no happier in deducing conclusions, than in the drawing of characters: witness his judicious commentary on a passage of mine, whence he labours to distil no less than the doctrine of universal salvation. In my remarks on Dr. Nowel, I testified my firm belief, that the souls of all departed infants are with God in glory: that, in the decree of predestination to life, God hath included all whom he decreed to take away in infancy; and that the decree of reprobation hath nothing to do with them (*n*). From these premises says Sellon, it follows that "Mr. Toplady himself maintains general redemption, and even the universal salvation of mankind." *Logica Selloniana*. As if all mankind died in infancy. "Oh, but you quoted Matthew xviii. 14, to prove the salvation of infants;" true: I did so. Let us review the text itself. "It is not the will of your Father which is in Heaven, that one of these little ones should perish." Supposing this to be spoken of infants, literally so called, it certainly proves, that all who die in that state are saved. "Oh, but our Lord says nothing about their dying in that state; he speaks of little ones in general, whether they live long, or die soon." Does he indeed? Consult verse 10, "Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you, that their angels (*i e.* as I understand it, the souls of such of them as die in infancy) do always behold the face of my Father who is in Heaven." Now, I should imagine it impossible for the angels, or souls, of little children, always to behold the face of God in Heaven, unless their souls were previously dislodged from their bodies by death: consequently according to my view of the passage, our Lord, in the 14th verse, speaks of such little ones, and of such only, as actually die in infancy. "Oh, but the word angels means guardian angels, appointed to take care of children." Before I can subscribe to this, I must see a grain or two of that necessary thing called proof. That children, no less than adults, are objects of angelic attention, in the course of Providence, I am far from denying: but, in my present conceptions of the passage under consideration, I cannot believe that exposition to convey the true sense of this particular text. Among other reasons, the following is one: how can those superior spirits, who are (upon very probable grounds) supposed, very frequently, if not constantly, to attend on infants, be yet said to behold always the face of our Father, in heaven? In order, therefore, to prove, that the word angels, in this declaration of our Lord, means angels, properly so termed, it must be first proved, that angels, properly so termed, can be present in more places than one, at one and the same time. "Oh, but angels may sometimes attend children on earth, and at other times be present in Heaven:" likely enough: but the angels, here spoken of, are said always to behold the face or glory of God, and that in Heaven: an affirmation which can never be reconciled to propriety, or even to truth, if they are supposed to be absent from Heaven at any period, or on any occasion. "Oh, but if angels are long-sighted, they may see into Heaven while they are on earth." I never met with a treatise on the optics of angels, and therefore cannot say much to this hypothetical objection. On the whole, if "little ones in general," whether they die young, or live to maturity, be (as Mr. Sellon contends) entitled to salvation, his own title to happiness is incontestible. If little reasoning, less knowledge, and no regard to truth or decency, be a passport to the skies, this exotic star will glitter there, like a diamond of the first water. In the mean while, I should be obliged to the said star, if he would, with the help of Mr. Wesley's irradiation, shew me what becomes of departed infants, upon the Arminian plan of conditional salvation, and election on good works foreseen.

From two Arminians, let me, for a moment, pass to a third. It will be found, in the following Historical Disquisition, that I have made some use of Dr. Peter Heylyn's testimonies in favour of the grand argument: and I admit his depositions, on the same principle by which men of the most exceptionable cast are sometimes allowed to turn king's evidence.

(*m*) Sellon, p. 26.

(*n*) See my Vindication of the Church of England from Arminianism.

HISTORIC PROOF OF THE DOCTRINAL CALVINISM OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

SECTION I.

Free-willers the first Separatists from the Church of England.—*Character and Vindication of King* Edward VI.

Time has been, when Arianism was more generally predominant throughout the Christian Church, than even Arminianism is at present, The whole world, says history, wondered, to see itself become Arian. It was Athanasius against all the world, and all the world against Athanasius.

Hardly were the clouds of Arianism dispersed when the Pelagian darkness overspread a considerable part of the ecclesiastical horizon; and its influence has continued, more or less, to obscure the glory of the Christian faith, from that period to this. Yet is the eclipse far from total. We have a multitude of names, even in our present Sardis, who defile not either their doctrinal or their moral garments; and there is very good reason to believe, that their number, in this kingdom, both among clergy and laity is continually increasing.

It is no novelty for the doctrines of grace to meet with opposition; and, indeed, few doctrines have been so much opposed as they. Swarms of fanatical sectarists were almost coeval with the Reformation itself. Such is the imperfect state of things below, that the most important advantages are connected with some inconveniences. The shining of truth like the shining of the sun, wakens insects into life, which, otherwise, would have no sensitive existence. Yet, better for a few insects to quicken, than for the sun not to shine.

I shall not here review the tares which sprang up with the Protestant corn in Germany; but content myself with just observing, that there was one congregation of Free-willers in London, during the reign even of the pious king Edward VI. and notwithstanding the vigilance of our first Protestant bishops—I say, there was one congregation of Free-willers; or, as they were then most usually called, Free-will-men: and it should seem, that there was then, in the metropolis, no more than one conventicle of this kind, held by such as made profession of Protestanism. For that valuable letter of recantation, preserved by the impartial Mr. Strype, and of which so large a part has been quoted in our Introduction, was inscribed (as before observed) with the following remarkable title: "A Letter to the Congregation of Free-willers."

London, however, was not the only place in England where Pelagianism began to nestle, while good king Edward was on the throne. Some of the fraternity appeared likewise in two of the adjoining counties: *viz.* in Kent and Essex. Observe, I call the Free-willers of that age Pelagians; because the new name of Arminians was not then known. The appearance of Free-will-men in Kent and Essex is assigned by Strype to the year 1550, which was ten years before Arminius himself was born.

"Sectarists," says the historian, "appeared now (*viz.* A. D. 1550), in Essex and Kent, sheltering themselves under the profession of the gospel. Of whom complaint was made to the Council, These (*i. e.* these Free-willers) were the first that made separation from the Church of England; having gathered congregations of their own (*a*);" *viz.* one in London, one at Feversham in Kent, and another at Bocking in Essex. Besides which, they used to hold some petty bye-meetings, when a few of them could assemble with secresy and safety.

Before we proceed, let me interpose a short remark.—So far is the Church of England from asserting the spiritual powers of free-will, and from denying predestination, that the deniers of predestination, and the assertors of free-will, were the very first persons who separated from her communion, and made a rent in her garment, by "gathering" three schismatical "congregations of their own." Thus, the Free-willers were the original, and are to this day some of the most real and essential, dissenters from our evangelical establishment.

I now return to the historian, who thus goes on: "The congregation in Essex was mentioned to be at Bocking; that in Kent was at Feversham, as I learn from an old register.

(*a*) Strype's Memorials Ecclesiastical, vol. ii. b.i. ch. 29. p. 206.

From whence (*i. e.* from which same old register) I collect, that they held the opinions so far as free-will and predestination are concerned) of the Anabaptists and Pelagians (*b*)."

These Free-willers were, it seems, looked upon in so dangerous a view by the Church of England, that they were complained of to the Privy Council; and, for the more peaceful security of the reformed establishment, their names and tenets were authentically registered and enrolled.

Mr. Strype, after giving us the names of fifteen of them, adds as follows: "Their teachers and divers of them were taken up, and found sureties for their appearance; and at length brought into the Ecclesiastical Court, where they were examined in forty-six articles, or more (*c*)." Were (which God forbid) all Free-will-men to suffer equal molestation in the present age; were all Anti-predestinarians to be "taken up," "registered," "find sureties for their appearance," and at length be "examined in the Ecclesiastical Court;" what work would it make for constables, stationers, notaries, and bishops' officers!

But to resume the thread. "Many of those, before named, being desposed (*i. e.* put to their oath) upon the said articles, confessed these to be some sayings and tenets among them:

"That the doctrine of predestination was meeter for devils than for christian men.

"That children were not born in original sin.

"That no man was so chosen, but he might damn himself; neither any man so reprobate, but he might keep God's commandments, and be saved.

"That St. Paul might have damned himself if he listed.

"That learned men were the cause of great errors.

"That God's predestination was not certain, but upon condition.

"That to play at any manner of game for money is sin, and a work of the flesh.

"That lust after evil was not sin, if the act were not committed. That there were no reprobates. And,

"That the preaching of predestination is a damnable thing."(*d*)

So much for these Free-willers, who were the first Separatists from the Church of England; and whose tenets Mr. Strype (though not a Calvinist himself) justly allows to be Anabaptistical and Pelagian. How exactly do the doctrines of Wesley and Sellon, on the points of election, reprobation, and free-agency, chime in with the hot and muddy ideas of their Pelagian forefathers! I cannot help indulging a very suitable speculation. What a delicious pastor would Mr. Sellon in particular have made to the Free-willers of Bocking, or Feversham, had the æra of his nativity commenced about 200 years sooner! He would have fed them, not, indeed, with knowledge and understanding, but, after their own hearts. His lack of learning, his being "an exotic without academical education," would have been no impediment to that piece of promotion: nay, the flock would have liked him the better for it; seeing in their estimation, "learned men are the cause of great errors." The spirit of which maxim, aided by his blasphemies against predestination, would have made him (next to Free-will itself) the very idol of the sect.

O tibi præteritos referat si Jupiter annos!

Instead of being, as now, Mr. John Wesley's pack-horse, you might have sat up for yourself; and, as a reward for your meritorious denial of election, been elected Tub Orator to the Pelagians of Feversham, or Bocking

From such samples, as history has recorded, of the vigour (not to say the rigour), with which Free-will men were proceeded against, in the days of Edward VI. under whom the reformation of the Church was accomplished, it necessarily and unanswerably follows, that the Church herself was reformed from Popery to Calvinism, and held those predestinarian doctrines, which she punished (or, more properly, persecuted) the Pelagians for denying.

The persons who bore the main sway in Church and State at the time last referred to, were the King, the duke of Somerset, and archbishop Cranmer. Over and above the matters of fact, in which that illustrious triumvirate were concerned, and which neither would nor could have been directed into such a channel, had not those personages been Doctrinal Calvinists; there are also incontestible written evidences, to prove that they were, conscientiously and upon inward principle, firm believers of the Calvinistic doctrines. This shall be proved of Cranmer, in its proper place, when I come to treat of the Reformers. The same will sufficiently appear, as to Somerset, under the Section which is to treat of the influence which Calvin had on the English Reformation. The epistolary intimacy, which subsisted between Calvin and Somerset; the high veneration in which that foreign reformer was held by the latter; and the readiness with which the first Liturgy was altered, in consequence of the same reformer's application; plainly demonstrate that the duke of Somerset, no less than his royal nephew king Edward, and good archbishop Cranmer, had (happily for the Church) heartily adopted Calvin's doctrine, though (no less happily) not proselyted to Calvin's favourite form of ecclesiastical regimen. To these considerations let me add another, drawn from that most excellent prayer, written by himself, upon his being declared Protector of the Realm and governor of the King's person during his majesty's Minority It is entitled, "The Lord Protector's Prayer for God's Assistance in the high Office of protector and Governor, new committed to him." (*e*)

(*b*) Ibid. (*c*) Ibid. (*d*) Strype, u. s. p. 236, 237. (*e*) See Strype's Repository of Originals, annexed to the second vol. of Eccles. Memor. p. 18.

A man of the Duke's extraordinary piety can never be thought to trifle with God, and to prevaricate on his knees. The prayer itself, therefore, proves him to have been a Calvinist. Part of it runs thus: "Lord God of hosts, in whose only hand is life and death, victory and confusion, rule and subjection; I am the price of thy Son's death; for thy Son's sake thou wilt not lese (*i. e.* lose) me. I am a vessel for thy mercy; thy justice will not condemn me. I am recorded in the book of life; I am written with the very blood of Jesus; thy inestimable love will not then cancel my name: for this cause, Lord God, I am bold to speak to thy Majesty: thou, Lord, by thy providence, hast called me to rule; make me therefore able to follow thy calling: thou, Lord, by thine order, hast committed an anointed King to my governance; direct me therefore with thine hand, that I err not from thy good pleasure: finish in me, Lord, thy beginning; and begin in me that thou wilt finish." When this illustrious peer fell, afterwards, a sacrifice to the machinations and state intrigues of Warwick (who, himself, within a short time, paid dearly for his insidiousness and ambition,) Somerset, during his imprisonment in the Tower, and a little before his death, "translated, out of French into English, an epistle wrote to him by John Calvin (on the subject), of Godly Conversation, which he received while under his confinement, and was printed at London." (*f*)

As to the Calvinism of king Edward himself, every religious transaction of his reign sets it beyond a doubt. The reformation of the Church upon the principles she still professes, might suffice to comprehend all proofs in one: but this excellent prince was not content to establish the Church of England; he himself voluntarily and solemnly subscribed her Articles. "A book, containing these Articles, was signed by the King's own hand."(*g*) And Edward was too sincere a Christian, to sign what he did not believe; a species of prevarication reserved for the more accomplished iniquity of after-times; and which bids fair to end in the utter extirpation of all religion from amongst us.

Neither would king Edward have honoured what is commonly called Ponet's Catechism (of which, more hereafter) with his own prefixed letters of recommendation, had his Majesty not been a thorough Calvinist: nor would he, just before the agonies of death came upon him, have set his seal, as he did, to the doctrine of election, had not that doctrine been an essential and predominant article of his faith. "Lord God (said the royal saint, a little before he expired), deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among thy chosen." (*h*)

I unwillingly descend from one of the most wonderful and valuable princes that ever adorned a throne, to the meanest and most rancorous Arminian priest that ever disgraced a surplice. How extreme, how immense the transition, from king Edward VI. to Mr. Walter Sellon! But I must let the reader see, in what way this factor for Methodism pretends to account for the Calvinistic measures of king Edward's administration. Even thus: "Some rigid Calvinists in power had imposed upon that good young King, and made use of his authority to impose their notions upon the Church (Sell. p. 53)." A certain sort of people stand in particular need of good memories. Mr. Sellon's forsakes him in the very next page; where the "some rigid Calvinists" are dwindled into one. "Up starts rigid Ponet, and gets poor young king Edward, whom he had brought to his lure, to command all schoolmasters within his dominions to teach the youth this catechism (Ibid. p. 54)." What is this, but calling "poor young king Edward" a poor young fool? An insinuation as false and unjust to the real character of that extraordinary prince, as I should be guilty of, were I to insinuate that Mr. Sellon is a man of sense, learning, and good manners. But supposing we should, for a moment, admit (contrary to all fact and truth), that the "poor young King" was indeed a flexible piece of tape, which Ponet, bishop of Winchester, could easily twist round his finger at pleasure; yet, can it be imagined, that Ponet was an absolute monopolizer of the tape royal? Was he the only haberdasher who made property of the said tape? Could not a soul beside come in for a yard or two? Where (for instance) were Cranmer, and Ridley, and Hooper, and Latimer? Was it possible, that a transaction of such consequence to the Church of England, as the public sanction of Ponet's Catechism, could take effect, without the participation and concurrence of the other English bishops, and of the Convocation, and of the King's Council itself? Every reasonable man will say no: besides, however liable to imposition "poor young king" Edward may be represented, by the Arminians of the present age, yet, surely, his Majesty's next successor but one (under whom that same Catechism was revived, and published with enlargements, by Dr. Nowell, dean of London) cannot be thought to have been very soft and pliable: but, I dare say, Mr. Sellon, by way of answer to this remark, will content himself with crying out, poor young queen Elizabeth!

King Edward was by no means that ductile, undiscerning prince, for which Mr. Sellon's cause requires him to pass. As this defamer, under the impulse of his inspirer, Mr. Wesley, has thought proper to fasten this obliquity on that King's memory, I shall give a short summary of his character, drawn by the best authorities; and the rather, as Edward's reputa-

(*f*) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 160. Edit. 1768.
(*g*) Strype's Eccles. Memor. vol. ii. p. 368.
(*h*) Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 212.

tion is very closely interwoven with the credit of the Church of England, which chiefly owes her present purity and excellence to the pious and paternal authority of that young, but most respectable Josiah.

Bishop Latimer had the honour to know him well; and no man was ever less prone to flatter, than that honest, unpolished prelate. "Blessed (said he) is the land, where there is a noble king; where kings be no banqueters, no players, and where they spend not their time in hunting and hawking. And when had the King's majesty a Council, that took more pains, both night and day, for the setting forth of God's word, and profit of the common-wealth? And yet there be some wicked people that will say (and there are still some wicked Pelagians who continue to say), Tush, this gear will not tarry; it is but my Lord Protector's and my Lord of Canterbury's doing: the King is a child, and he knoweth not of it. Jesu, have mercy! how like are we Englishmen to the Jews, ever stubborn, stiff-necked, and walking in by-ways! Have not we a noble King? Was there ever king so noble, so godly brought up, with so noble Counsellors, so excellent and well-learned schoolmasters? I will tell you this, and speak it even as I think; his Majesty hath more godly wit and understanding, more learning and knowledge, at this age, than twenty of his progenitors, that I could name, had at any time of their life." (*i*)

Bishop John Bale, the Antiquarian, could also speak of the King upon personal knowledge; and his testimony is this: "He is abundantly replenished with the most gracious gifts of God; especially, with all kinds of good learning, far above all his progenitors, kings of this imperial region. The childhood of youth is not in him to be reproved; for so might king Josiah have been reproved, who began his reign in the eighth year of his age." The occasion of Bale thus vindicating king Edward, was the petulance of one whom he styles "a frantic Papist of Hampshire," who had insolently termed his Majesty, "a poor child:" which was much the same with Mr Sellon's contemptuous language of, "poor young king Edward." Mr. Strype, to whom I am indebted for the above quotation from Bale, goes on: "Then he (*i. e.* Bale) comes closer to this papist, so blasphemously reporting the noble and worthy king Edward, then in the fifteenth year of his age, and the fifth of his reign." Bale added, "His (Majesty's) worthy education in liberal letters, and godly virtues, and his natural aptness in retaining of the same, plenteously declared him to be no poor child, but a manifest Solomon in princely wisdom." (*k*)

Even bishop Burnet offers the following chaplet at Edward's tomb: "Thus died king Edward VI. that incomparable young prince. He was then in the sixteenth year of his age, and was counted the wonder of that time. He was not only learned in the tongues, and other liberal sciences, but knew well the state of his kingdom. He kept a book, in which he writ the characters that were given him of all the chief men of the nation, all the judges, lord-lieutenants, and justices of the peace, over England; in it he had marked down their way of living, and their zeal for religion. He had studied the matter of the Mint, with the exchange and value of money, so that he understood it well, as appears by his journal. He also understood fortification, and designed well. He knew all the harbours and ports, both of his own dominions, and of France and Scotland; and how much water they had, and what was the way of coming into them. He had acquired great knowledge in foreign affairs, so that he talked with the ambassadors about them, in such a manner, that they (*viz.* the foreign ambassadors) filled all the world with the highest opinion of him that was possible; which appears in most of the histories of that age. He had great quickness and apprehension; and, being mistrustful of his memory, used to take notes of almost every thing he heard. He writ these, first, in Greek characters, that those about him might not understand them: and, afterwards, writ them out in his journal. He had a copy brought him of every thing that passed in Council: which he put in a chest, and kept the key of that always himself. In a word, the natural and acquired perfections of his mind were wonderful. But his virtues and true piety were yet more extraordinary."(*l*)

Mountagu, bishop of Winchester, in his Preface to the Works of king James I. makes very observable mention of Edward, considered even as a writer. "Edward the Sixth, though his dayes were so short, as he could not give full proofe of those singular parts that were in him; yet he wrote divers epistles and orations, both in Greek and Latin. He wrote a treatise *de fide*, to the duke of Somerset He wrote an history of his owne time. Which are all yet extant, under his owne hand, in the King's library, as Mr. Patrick Young, his Majestie's learned Bibliothecarius, hath shewed me. And, which is not to bee forgotten, so diligent an hearer of sermons was that sweet prince, that the notes, of the most of the sermons he heard, are yet to be seene, under his own hand; with the preacher's name, the time, and the place, and all other circumstances."(*m*)

It were endless, to adduce the praises which have been deservedly accumulated on this most able and most amiable Monarch. But I must not overpass the character given of him by

(*i*) Latimer's Sermons vol. i. p. 89. 90. Octavo, 1758.
(*k*) See Strype's Eccles. Memor. vol. ii. p. 377. 378.
(*l*) Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. vol. ii. p. 212. & alibi.
(*m*) Bp. Mount. u. s. edit. 1616

Jerom Cardan, the famous Italian physician, who, the year preceding king Edward's death, spent some months in England. That foreigner, amidst all his acknowledged oddities, was still a person of very extraordinary genius and learning; so that his ability, to judge of the King's capacity and attainments, is indisputable. And the consideration of his being also a Papist, will not suffer us to suppose, that his encomiums have any mixture of party prejudice in this prince's favour. Moreover, Cardan wrote and published his testimony in a country, and at a time, which rendered it (*n*) impossible for him to have any sinister interest in view. "All the Graces," says he "were apparent in king Edward, and, for the tongues, he was not only exact in the English, French, and Latin; but understood the Greek, Italian, and Spanish. Nor was he ignorant of Logic, the principles of Natural Philosophy, or Music: being apt to learn every thing. The sweetness of his temper was such as became a mortal; his gravity becoming the majesty of a King; and his disposition suitable to his high degree. In short, that child was so bred, had such parts, and was of such expectation, that he looked like a miracle of a man. These things are not spoken rhetorically, and beyond the truth; but are indeed short of it. He began to love the liberal arts, before he knew them; to know them, before he could use them. And in him there was such an effort of nature, that not only England, but the world, has reason to lament his being so early snatched away. How truly was it said, of such extraordinary persons, that their lives are short! He gave us an essay of virtue, though he did not live to give us a pattern of it. When the gravity of a king was needful, he carried himself like a man in years: and yet was always affable and gentle, as became his youth. In bounty he emulated his father, who in some cases may appear to have been bad; but there was no ground for suspecting any such thing in the son, whose mind was cultivated by the study of Philosophy."(*o*)

Mr. Guthrie's character of him is far from being excessive. The outlines of Edward's portrait, as drawn by the masterly hand of that able Historian, shall terminate our present review of this great prince. "Henry VIII. was the Romulus, and Edward VI. the Numa Pompilius, of English Reformation. The former laid its foundation in blood and rapine; the latter reared its fabric, by justice and moderation. Learning is the most trifling part of Edward's character. The rod may make a scholar; but nature must form a genius. Edward had genius. His learning, indeed, was extraordinary; but in that he was equalled, if not excelled, by others of equal years, and of a different sex. Perhaps his sister Elizabeth, and his designed successor, the lady Jane Gray, at his age, knew the languages better than he did. But Edward discovered a genius for government, beyond what, perhaps, ever was known in so early a bloom of life. He soon fell in with those walks of knowledge which lead to the glory and happiness both of prince and people. He understood the principles of trade, and the true maxims which the English ought to pursue with foreign countries, to much greater perfection than any author who wrote at that time on those subjects. The papers which remain in his writing, concerning a mart, and the reformation of abuses, might be suspected not to be of his composition, did we know of any person in those days, who could write so clearly and intelligibly, and, by consequence, so elegantly. His Journal contains, so far as it goes, an account of all the important transactions falling within it; penned in such a manner, as amply proves its author to have known the bottom of every subject he touches. His perpetual attention to commerce gave him, towards the end of his reign, a true notion of that conduct, which England ought to pursue, in those disputes upon the Continent, which endanger the balance of power there. It helped him to form great schemes for the improvement of his maritime force, for the security of his coasts, for the protection of his ships; and, in his project of opening free marts in England, there is somewhat that points towards introducing a new and better system of mercantile affairs, than has yet, perhaps, been pursued. He acquired a taste for elegant magnificence; and, in this, he seems to have been single in his Court. His appearances, on public occasions, were sometimes, perhaps, too Eastern: but he seems to have corrected this extravagance, by striking off a great deal of useless expense. Had Providence been so well reconciled to England, as to have indulged Edward in a longer reign, he had private virtue sufficient to have brought private virtue once more into reputation: while his judgment was so strong, as, at once, to re-animate, and employ the public spirit of his people. The application of this royal youth laid the corner-stones on which the commerce of England is founded, and which alone gives her the rank of a Queen among nations. It was his piety, that purged her religion from superstition; it was his good sense, getting the better of his prejudices, that

(*n*) Cardan refused to offer the incense of (what he thought would have been) adulation to king Edward, even in that prince's life-time, and during his (Cardan's) residence at the English Court. Much less would he be induced to fawn upon his memory. The philosopher's conduct on that occasion, though it resulted from a mistaken principle, reflects some honour on his integrity and disinterestedness. "I refused (says he), a purse of five hundred pieces some tell me it was a thousand; but I cannot ascertain the precise sum), because I would not acknowledge one of the King's titles, in prejudice of the Pope's authority." See Bayle's Dict. vol. ii. p. 316. note (*D*).

(*o*) See the Acta Regia. p. 439. Edit. 1734.

saved her possessions from ruin, and rescued her Clergy from contempt. It was his example, which fired the young nobility and gentry of his own years, with that generous emulation, which pushed them into every glorious pursuit, when their manly qualities, in a following reign (*viz.* in the reign of Elizabeth,) raised their drooping country to glory and to empire. It is owing to Edward's compassion, that, at this day, in England's capital, the helpless orphan finds a father; that erring youth are provided with instruction; and that Heaven receives the sounds of praise and gratitude from the mouth of the infant. His wisdom prepared a check for the intemperate, and correction for the idle. His cares make gray hairs go down, without sorrow, to the grave. His bounty embellishes those places, which his charity endowed. And his own person was the habitation where love and learning, the graces and the virtues, delighted to dwell."(*p*)

Let me just add, that whosoever has read king Edward's Treatise against the Supremacy of the Bishops of Rome (published at London, in 1682), will cease to be surprised at that admiration, with which the English historians celebrate the parts and piety of the royal author. The merits of that performance, in particular, are so transcendent, that a most ingenious acquaintance of mine once doubted, whether it was possible for so young a prince to be the composer of so learned and masterly a work. But my friend (eminent for possessing one of the finest collections of natural and artificial curiosities that ever fell to the lot of a private person) has been so happy as to add to his treasures the original manuscript, in Edward's own hand writing; which places the authenticity of the book above dispute.

Judge now, whether Edward, thus endued with the whole circle of princely qualifications could be that weak, supple, facile, waxen image of a king, which Mr. Wesley's malice and Mr. Sellon's ignorance combine to represent. In trying at which, they not only violate all historic truth, but labour also to blacken the Church of England; by defaming the Protestant Monarch who was, under God, its father and visible head: a monarch, who, like Alfred, was born for the good of mankind; and the lustre of whose crown was eclipsed by the virtues of him that wore it. King Edward's being a Calvinist is the unpardonable crime for which Arminian Methodism seeks to lay his memory in the dust. Under him it was that the English Liturgy was compiled, reformed, and perfected; the Homilies composed; the Articles of Religion framed; and Ponet's Catechism drawn up: which two latter, *viz.* the Articles and the said Catechism, "were in general received and subscribed to all over the kingdom." (*q*) These were the crimes of Edward and his reforming bishops, for which, Peter Heylin, John Wesley, and Walter Sellon, labour to heap odium on the best of princes and the best of prelates.

(*p*) Guthrie's Hist. of England, vol. iii p. 1. 121—123.

(*q*) Guthrie, u. s. p. 114

SECTION II.

Arminianism *charged and proved on the Church of Rome.*

Mr. Sellon acknowledges his absolute inequality to the task he has undertaken. "I know nothing at all," says he, "how to fence or push:"(*r*) *i. e.* he can neither attack, nor defend. A very proper person to set up for a champion, and to style himself a vindicator! But there was no need of such an explicit confession. His production sufficiently demonstrates that its producer can neither fence nor push. Witness the opening of his very first assault, in page 3, where I am presented with a tierce, not of blunderbusses, but of blunders. "In that point," says the blunderer, "which you stickle so mightily for, *viz.* the doctrine of absolute, irrespective predestination, though all the members of the Church of Rome do not fall in with it, because they are not compelled to it, as all the members of the Church of Geneva do, because they are compelled to it; yet, if the testimony of Dr. Potter, some time dean of Windsor, be to be depended upon, there are ten Catholics, that hold this point of Genevan doctrine, for one that is so much an Arminian as to deny it." Such a cluster of glaring untruths deserves no answer. By way, however, of shewing, what an honest and accurate opponent I have to deal with, I'll give the paragraph a thorough sifting.

1. "All the members of the Church of Geneva are compelled to fall in with" the doctrine of predestination. So far is this from being true, that the doctrine itself, of predestination, has been expelled from Geneva, for very considerably more than half a century back. Geneva, which was once dreaded by Papists, as one of the head quarters of Calvinism, and termed, by them, for that reason, "The Protestant Rome," is now, in that happy respect, Geneva no longer. The once faithful city is become an harlot. The unworthy son of one of the greatest divines that ever lived (I mean Benedict, son, if I mistake not, of the immortal Francis Turretin) was a principal instrument of this doctrinal revolution. And, to the everlasting dishonour of bishop Burnet, he, during his exile, contributed not a little to the inroads of Arminianism at Geneva, by prevailing with the leading persons there to abolish the test of ministerial subscriptions,

(*r*) Page 123.

about the year 1686. (*s*) After his return to England, and his advancement to the episcopal bench, there is great reason to believe, that he would very willingly have played the same game here; and lain the Church of England under a similar obligation to "his warmth and the weight of his character," by releasing (to continue the language of his filial biographer) our clergy too from "the folly and ill consequence of such subscriptions." But, through the goodness of Providence, the people of England were not such implicit trucklers to his lordship's "eloquence and credit," as were the citizens of Geneva. No "alteration, in this pratice" crowned his wish.(*t*) The time for the destruction of our establishment was not yet come: and, I trust in God, it is still very far off. To the unspeakable mortification of such as Mr. Sellon, the fence is, hitherto, undemolished. Should our governors in church and state ever suffer the fence to be plucked down, farewell to the vineyard. But, till the barrier of subscription (that stumbling-block to Arminians, who, nevertheless, for divers good causes them thereunto moving, make shift to jump over it) actually be taken out of the way, let no man of common knowledge or of common modesty, call our Calvinistic doctrines the tenets of Geneva. If it be any real honour, or dishonour, to drink of the Lemain lake, the Arminians, as matters stand, have it all to themselves.

2. Our author pompously appeals to the authority of "Dr. Potter, dean of Windsor." He should have said, dean of Worcester. Potter was, indeed, promised a canonry of Windsor; but never obtained it. (*u*) This Christopher Potter, in the noviciate of his ministry, had been lecturer of Abingdon, where he was extre melypopular, and regarded as a zealous Calvirist. But, as Wood observes, "when Dr. Laud became a rising favourite in the royal court, he [Potter] after a great deal of seeking, was made his [Laud's] creature (*x*)." The editor or editors of the Cambridge Tracts, published in 1719, affect to think (*y*), that Laud paid his court to Potter, instead of Potter's being a suitor to Laud. To me, Mr Wood's account more than seems to prove the contrary Besides, the archbishop was eminently stiff and supercilious; but the lecturer was as remarkably supple and obsequious. The prelate could have very little advantage to hope for from the acquisition of the lecturer, but the latter had much to hope for from the good graces of the prelate. I conclude therefore, that Potter was a cringer at Laud's levee, and "after a great deal of seeking," *i. e.* in modern style, after long attendance and much servility, being found very (*z*) ductile and obsequious, he was entered on the list of the archbishop's dependants.

(*s*) "He was much caressed and esteemed by the principal men of Geneva. He saw they insisted strongly on their consent of doctrine (a formularly commonly known by the name of the Cousensus), which they required all those to subscribe who were admitted into orders. He therefore employed all the eloquence he was master of, and all the credit he had acquired among them, to obtain an alteration in this practice. He represented to them the folly and ill consequence of such subscriptions. The warmth, with which he expressed himself on this head, was such, and such was the weight of his character, that the Clergy of Geneva were afterwards released form these subscriptions." Life of Burnet, annexed to his Hist. of his Own Time, pages 692, 693. Fol. 1734.

(*t*) Bishop Burnet, failing in his desire of abolishing our ecclesiastical subscriptions, was forced to content himself with singing to the tune of He would if he could; in these plaintive and remarkable words: "The requiring subscriptions to the XXXIX Articles is a great imposition." (Hist. O. T. 2. 634.) An imposition, however, in which his lordship prudently acquiesced, and to which he was the means of making others submit, rather than he would forego (to use an expression of his own) the "pleutiful bishopric" of Sarum.

How much more disinterested and heroic was the conduct of that honest Arminian and learned Arian, Mr. William Whiston! The account is curious: so take it in his own words. "Soon after the accession of the House of Hanover to the throne, Sir Joseph Jekyl, that most excellent and upright master of the rolls, and sincere christian, Dr Clarke and my very good friend, had such an opinion of us two, that we might be proper persons to be made bishops, in order to our endeavouring to amend what was amiss in the Church; and had a mind to feel my pulse, how I would relish such a proposal, if ever it should be made me. My answer was direct and sudden, that I would not sign the Thirty-nine Articles, to be archbishop of Canterbury. To which Sir Joseph replied, that bishops are not obliged to sign those articles. I said, I never knew so much before. But still, I added, if I were a bishop, I must oblige others to sign them, which would go sorely against the grain with me. However, I added further, that supposing I should get over that scruple, and esteem the act only as ministerial, which would by no means imply my own approbation; yet, when I were a bishop, I should certainly endeavour to govern my diocese by the Christian rules in the Apostolical constitutions, and in St. Paul's Epistles to Timothy and Titus: which, as (namely, in his gentleman's opinion) they would frequently contradict the laws of the land, would certainly expose me to a præmunire, to the forfeiture of all my goods to the crown, and to imprisonment as long as the king pleased. And this, concluded I, would be the end of bishop Whiston. So I thought no more of it." Whiston's Memoirs of his own Life and writings, vol. i. p. 169.

(*u*) His letter to Laud, in which he supplicated the continuance of that prelate's interest, for his appoint ment to a stall in St. George's chapel, is worth transcribing.

"My most honoured Lord,

"I humbly thank your Grace for very many demonstrations of your love to me: and particularly for your last favourable mediation to his Majesty in my behalf, for a prebend in Windsor. The convenicncy of that preferment (if my sovereign master please to confer it upon me) I shall value more than the profit. But, however, I resolve not to prescribe to your Grace, much less to his Majestie; or, with immodesty, or impunity, to press you. The obligations, which I have to you, are such as I can never satisfy, but with my prayers: which shall be constant, that your Grace may long live, with honour and comfort, to serve God, his Majestie, and this Church, which daily feels the benefit of your wisdom and goodness.

Your Grace's, in all humility.

See Cant. Doome. p. 356. CHR. POTTER."

Potter, however, was distanced in adulation, by the bishop of Cork, in Ireland; who thus wrote to Laud: "What I had, or have, is of your Grace's goodness, under Him who gives life, and breath, and all things; and under our gracious Sovereign, who is the breath of our nostrils." Ibid. p. 355.

(*x*) Athen. II. 44.

(*y*) See the Preface to those Tracts.

(*z*) The ductility of our yung divine will he put beyond all reasonable doubt, bythe letter that follows He

Laud's plan of civil and religious tyranny is well known; and the only way for Potter to preserve the favour he had taken so great pains to acquire, was by a round recantation of the Calvinistic doctrines; which were, at all events, to be discountenanced and smothered, as a necessary pre-requisite to our union with Rome: an union which Heylin himself once and again frankly acknowledges to have been one of the grand objects in view. (*a*)

To promote this design, and still further to ingratiate himself with his patron, Potter writes a treatise entitled, A Survey of the New Platform of Predestination: the manuscript copy of which fell into the hands of the learned Dr. Twisse, who gave himself the needless trouble of refuting it.

Upon the credit of this renegado Calvinist and pretended dean of windsor, (*b*) we are told,

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had, in his better days, unwarily written an answer to a Popish treatise, published by one Knott, a noisy Jesuit of that age. A second edition of Potter's Answer was, it seems, called for, about, or soon after the æra of his connection with Laud. This furnished the author with a fair opportunity of complimenting that prelate, by requesting his Grace to garble the book, and weed it of what offensive passages he pleased prior to the new impression. On this occasion he thus addressed his patron:

"My most honoured Lord, October 6, 1634.
"The copies of my Answer to The Mistaker are most sold, and a new impression intended. I am now reviewing it. I shall be glad to receive from your Grace by your servant, master Dell, any direction to alter, or correct, if any thing therein be offensive to you. I humbly commend your Grace to the blessed protection of the Lord Almighty; and will be ever

Your Grace's, in all humility
Cant. Doome, p. 251. CHR. POTTER."

His Grace did, accordingly, with his own hand, purge the book of several passages which, in his judgment, bore too hard on the Pope and Church of Rome; and, the very next year, this Potter (for not being made of too stiff clay) was appointed dean of Worcester!

(*a*) But why was the revival of Popery one of the grand objects at that time? The cause is easily traced. King Charles, indisputably, aimed at arbitrary power. To this end, Popery must be revived, not for its own sake, but as the most convenient prop to despotism. And no method either so effectually, or so expeditiously, conducive to the firm erection of this prop, as the introduction of Arminianism. These were the three constituary segments of that political circle, into which the Court and Court Bishops, that then were, wished to conjure the Protestants of England. Or, if you please, such was the plan of that goodly pillar, which was to be erected, as a trophy, on the grave of departed liberty. Arminianism was to have been the base; Popery the shaft; and tyranny the capital that should terminate the whole.

(*b*) Mr. Sellon seems to have been led into this mistake, respecting Potter's deanery, by the title page prefixed to a letter of Potter's, preserved in the Cambridge Tracts already mentioned. A proof, by the way, of the accuracy and fulness with which those tracts were compiled. A proof, moreover, of the many inconvenient stumbles to which such writers as Mr. Sellon are exposed, who content themselves with borrowing their information from indexes and title pages.

I have, above, stiled Dr. Potter a renegado. Such, in outward profession, at least, he certainly was; and such, no doubt, Laud esteemed him to be. But, after all his tergiversation, the Abingdon lecturer does not appear to have embraced Arminianism *ex animo* and upon principle. Like the magnetic needle

3. That "there are ten Papists, who hold the doctrine of predestination, from one that denies it." Every man who knows what Popery is; every man, who is at all acquainted either with the ancient or present state of

when disturbed, he seems to have been in a state of continual vibration, uneasy till he recovered his primitive direction to the good old Calvinistic point. This I infer from his own words. In that very letter to which Mr. Sellon carries his appeal; in that very letter which underwent the necessary corrections and alterations of the good Cambridge Arminians who flourished in the year 1719; even in that letter of Christopher Potter, pruned and amended as aforesaid, I find the following passages. "You are affected," says he, to his friend Vicars (who had charged him, and not temerariously, with inconsistency in matters of religion), "you are affected with a strong suspicion, that I am turned Arminian: and you further guess at the motive, that some sprinkling of Court holy water, like an exorcism, hath enchanted and conjured me into this new shape." The virtue of Court holy water is doubtless very efficacious, as an alternative. No transformations, recorded in Ovid, can vie with the still more wonderful Metamorphoses, which this potent sprinkling hath occasioned both in patriots, politicians, and divines. Potter's corrpondent had exactly hit the mark. It was indeed the application of Court holy water judiciously sprinkled by the hand of Laud which had made Christopher cast his skin, and come forth, in appearance, a sleek Arminian. But, when hand pushed by honest Mr. Vicars, he was ashamed (as well he might) to set his avowed *probatum est* to the powerful virtues of the said water. And how did he parry off the charge? Even by denying himself to be an Arminian at all. His words are these: "I desire you to believe, that I neither am, nor ever will be Arminian. I love Calvin very well; and, I must tell you, I cannot hate Arminius. I can assure you, I do not depart from my ancient judgment; but do well remember what I affirmed in my questions at the act, and have confirmed it, I suppose, in my sermon; so, you see, I am still where I was." These questions, which he here alludes to, and which had been maintained by him at the Oxford act in the year 1627, were these three: *Efficacia gratiæ non pendet a libero influxu arbitrii; Christus Divina Justitia, non nostra, propria & integra, nobis imputat; ipse actus fidei, τὸ credere, non imputatur nobis in justitiam sensu proprio: i. e.* "the efficacy of Grace is not suspended on the free influence of man's will; Christ did strictly and completely satisfy God's justice in our room and stead; the act of believing is not, itself, properly imputed to us for righteousness." In his farther vindication of himself from the charge of Arminianism, Potter makes very honourable mention of seven predestinarian divines, whom (let the reader mark it well) he terms the "worthiest doctors" of the churches of England, France, and Germany. Nay (let Mr. Sellon hear it, and weep), he even stiles the Arminians, what indeed they are, dissenters from our own national Church. "The Arminians," continues he, "dissent from us only in these four questions [viz. concerning Predestination, Redemption, Grace, and Perseverance]. The Lutheran Churches maintain against us all these four questions, and moreover a number of notable dreams and dotages, both in matters of ceremony and doctrine: among others, you remember their absurd ubiquity and consubstantiation. Now notwithstanding all their [*i. e.* the Lutherans'] foul corruptions, yet presume you know, for it is apparent out of public records, that our better reformed Churches in England, France, Germany, &c. by the advice of their worthiest doctors, Calvin, Bucer, Beza, Martyr, Zanchius, Ursius, Paræus, would have suffered the Lutherans all christian amity, peace and communion: though those virulent, fiery adders of Saxony" [*i. e.* the Lutheran divines] "would never give ear to the voice of those wise charmers." In the mature judgment, therefore, even of Potter himself, Calvin, Zanchius, and the other five, were wise charmers, and our worthiest doctors. Let us next hear what the same gentleman thought concerning Mr. Sellon's favourite doctrine of election upon faith and works foreseen. "Can you deny," continues he, "that many learned, pious Catholic bishops of the old

that Church; must consider such an assertion, as the most false and daring insult that can be offered to common sense. Have not the doctrines, called Calvinistic, been condemned in form, and the assertors of them pronounced accursed, by the Council of Trent? Did any man ever read a single Popish book of controversy, written within a century after the Reformation, in which the Protestants are not universally charged (as we still are by the Arminians) with making God the author of sin, only because they universally held predestination? And, for the modern Popish books of controversy, I have hardly seen one, in which the writers of that communion do not exult, and impudently congratulate the Church of England on her visible departure from those doctrines. And, God knows, the Church of Rome has, in this respect, but too much reason for triumph. Many nominal Protestants are saving Papists the trouble of poisoning the people, by doing it to their hands. What Heylin quotes, from a Jesuit who wrote in the time of Charles I., is in great measure true of the present times: "the doctrines are altered in many things: as for example, the Pope not antichrist; pictures; free-will; predestination; universal grace; inherent righteousness; the merit" [which Heylin softens into, or reward rather] of good works. The Thirty-nine Articles seeming patient, if not ambitious also, of some Catholic sense; *limbus patrum*; justification not by faith alone, &c." (*c*)

The thirty-nine Article themselves are neither patient nor ambitious of what the Jesuit called a Catholic sense. How patient, or even ambitious, of a Popish sense, some of the subscribers to those Articles may be, is another point. Stubborn experience and incontestible fact oblige us to distinguish, with Dr. South, between the doctrines of the Church, and of some who call themselves churchmen.

Studious as I am of brevity, I cannot dismiss the shameless objection, drawn from the pretended Popery of Calvinism without additional animadversion. The slander does, indeed, carry its own refutation stamped upon his forehead: which refutation the following detail of facts may serve to confirm.

I shall demonstrate, in its proper place, that the principles of John Wickliff, and of his celebrated proselyte John Huss, were the same with what have since acquired the name of Calvinistic. An extract from the bull of pope Martin V. fraught with anathemas against the memories of those holy men, and published A.D. 1418, will evince the detestation and the alarm with which the attempted revival of these doctrines was received by the Church of Rome. Some of the Articles, against which his Holiness inveighed so fiercely, were as follow: (*d*)

"There is one only universal Church, which is the university" [or entire number] "of the

church taught predestination for foreseen faith or works? and suppose them herein to have erred, as, for my part, I doubt not but they did; though upon other grounds than the bare assertion of Calvin, Beza, or Senensis; yet, can you deny, that notwithstanding this error and others, they were then, and still since, accounted holy Catholic bishops?" He adds: "I resolve never to be an Arminian, and ever to be moderate." For the above passages, see the Cambar.

x. from p. 239 to p. 244.

The Reader, perhaps, may think that I have thrown away too much time on this Dr. Potter. I did it to shew, on what flimsy props Mr. Sellon rests the weight of his cause. At the very utmost, the doctor was a kind of amphibious divine. In these matters, Laud seems to have had no great reason to boast of him as a proselyte; any more than Mr. Wesley's friend Wat has to trust him as a referee. This will appear farther, from another very remarkable passage, occurring in a sermon, preached by the same Dr. Potter, at the consecration of his uncle Barnaby to the see of Carlisle. I give the quotation, on the credit of the editors of the above letter. The passage itself is this: "For our controversies, first let me protest, I favour not, I rather suspect any new inventions; for *ab antiquitate non recede nisi invitus*: especially renouncing all such" [*viz.* all such new inventions] "as any way favour or flatter the depraved nature and will of man, which I constantly believe to be free only to evil, and of itself to have no power at all, merely none, to any act or thing spiritually good. Most heartily embracing that doctrine, which most amply commends the riches of God's free grace, which I acknowledge to be the whole and sole cause of our predestination, conversion, and salvation: abhorring all damned doctrines of the Pelagians, Semipelagians, Jesuits, Socinians, and of their rags and reliques; which help only to pride and prick up corrupt nature: humbly confessing, in the words of St. Cyprian (so often repeated by that worthy champion of grace, St. Augustin,) *in nullo gloriandum est, quandoquidem nostrum nihil est*. It is God that worketh in us both the will and the deed: and therefore let him that glorieth glory in the Lord." Cambr. Tr. p. 226, 227.

I cannot help thinking (for human nature is prone to speculate) how dextrously Dr. Potter played his game; and how neatly Dr. Laud, though a knowing one, was taken in. The former (if we are to believe his own solemn protestations) had still very ample mental reserves in favour of Calvinism: while the latter supposed him a sincere convert to Arminianism, and promoted him accordingly.—This reminds me of another very famous instance of worldly wisdom. The elder Vossius published, in the year 1618, a learned History of Pelagianism. Wherein (say the compilers of the Biogr. Dict. vol. ii. p. 317.) "he affirmed, that the sentiments of St. Austin, upon grace and predestination, were not the most ancient; and that those of the Remonstrants [*i. e.* of the Arminians] were different from those of the Semipelagians." This book delighted Laud so much that, at his earnest recommendation, Charles I. made its author a prebendary of Canterbury, with permission to reside still in Holland. Seems it not a little strange, that, rather than a vigorous effort in favour of Arminianism should pass unrewarded, a prelate, of such high principles as Laud, should obtain a stall, in the metropolitan church of all England, for one who was, by birth, a German, and, by education and connection, a Dutch Presbyterian? There was, indeed, no preferment, to which Vossius's merits, as a scholar, did not entitle him: his learning and virtues, however, would never have cleared his way to Canterbury cathedral, had he not contributed to the advancement of that new scheme, which Laud had so deeply at heart. But what will the reader say, should he be told, that, after all, Laud was mistaken as to the sincerity of Vossius's Arminianism? Take the account, in the words of Dr. Potter above mentioned: "He" [*i. e.* Vossius] "hath declared himself, in his last book, *De Scriptoribus*" [I suppose, it should be *Historicis*] "*Latinis*, to be of St. Augustin's mind in these questions" [*viz.* concerning predestination and grace;] and is allowed, by the states, public professor at Leyden, where no Arminian is tolerated." Cambr. Tr. p. 237. So convenient is it, on some certain occasions, for a divine to look (like Janus, or like the Germanic eagle) two ways at once!

(*c*) Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 238.

(*d*) Fox's Acts & Mon. vol. i. p. 739. Edit. 1684.

predestinate. Paul was never a member of the Devil, although" [before his conversion] "he did certain acts like unto the acts of the church malignant."

"The reprobate are not parts of the" [invisible] "Church; for that no part of the same finally falleth from her: because the charity" [or grace] "of predestination, which bindeth the Church together, never faileth."

"The reprobate, although he be sometimes in grace according to present justice" [*i. e.* by a present appearance of outward righteousness], "yet is he never a part of the Holy Church" [in reality]: "and the predestinate is ever a member of the Church, although sometime he fall from grace *adventitiâ*, but not from the grace of predestination: ever taking the Church for the convocation of the predestinate, whether they be in grace or not, according to present justice:" *i. e.* whether they be converted already, or yet remain to be so, the predestinate, or elect, constitute, as such, that invisible Church, which God the Father hath chosen, and God the Son redeemed.

"The grace of predestination is the band, wherewith the body of the Church, and every member of the same, is indissolubly joined to Christ their Head."

Nothing can be more innocent and scriptural than these positions. But the religion of the Bible is not the religion of Rome. Hence, in the bull above mentioned, the Pope thus fulminates against those doctrines and their abettors: "certain arch heretics have risen and sprung up, not against one only, but against divers and sundry documents of the Catholic faith: being land-lopers, schismatics, and seditious persons; fraught with devilish pride and wolvish madness, deceived by the subtilty of Satan, and, from one evil vanity, brought to a worse. Who, although they rose up and sprang in divers parts of the world, yet agreed they all in one, having their tails as it were knit together; to wit, John Wickliff, of England; John Huss, of Bohemia; and Jerom, of Prague, of damnable memory, who drew with them no small number to miserable ruin and infidelity. We, therefore, having a desire to resist such evil and pernicious errors, and utterly root them out from amongst the company of faithful Christians, will and command your discretions, by our letters apostolical, that you that are archbishops, bishops, and other of the clergy, and every one of you by himself, or by any other or others, do see that all and singular persons, of what dignity, office, pre-eminence, state, or condition soever they be, and by what name soever they are known, who shall presume, obstinately, by any ways or means, privily or apartly, to hold, believe, and teach the articles, books, or doctrine of the foresaid arch-hertics, John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerom of Prague; that then, as before, you see and cause them, and every of them to be most severely punished; and that you judge and give sentence upon them as heretics, and that, as arrant heretics, you leave them to the secular court or power. Furthermore, we will and command, that, by this our authority apostolical, ye exhort and admonish all the professors of the Catholic faith, as emperors, kings, dukes, princes, marquisses, earls, barons, knights, and other magistrates, rectors, consuls, pro-consuls, shires, countries, and universities of the kingdoms, provinces, cities, towns, castles, villages, their lands and other places, and all other executing temporal jurisdiction, that they expel out of their kingdoms, provinces, cities, towns, castles, villages, lands, and other places, all and all manner of such heretics; and that they suffer no such, within their shires and circuits, to preach, or to keep either house or family, or to use any handy-craft or occupations, or other trades of merchandize, or to solace themselves any ways, or to frequent the company of Christian men. And furthermore, if such public and known heretics shall chance to die, let him and them want Christian burial. His goods and substance also, from the time of his death, according to the canonical sanctions, being confiscate; let no such enjoy them to whom they appertain, 'till, by the Ecclesiastical judges, sentence upon his or their crime of heresy be declared and promulgate." The reader, who is desirous of perusing the whole of this bull, may see it in Fox, vol. i. from p. 737 to 742. But the sample here given may suffice to shew that Calvinism appeared as dreadful to the eyes of Popery, as it can to those of John Wesley or Walter Sellon.

The see of Rome relished these doctrines no better in the century that followed. Three years after the rise of Martin Luther, another flaming bull was issued against that reformer, by Leo X.: of this bull these were some of the roarings: "Rise up, O Lord, and judge thy cause, for foxes are risen up, seeking to destroy thy vineyard. Rise up, Peter, and attend to the cause of the holy Church of Rome, the mother of all churches; against which, false liars have risen up, bringing in sects of perdition, to their own speedy destruction, whose tongue is like fire, full of unquietness, and replenished with deadly poison; who, having a wicked zeal, and nourishing contentions in their hearts, do brag and lie against the verity. Rise up, Paul, also: we pray thee, who hast illuminated the same Church with thy doctrine and martyrdom, for now is sprung up a new Porphiry, who, as the said Porphiry did then unjustly slander the holy Apostles, so semblably doth this man" [meaning Luther] "now slander, revile, rebuke, bite, and bark against the holy hishops, our predecessors. Finally, let all the holy universal Church rise up, and, with the blessed Apostles, together make intercession to Almighty God, that the errors of all schismatics being rooted up, his holy Church may be

conserved in peace and unity. We, for the charge of our pastoral office committed unto us, can no longer forbear, or wink at the pestiferous poison of these foresaid errors; of which errors, we thought good to recite certain here, the tenor of which is as followeth." A long catalogue of pretended heresies is then given: among which, are these two;

In every good work the just man sinneth.

Freewill, after sin [*i. e.* ever since original sin], is a title and name only [*i. e.* a mere empty word, without reality or foundation in truth].

On these and the other articles asserted by Luther, pope Leo thus continues to descant: "all which errors, there is no man in his right wits, but he knoweth the same, in their several respects; how pestilent they be, how pernicious, how much they seduce godly and simple minds, and, finally, how much they be against all charity, and against the reverence of the holy Church of Rome, the mother of all faithful, and mistress of the faith itself; and against the sinews and strength of Ecclesiastical discipline, which is obedience, the fountain and well-spring of all virtues, and without which every man is easily convicted to be an infidel. Wherefore, by the counsel and assent of the said our reverend brethren, upon due consideration of all and singular the premises; by the authority of Almighty God, and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and by our own, we do condemn, reprove, and utterly reject all and singular the articles or errors aforesaid, respectively: and, by the tenor hereof, we here decree and declare, that they ought of all Christian people, both men and women, to be taken as damned, reproved, and rejected. And therefore forbidding here under pain of the greater curse and excommunication; losing of their dignities, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal; and to be deprived of all regular orders and privileges; also of losing their liberties to hold general schools, to read and profess any science or faculty; of losing also their tenures and feoffments, and of inability for ever to recover the same again, or any other; moreover, under pain of secluding from Christian burial, yea and of treason also: we charge and command all and singular Christian people, as well of the laity, as of the clergy, that they shall not presume, publicly or privately, under any manner of pretence or colour, colourably or expressly, or how else soever, to hold, maintain, defend, preach, or favour the foresaid errors, or any of them, or any such perverse doctrine." (*d*) This instrument, of which I have hardly retailed the tenth part, is dated June 15, 1520.

Honest Luther laughed at this Ecclesiastical thunder and lightning. He published an answer, whose purport did equal honour to his integrity and intrepidity. "A rumour reached me," says the adamantine reformer, "that a certain bull was gone forth against me, and circulated almost over the world, before I had so much as seen it: though, in right, it ought to have been transmitted first and directly to my hands, I being the particular object at whom it was levelled." The fact was, the Pope's bull (somewhat like Mr. Wesley's Abridgment of Zanchius) was, as Luther expresses it, of the owl or bat kind; it flew about surreptitiously and in the dark. *Noctis & tenebrarum filia, timet lucem vultus mei*, says Luther; *hunc tamen ipsam noctuam vix tandem, multem adjuvantibus amicis, in imagine suâ datum est videre*: "this bird of night sought to elude my view; the owl was, however, though with some difficulty, caught by my friends, and brought to me, that I might survey the creature in its proper form." "I do," adds Luther, "hold, defend, and embrace, with the full trust of my spirit, those articles condemned and excommunicated in the said bull: and I affirm, that the same articles ought to be held of all faithful Christians under pain of eternal malediction; and that they are to be counted for Antichrists, whosoever have consented to the said bull: whom I also, together with the spirit of all them that know the truth, do utterly detest and shun. And let this stand for thy revocation, *O bulla, verè bullarum filia*, O thou bull, which art the very daughter of all vain bubbles." (*e*) The Pope got nothing by stigmatizing Luther with heresy and schism. The German reformer treated the Italian pontiff with no more ceremony than, Come out, thou ass-headed Antichrist; is not thy whorish face ashamed? I am far from applauding the violence of Luther's temper, and from approving the coarseness of his language. But the good man was heated; and, I suppose, thought it needful, on some occasions, to answer fools according to their folly, lest they should be wise in their own conceit.

(*d*) Fox, vol. ii. p. 537—541.

(*e*) See, Fox *ibid.* p. 541, & sequ.

SECTION III.

The Judgment of the council of Trent, *concerning the Doctrines called* Calvinistic.

Luther died in the year 1546. The first session of the Council of Trent had been held in the year preceding. After many and long adjournments, infinite wrangling, chicanery and intrigue, the Council broke up for good, A.D. 1563. During these eighteen years, five pontiffs, successively, occupied the Roman chair; *viz.* Paul III., Julius III., Marcellus II., Paul IV., and Pius IV. The acts passed by this Council, in the course of their five and twenty sessions, most glaringly demonstrate the Church's unabated abhorrence of the Calvinistic doctrines. Nay, if Petavius is to be believed (and, on a subject of this sort, there is no reason to question the testimony of that learned Jesuit,) the Council of Trent was called together, as much on Calvin's account as on Luther's: the

condemnation of those (*f*) two reformers (whose doctrine, concerning predestination, was one and the same) being, according to that historian, one of the main objects in view. I slightly touched on the tridentine decisions, in my former vindication of the Church of England. I shall, here, consider them more diffusively. The decrees of the Council of Trent are the genuine, avowed, indisputable standard of Popery. From them I extract the ensuing passages. Whoever reads them will at once see that Arminianism is the central point wherein Popery and Pelagianism meet.

" If any one shall affirm, that man's free-will, moved and excited of God, does not, by consenting, co-operate with God the mover and exciter, so as to prepare and dispose itself for the attainment of justification; if, moreover, any one shall say, that the human will cannot refuse complying, if it pleases; but that it is unactive, and merely passive; let such an one be accursed.(*g*)

" If any one shall affirm, that, since the fall of Adam, man's free-will is lost and extinguished; or, that it is a thing merely titular, yea, a name without a thing, and a fiction introduced by Satan into the Church; let such an one be accursed.

" If any one shall affirm, that all works done before justification, in what way soever they are done, are properly sins, or deserve the displeasure of God, &c.; let such an one be accursed.

" If any one shall say, that the ungodly is justified by faith only, and that it is by no means necessary that he should prepare and dispose himself by the motion of his own will; let such an one be accursed.

" If any one shall affirm, that men are justified, either by the imputation of Christ's righteousness alone, or by a mere " [*i. e.* gratuitous] " remission of sins, to the exclusion of inherent grace and charity shed abroad in their hearts by the Holy Spirit; or shall say, that the alone bounty of God is the grace by which we are justified; let such an one be accursed.

" If any one shall affirm, that justifying faith is no more than a reliance on the mercy of God as forgiving our sins for the sake of Christ; or that we are justified by such a reliance only; let such an one be accursed.

" If any one shall affirm, that a regenerate and justified man is bound to believe that he is certainly in the number of the elect; let such an one be accursed.

" If any one shall affirm, with positive and absolute certainty, that he shall surely have the great gift of perseverance to the end; let him be accursed.

" If any one shall affirm, that the grace of justification does not accrue to any, but to those who are predestinated unto life; and that all the rest" [*viz.* all who are not predestinated to life] " are called, indeed, but do not receive grace, on account of their being predestinated to evil; let such an one be accursed.

(*f*) Vide Petavii Rationar. Temp. Par. 1. 1. 9. cap. 12. sub init.

(*g*) Si quis dixerit, liberum hominis arbitrium, à Deo motum et excitatum, nihil co-operari assentiendo Deo excitanti atque vocanti, quo, ad obtinendam justificationis gratiam, se disponat ac præparet, neque posse dissentire si velit, sed veluti inanime quoddam nihil omninò agere, meréque passivè se habere; Anathema sit. Conc. trid. sess. vi. canon 4. p. 40. My edition is that of Paris, 1738.

Si quis liberum hominis arbitrium, post adæ peccatum, amissum et exstinctum esse dixerit, aut rem esse de solo titulo, imo titulum sine re, figmentum denique à Satanâ invectum in Ecclesiam; Anathema sit. *Ibid.* can. 5. *** This fifth canon was particularly levelled at the memory of Luther, who had asserted, in so many words, that, ever since the fall, freewill is res de solo titulo; yea, titulus et nomen sine re.

Si quis dixerit, opera omnia, quæ ante justificationem fiunt, quacunque ratione facta sint verè esse peccata, vel odium Dei mereri, &c. Anathema sit. *Ibid.* can. 6.

Si quis dixerit, solâ fide impium justificari, et nullâ ex parte necesse esse eum suæ voluntatis motu præparari atque dispoui; Anathema sit, *Ibid.* can. 9.

Si quis dixerit, homines justificari, vel solâ imputatione justitiæ Christi, vel solâ peccatorum remissione, exclusâ gratiâ et charitate quæ in cordibus eorum per Sp. S. diffundatur atque in illus inhæreat; aut etiam gratiam, quâ justificamur, esse tantùm favorem, Dei; Anathema sit. *Ibid.* can. 11.

Si quis dixerit, fidem justificantem nihil aliud esse quàm fiduciam divinæ misericordiæ, peccata remittentis propter Christum; vel eam fiduciam solam esse, quâ justificamur; Anathema sit. *Ibid.* can. 12.

Si quis dixerit, hominem renatum et justificatum teneri ex fide ad credendum, se certo esse in numero prædestinatorum; Anathema sit. *Ibid.* can. 15.

Si quis magnum illud usque in finem perseverantiæ donum se certò habiturum absolutè et infallibili certitudine dixerit; Anathema sit. *Ibid.* can. 16.

Si quis justificationis gratium non nisi prædestinatis ad vitam continere dixerit; reliquos verò omnes qui vocantur, vocari quidem, sed gratiam non accipere, utpote divinâ potestate prædestinatos ad malum; Anathema sit. *Ibid.* can. 17.

Si quis dixerit, Dei præcepta homini etiam justificato, et sub gratiâ constituto, esse ad observandum impossibilia; Anathema sit. *Ibid.* can. 18.

Si quis hominem semel justificatum dixerit amplius peccare non posse, neque gratiam amittere, atque ideò eum qui labitur et peccat nunquam verè suisse justificatum; — — — Anathema sit. *Ibid.* can. 23.

Si quis dixerit, justitiam acceptam non conservari, atque etiam augeri, coram Deo, per bona opera; sed opera ipsa fructus solummodò et signa esse justificationis adeptæ, non autem ipsius augendæ causam; Anathema sit. *Ibid.* can. 24.

Si quis dixerit, justos non debere pro bonis operi bus quæ in Deo fuerint facta, exspectare et apetare æternam retributionem à Deo, per ejus misericordiam et Jesu Christi meritum. si benè agendo et divina mandata custodiendo, usque in finem perseveraverint; Anathema sit. *Ibid.* can. 26.

Si quis dixerit, hominis justificati bona opera ità esse dona Dei, ut non sint etiam bona ipsius justificati merita; aut, ipsum justificatum, bonis operibus, quæ ab eo per Dei gratiam, et Jesu Christi meritum, cujus vivam membrum est, fiunt non verè mereri augmentum gratiæ, vitam æternam, et ipsius vitæ æternæ, si tamen in gratiâ decesserit consecutionem, atque etiam gloria augmentum; Anathema sit. *Ibid.* can. 32

These and the other canons and decrees of this Antichristian synod, down to the seventh session inclusive, are refuted, by the great Calvin, with admirable force, conciseness, and perspicuity, in a tract of his, entitled, Acta Syn. Trid. cum Antidoto: first published A. D. 1547, and since inserted into his Tractat Theologici, reprinted together in 1612.

"If any one shall affirm, that the laws of God are impossible to be kept even by such as are justified and in a state of grace; let him be accursed." [Bykeeping the laws of God, theChurch of Rome evidently means a sinless obedience.]

"If any one shall affirm, that the man, who is once justified, cannot thenceforth sin" [*i. e.* so sin, as to perish finally], "nor lose grace; and, consequently, that he who falls and sins" [*viz.* unto death] "was never really justified; let such an one be accursed.

"If any one shall affirm, that good works do not preserve and increase justification; but that good works themselves are only the fruits and evidence of justification already had; let such an one be accursed.

"If any one shall affirm, that the righteous, if they endure to the end by well-doing and keeping God's precepts, ought not, through God's mercy and Christ's merits, to expect and look for an eternal recompense for those good works which they have wrought in God; let such an one be accursed.

"If any one shall affirm, that the good works of a justified man are so the gifts of God as not to be, at the same time, the merits of the justified person himself; or that the justified person does not himself merit increase of grace, eternal life, and an increase of glory, by those good works which he performs through God's grace and Christ's merits, that is to say, if he die in a state of grace; let such an one be accursed."

And now, what opinion can the reader form of Mr. Sellon's veracity? Must not he, who dares to insinuate that "predestination is held by ten Papists out of eleven," be either a man of no reading, or a man of no truth? Admit the first, and he is too mean for contempt. Admit the last, and he is too bad for correction.

"But, it may be, the Church of Rome, in the present century, differs from the Church of Rome in the year 1563." By no means. The members of that Church are, for the most part, true and steady to her principles. Would to God I could say as much concerning the members of our own. By continuing the historical chain, we shall quickly and clearly see, that Popery and Arminianism have been, ever since, as good friends, as they were in the days of Wickliff, or at the breaking up of the Council of Trent. I shall give two famous instances. The conduct of the Romish Church towards Jansenius; and, more recently, towards father Quesnell, will plainly shew, that Popery and Calvinism are as far from shaking hands as ever.

SECTION IV.

The Arminianism of the Church of Rome *farther evinced, in her Treatment of* Jansenius *and* Quesnell.

Cornelius Janssen, bishop of Ypres, flourished about fifty years after the dissolution of the above execrable synod. Though born of Popish parents, and conversant with Papists all his life, it pleased God to open the eyes of this prelate, in such a manner, as gave the most serious alarm to the friends of Rome; and with a success, which has, probably, laid the basis of a future reformation in the Church of France. This great man, naturally of a studious turn, applied himself, with peculiar diligence to the works of Austin. On reading them carefully, he saw, and was surprised to see, how enormously the Church, which calls herself Catholic, had deviated from the system of that ancient father, whom, nevertheless, she has justly honoured with the titles of saint, and doctor of grace; and to whose authority she has, often, been so audacious, as to carry her appeal. Many of the enlightened clergy and laity, of our own church, can easily form a judgment of Jansenius's feelings on this occasion, by the astonishment, which themselves have experienced, when, on a careful review of her admirable Liturgy, Articles, and Homilies, they first began to discern the vastness of that doctrinal chasm, which severs her real from her imputed sons.

The farther Jansenius advanced, the more he read, prayed, and reflected, the deeper and the clearer was his conviction of the general apostacy from truth. Yet, determined to make no rash conclusions, and resolved to have firm ground for every step he took, he devoted more than twenty years to the momentous enquiry. He went through the whole works of the voluminous father, ten times. Those parts of them, which professedly treat of grace, predestination, and free-will, he read thirty times over: making such large and laborious extracts from those valuable writings, as, when properly arranged, and digested into a regular synopsis, might ascertain the doctrine of St. Austin, concerning these points, beyond all possibility of doubt.

In a world like the present, but especially in those parts of it where Popery is the reigning superstition, it is, often, extremely difficult to connect integrity with prudence. The man who will be honest, must run some risque. Jansenius, having been sent on a kind of academic embassy, to negotiate some business of importance with the Spanish king, in favour of the university of Louvain, the good fathers of the inquisition appeared extremely desirous to sacrifice Jansenius to the manes of Pelagius. Probably, during his residence in Spain, Janssen might have rendered himself suspected of heresy, by talking too freely in favour of predestination and by imprudently hinting, how much he wished to see his church really espouse the principles of that saint, whose works she pretended to revere as oracles. However this was, the inquisitors were alarmed; and actually applied to Basil de Leon, at whose house he had lodged, to furnish them

with such materials against him, as might justify their citing him before the tribunal of the Holy Office. But by the blessing of Providence on the courage and address of Basil, the rising storm was dispelled; and Jansenius, then lately returned to Flanders, continued unmolested in his college: whence, a few years after, he was (not for his religious, but for his secular services) raised to the mitre. In his consecration to the see of Ypres, the Romanists have had the mortification to behold an heretical bishop of an infallible Church. Nay, he was the very bishop, by the imposition of whose hands cardinal Bellarmine himself received the order of priesthood. Misfortunes these, which the zeal of the good Spanish inquisitors would willingly have rendered impossible, by laying the axe to the root in due season.

Let no reader imagine, that I am either blind to the dark parts of this eminent prelate's conduct, or willing to conceal them. Intimidated, very probably, by the narrowness of his escape in Spain, Jansenius did not venture to publish his collections from St. Austin. Nay, (such is man!) he even waged a paper war with the Protestants of Holland, and sought to retrieve his character at Rome, by ridiculously attempting to prove, that the doctrine of grace maintained by Austin, was not that doctrine of grace maintained by Calvin. To such wretched shifts, and palpable contradictions, are even great and good men reduced, when they have not a sufficient portion of intrepidity to assert the truth at all events. And what did he gain by this duplicity? What all trimmers deserve, and most of them meet with, hatred and contempt. His memory is execrated by the general voice of the Romish Church, who have, without scruple, branded heresy on his name, and whose bigotry would not suffer his very (*h*) tomb to be left standing in his own cathedral of Ypres. For, his valuable Excerpta from St. Austin, which he had not the courage to publish himself appeared within two years after his decease: and raised such a ferment among the papists, particularly in France and Flanders, as all the arts and efforts of infallibility knew not how to lay. Light shone in darkness; and the darkness comprehended it not. She, who affects to pride herself on being the "centre of unity," found herself agitated with all the discord and distractions of a chaotic war. The book asserted from St. Austin, that "there are no remains of purity or goodness, in human nature, since the fall: that the influence of grace is irresistible: and that, in the work of conversion and sanctification, all is to be ascribed to grace, and nothing to human nature. On the contrary, the Jesuits maintained, as they still do" [would to God that Jesuits were the only ones], "that human nature is far from being deprived of all power of doing good; and that man born free may resist the operations of grace;" (*i*) *i. e.* so resist them as to render them eventually ineffectual.

"In the year 1641," continues the last cited historian, "the Jesuits, adding to their arguments the interest they had at the Court of Rome, got the book 'Augustinus' prohibited by the Inquisition; and, the following year, condemned by the Pope, as reviving the errors which his predecessors had banished." This pope was Urban VIII. His successor, Innocent X. went still farther in his opposition to the synopsis of St. Austin; for he condemned, "By a bull, dated May 31, 1653, the five following propositions, selected, by the Jesuits, out of Jansenius's 'Augustinus,' as the most proper to discredit that work. These propositions were,

"I. There are divine precepts which good men, notwithstanding their desire to observe them, are absolutely unable to obey, &c.

"II. No person, in this corrupt state of nature, can resist the influence of divine grace.

"III. In order to render human actions (*k*) meritorious or otherwise, it is not requisite that they be exempt from necessity, but only that they be free from constraint.

"IV. The Semipelagians admitted preventing grace to be necessary to every" [good] "action; and their heresy consisted in this, that they allowed the human will to be included with a power of resisting that grace, or of complying with its influence. (*l*)

(*h*) Mr. Bayle, from Leydecker gives the following account of the demolition of Jansenius's monument "Francis de Vobes," who succeeded Jansen in the bishopric of Ypres, "caused the tomb-stone of his predecessor to be taken away silently by night, on which were written the praises of his virtue and learning, and, particularly, of his book intitled Augustinus." The epitaph, it seems, imported, that "this most faithful interpreter of St. Augustin's most secret thoughts, had employed, upon that work, a divine wit, an indefatigable labour, and all the time of his life;" adding, that "the Church would receive the fruit of it upon earth, as he did the reward of it in heaven." Words these, which were not only totally incompatible with the decisions of the Council of Trent: but moreover, as Mr. Bayle observes, "Injurious to the bulls of pope Urban VIII. and Innocent X. who had condemned that book." He adds, that "the destruction of the grave-stone was made by an express order of pope Alexander VII." Bayle's Dict. vol. iii. p. 548.

(*i*) Bower's Hist. of the Popes, vol. vii. p. 480.

(*k*) Jansenius was, certainly, a man of too great penetration, and too well versed in the theory of consequences, not to know that absolute grace cuts up human merit by the roots. But, being determined to keep up some appearance of attachment to the Roman see, that these truths, he ventured to assert, might have the wider and securer spread among the people of that communion; he found, or thought he found it needful, to open their eyes by degrees, and not pour too much light upon them at once. He contented himself, therefore, on some occasions, with establishing certain premises, whence, indeed, certain conclusions naturally and necessarily follow; but which he prudently left to the illation of his disciples. This was shrewd; but all the candour in the world cannot call it honest.

(*l*) The learned Mastricht cites this fourth proposition with a little variation: Semipelagiani admittebant præeuntes gratiæ interioris necessitatem ad singulos actus, etiam ad initium fidei: et in hoc erant hæretici, quòd vellent, eam gratiam talem esse cui posset humana voluntas resistere, vel obtemperare. Operum, p. 1176. Amstel. 1724.

"V. Whoever says, that Christ died, or shed his blood, for all mankind, is a Semipelagian.

"The condemnation" [of these propositions] "afforded great matter of triumph to the Jesuits:" (*m*) and no wonder; for, that artful order of men know but too well, that nothing so effectually bars out Popery, as the belief of those doctrines, by whatever name they are called: whether we term them Austinism, or Jansenism; Calvinism, or Church-of-Englandism.

Sir Paul Rycaut, in his continuation of Platina, gives us the very words, in which each of the above five propositions were respectively condemned. A consistory of cardinals and divines being called, and the Pope himself presiding in person at the board; the propositions were reprobated in manner and form following: (*n*) "We pronounce the first of these propositions to be presumptuous, blasphemous, heretical, and condemned with a curse; and, as such, we condemn it accordingly. The second also we pronounce to be heretical; and, as such, we condemn it. The third we pronounce heretical: and we condemn it as such. The fourth we condemn, as false and heretical. The fifth, as importing that Christ died for the salvation of those only who were elected, we pronounce to be false, presumptuous, scandalous, impious, blasphemous, scurrilous, derogatory to the goodness of God, and heretical; and, as such, we condemn it."

Pope Alexander VII. who succeeded Innocent X. "not only confirmed, at the instance of the Jesuits, the bull of Innocent, condemning the five propositions, mentioned above; but, by a new bull" [dated A. D. 1657,] "declared that the said propositions were the doctrines of Jansenius, and were contained in his book; and that they had been condemned in the obvious sense, and in the sense of their author; *in sensu obvio, in sensu ab auctore intento.* Nay, the Jesuits procured, by their interest in cabinet-councils, a mandate from Louis XIV." [of France], "commanding all, within his dominions, to receive a formulary, or confession of faith, in which the doctrine, condemned by the Pope was owned to be the doctrine contained in the book of Jansenius, styled Augustinus. They, who refused to sign that formulary, were deprived of their livings, and either cast into prison, or sent into exile."(*o*)

This persecution of Jansenius's numerous disciples (for his book had opened the eyes of multitudes) was both severe and lasting. The truths which he had brought to light were, at all events, to be stifled and exterminated, as opening a door to Protestantism, and as shaking the very foundations of the infallible Church. Hence, in France, where Jansenius's formidable book had made most havoc amongst Catholics, the abjuration of the five propositions was exacted, not only from all the secular clergy, but even from every monk, nun and friar, who was not willing to undergo the opprobrium and penalties of heresy. Nay, the very laity of the several dioceses were not excused from abjuring these reputed and real doctrines of Calvinism: (*p*) which, however, could not extirpate the party of Jansenius; who subsist, in vast numbers, to this day, and are suspected (not without reason) of only waiting a favourable opportunity of entirely shaking off the papal yoke. The bread of sound doctrine, which the bishop of Ypres has cast upon the waters, will, I doubt not, be found after many days. In vain did pope Clement XIII. by his bull, dated July 15, 1705, renew the fulminations of his predecessors, by declaring, that "the faithful ought to condemn, as heretical, not only with their mouths, but in their hearts, the sense of Jansen's book contained in the five propositions." (*q*) In vain did the same pontiff deal out his anathemas, A.D. 1713, against the same five propositions of Jansenius, and against the hundred and one propositions extracted from father Quesnell. The papal fulminations, though launched by pretended infallibility, and seconded by all the real power of the civil arm, have not been able to eradicate the good seed sown by Jansenius in France and Flanders. It is true, the seed is, at present, and has been from the first, under the harrow of persecution: insomuch that, in France especially, it is far less dangerous to be taken for an Atheist, than for a Jansenist. Truth, however, at the long run, will and must prevail. It is more than probable, that, in some future period, Jansenius (as having laid the first stone) will be considered as the virtual reformer of France. I have dwelt, thus largely, on the violent efforts of the Romish Church to extinguish the minutest glimmering of Calvinism; the more clearly to demonstrate, either the utter ignorance, or the criminal unfairness, of Mr. Sellon, which induced him to aver, that the Calvinistic system is the system of the Church of Rome, and embraced by ten Papists out of eleven.

I have already observed, that, so low down

(*m*) Bower, u. s. page 482.

(*n*) Primum temerarium, impium, blasphemam, anathemaie damnatam, et hæreticam, declaramus, et uti talem condemnamus. Secundam hæreticam declaramus, et uti talem damnamus. Tertiam hæreticam declaramus, et uti talem damnamus. Quartem falsam et hæreticam declaramus, et uti talem damnamus. Quintam falsam, temerariam, scandalosam, et (intellectam eo sensu, ut Christus pro salute duntaxat prædestinatorum mortuus sit) impiam, blasphemam, contumeliosam, divinæ pietati derogantem, et hæreticam, declaramus, et uti talem damnamus. Rycaut's Lives of the Popes. p. 318.

(*o*) Bower, ubi supr. p. 484.

(*p*) "The assembly of the clergy, in the years 1660, 1661, and 1664, ordered all persons to subscribe the formulary. Which, being confirmed by the King's declaration, all the ecclesiastics, monks, nuns, and others, in every diocese, were bliged to subscribe: those who refused, being interdicted and excommunicated." Biographical Diction. vol. vii. p. 17.

(*q*) Biogr. Dict. *ibid.* p. 18.

as the year 1713, the hundred and one propositions, extracted from the writings of Quesnell, were condemned at Rome, as the very quintessence of heresy. Some of these propositions (for I have not room to recite them all) were as follow:

"The grace of Jesus Christ, the efficacious principle of all good, is necessary to every good action.

"The difference between the Jewish and the Christain Covenant" [*i. e.* the difference between the law and the gospel] "lies in this: that, in the former God requires the sinner to avoid sin and to fulfil the law, leaving him, at the same time, in his state of inability; whereas, in the latter, God gives the sinner that which he commands, by purifying him with his grace.

"How great is the happiness, to be admitted into a covenant, wherein God confers upon us that which he requires of us!

"Grace is an operation of the Almighty hand of God, which nothing can hinder nor retard.

"When God willeth to save a soul, the undoubted effect always and every where followeth the will of God,

"When God accompanies his command and external word with the unction of his Spirit and the internal power of his grace, it then works in the heart that obedience which it requires.

"All those whom God willeth to save by Jesus Christ are infallibly saved.

"Faith, the use, the increase, and the reward of faith, are all a gift of the pure bounty of God.

"What is the Church, but the congregation of the children of God, adopted in Christ, redeemed by his blood, living by his Spirit, acting by his grace, and expecting the grace of the world to come.

"The Church is composed of all the elect and just of all ages."

These truly scriptural propositions are, among the rest, recited in the bull Unigenitus, above mentioned, and there stand anathematised by the Church of Rome in these very words: "We do, by this our constitution, which shall be of perpetual force and obligation, declare, condemn, and reject, respectively, all and every one of the propositions before recited, as false, captious, shocking, offensive to pious ears, scandalous, pernicious, rash, injurious to the Church" [*i. e.* to the Romish Church] "and her practice; contumelious, not only against the Church, but likewise against the secular powers; seditious, impious, blasphemous, heretical, and manifestly reviving several heresies. Whosoever shall teach, defend, or publish them, or any of them, jointly or separately; or shall treat of them by way of dispute, either publicly or privately, unless it be to impugn them; shall, *ipso facto*, without any other declaration, incur the censures of the Church, and all other penalties appointed by the law against such delinquents."(*r*) Is it possible for the Church of Rome to execrate and abjure Calvinism in stronger terms? And is it possible for words to convey clearer and more solid proof, that Popery and Arminianism are (so far as these points are concerned) one and the same? And is it possible for impudence itself to forge a more flagrant untruth, than by saying that Arminianism is not Popery, and that ten Papists out of eleven hold predestination? Well may the author of the Confessional (than whom, with all his mistakes, scarce any age has produced a more keen and nervous reasoner) make the following just and incontestable remark: "Our first reformers framed and placed the Thirty-nine Articles, and more particularly those called Calvinistical, as the surest and strongest barriers to keep out Popery." (*s*)

In consequence of the above papal fulmination, Quesnell (whose crime only consisted in his having a little more spiritual light than most of his brethren) was, first, banished from Paris; then, thrown into a dungeon at Brussels from whence, after almost four months, imprisonment, he found means to make his escape into Holland, where he died A. D. 1719, after an exile of about fifteen years. The bull itself, by which his 101 propositions were condemned, is to this very day, so strictly enforced in France, that the clergy of that kingdom (though, generally, less bigotted than the clergy of other Popish countries) will not administer the last offices to a dying person, until he has solemnly declared his detestation of the doctrines which those propositions contain What a front, then, must Mr. Sellon have, to insinuate, that ten Papists out of eleven hold the doctrine of grace; when, even in France, where Popery sits much lighter than in any other unreformed nation, not a single Papist, though lying on the bed of death, is permitted to receive the sacrament, until he has, with his dying breath, disavowed the doctrine of predestination in all its branches.

Let me further ask the calumniat or, whether he ever knew a single person, who, from being a doctrinal Calvinist, was perverted to the Church of Rome? But I myself have known several Arminians, who were carried over to

(*r*) See the bull Unigenitus, prefixed to Russel's translation of Quesnell on the N. T. vol. i.

(*s*) Confessional, p. 331. Edit. 3. What immediately follows the above citation, I here throw into a note, because, though too important to be entirely omitted, it yet does not directly pertain to the argument I am upon. "A Protestant divine," adds this masterly writer, "may possibly have his objections to the plain sense of these articles" [*i. e.* to the plain sense of the Calvinistic articles of the Church of England]; "but in this case, he ought not to subscribe them at all. For if he can bring himself to assent and to subscribe them in a Catholic" [*i.e.* in a Popish-Arminian] "sense I would desire to know what security the Church has, that he does not put the like Catholic sense (with which he may be furnished by the Jesuits) upon those articles which concern transubstantiation and purgatory?"

Popery with very little difficulty; and, from being half Protestants, easily commenced complete Romanists. (*t*) Ask your friend and dictator, Mr. John Wesley, whether numbers of his followers have not, from time to time, gone off to the mother of Abominations, particularly, in Bristol? where, I have been credibly informed, the Romish priests cry him up (not without reason) as a very moderate and a very useful man (*u*).

(*t*) How natural and easy the transition is, from Arminianism to avowed Popery, is evident among others, from the examples of Bolsec and Bertius abroad; and, at home, from those of William Barrett Godfrey Goodman, bishop of Gloucester.

Jerom Bolsec was, originally, a Carmelite friar of Paris. From motives either of conscience, or of secular interest, he forsook his order; and, leaving France, made open profession of the Protestant religion. Among other places, he went, says, Bayle, "to Geneva, as a physician; but, finding that he did not distinguish himself to his satisfaction in that profession, he set up for divinity; and dogmatized, at first, in private, on the mystery of predestination, according to the principles of Pelagius, and afterwards had the boldness to make a public discourse against the received opinion. As soon as his conversation with certain persons to infect them with his Pelagianism, was known, Calvin went to see him, and censured him mildly: afterwards, he sent for him to his house, and endeavoured to reclaim him from his error. But this did not hinder Bolsec from delivering, in public, an insulting discourse against the decree of eternal predestination. It is thought, that he was the bolder because he imagined that Calvin was not among his auditors. He had such a thought, because he did not see him [sitting] in his [usual] place. The reason was, Calvin, not coming in till after the discourse was begun, kept himself hid behind the crowd." (Bayle's Hist. Dict. vol. ii. art. Bolsec). Mr. Samuel Clark, a pious, learned, and laborious writer of the last century, informs us (see his Marrow of Ecclesiastical History, part i. p. 298, 299.) that Bolsec delivered this harangue October 16, 1551, taking for his text these words, "He that is of God, heareth the words of God:" whence he took occasion to preach up free-will, and that predestination was out of work foreseen. Calvin himself (see Bayle, ut supr.) in a letter which he wrote to the Swiss churches, says, that among other things asserted by Bolsec, on the above, or a similar occasion, the wretch spoke to this effect: that "men do not therefore obtain salvation, because they are elected; but are therefore elected, because they believe; and that no man is reprobate by the bare decree of God, but only those who deprive themselves of the common election." Being, after several fruitless efforts to reclaim him, banished from Geneva, he retired into the territory of Bern; where, says Mr. Clark, "he was the cause of many and great stirs." After being twice expelled thence, on account of his turbulent behaviour, he returned into France; and, "presently after, when he saw the [French] churches under affliction, he fell back to Popery, loading the reformed Churches with many reproaches." Thus did this man's tenets of free-will, conditional predestination, universal grace, and salvation by works, ripen him for a relapse to the church of Rome

Those principles had the same effect on Peter Bertius. He was an intimate friend and devoted admirer of Arminius. This gradually prepared the orator's subsequent apostacy to Popery. Arminius died the 19th of October, 1609. And who so fit to deliver his funeral oration (or, in modern language, to preach his funeral sermon,) as his good friend and colleague Bertius? Preached by him it accordingly was, on the 22d of the same month, which was the day of Arminius's interment. And, to this very hour, the said funeral oration (notwithstanding the orator's revolt to the Church of Rome a few years after) stands prefixed to all the editions of Arminius's works, which I have ever seen: as if Popery and Arminianism were fated to be inseparable. I do not recollect to have met with the exact æra of Bertius's declaring himself a Papist. But, in the collection of archbishop Usher's Letters, annexed to his Life by Dr. Parr, I find the following paragraph, in a letter from Dr. Ward to that prelate: "Your lordship was partly acquainted with a business which I had undertaken, to answer one chapter of [cardinal] Perron's latest work, set out after his decease. Since that time, Petrus Bertius, the remonstrant (*i. e.* the Arminian,) is turned Roman Catholic, and hath undertaken the translation of that whole book into Latin." This letter is dated September 25, 1622. In one from bishop Usher, to the same Dr. Ward (who was master of Sidney college, Cambridge, and succeeded Dr. Davenant in the Margaret professorship of Divinity,) the excellent prelate tells him, "I do very well approve the judgment of them, who advised you to handle the controversies mentioned in that chapter of cardinal Perron's book, which Bertius pretendeth to have been the principal motive of his verifying the title of his old book, *Hyneneus Desertor*. His oration of the motives to his perversion, I saw, before I left England: than which, I never yet did see a more silly and miserable discourse proceed from the hands of a learned man." Let. l. and liii. p. 82. and 85. Thus easy, quick, and ready, is it to pass, from the religion of James Arminius, to that of Cardinal James Davy du Perron!

A sadly memorable instance of the same kind happened in our land some years after. Godfrey Goodman, the unworthy bishop of Gloucester, who had long swam with Laud in almost every measure that conduced to the extension of Arminianism, Civil tyranny, and Ecclesiastical pomp, at length declared in his last will, that he died "in the faith and communion of the mother Church of Rome." But I dismiss so shocking an event, with that observation of the Apostle: "They went out from us, but they were not of us; for, if they had been of us, they would doubtless have continued with us." Yet must I subjoin the remark of Echard: "As this was the only apostate English bishop, since the reformation, so he was the only one, who left children to beg their bread." Ech. Hist. of Engl. vol. ii. p. 782.

The case of William Barrett, fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, is well known. I have, already, given a sketch of his history, and taken notice of his revolt to Popery, in my former pamphlet, entitled, The Church of England vindicated from the charge of Arminianism, p. 48 &c.

(*u*) Many specimens might be given of Mr. Wesley's lax Protestantism. Among them, every consider-rate reader must rank the following paragraph: "Justification by works is not the fundamental doctrine of Popery; but the universality of the Romish Church and the supremacy of the bishop of Rome. And to call any one a Papist who denies these, is neither charity nor justice" (page the 9th of a two-penny tract, written by Mr. John Wesley, and entitled, A Letter to a gentleman at Bristol, 1758.) According to this reasoning, a man may hold transubstantiation, ecclesiastical infallibility, purgatory, image worship, invocation of saints and angels, &c. &c. and yet be a good Protestant all the while! The French clergy (for instance) who put a query on the Pope's supremacy, but are (or, at least, generally profess themselves to be) stiff Romanists in most other points, cannot, in Mr. Wesley's estimation, be with "charity and justice" considered as Papists! Does not such a bare-faced concession look as if the conceder himself was fearful (and upon very good grounds) lest, without a prudent caveat of that kind, the charge of Popery might fall heavy on somebody else?

(*v*) Sellon, p. 3.

SECTION V.

The Objection, drawn from the supposed Calvinism of Thomas Aquinas, *refuted, with a word concerning* St. Austin.

But, it seems Austin and Aquinas were "two champions for predestination:" and "their names," I am farther told, "have as much weight in the Church of Rome as they have with" (*x*) the vicar of Broad Hembury. I

am apt to think, that Mr Sellon's acquaintance, either with St. Austin's writings, or with those of Aquinas, is, at best, extremely slender. However his bare mention of those foreign names may serve to give Mr. Wesley's old women an huge idea of "brother Sellon's purdigious larning."

Whatever may be said for the truly admirable bishop of Hippo; it is certain, that the ingenious native of Aquino was by no means a consistent predestinarian. He had, indeed, his lucid intervals; but, if the Arminians should find themselves at a loss for quibbles, I would recommend to them a diligent perusal of that laborious hair-splitter; who will furnish them in their own way, with many useful and necessary quirks, without the assistance whereo their system had, long ago, lost its hold even on the prejudiced and the superficial.

Of all Aquinas's numerous writings (which are said to amount to 17 folio volumes), I have only his *Summa Theologiæ*, and his Commentaries on the Gospels, and St. Paul's Epistles. To collect all the Semi-pelagian passages, with which those two performances are fraught, would be a task equally prolix and unprofitable. My citations, therefore, shall be few and short: but such as may suffice to evince, that this scholastic Papist does, in many material points respecting the present argument, shake hands from hi sgrave, with his younger brethren, the modern Arminians. "The Book of Life," says he, "is the enrolment of those who are ordained to life eternal. Whoever is in present possession of grace, is, by virtue of that very possession, deserving of eternal life. This ordination, however, sometimes fails. for, some people are ordained to have eternal life, by the" [inherent] "grace they possess, which eternal life, they, notwithstanding, come short of, by the commission of deadly sin. They who are appointed to life eternal, not by God's predestination, but only through the grace" [they are partakers of], "are said to be written in the Book of Life, not absolutely, but under certain limitations." (*y*) Let me add a word from this author, concerning justification, which he supposes to be synonymous with the infusion of grace: "Free-will," says he, "is essential to the nature of man: consequently, in that person, who has the use of his free-will God worketh no motion unto righteousness without the motion of the man's free-will." (*z*) In his comment on the first Epistle to Timothy, he thus asserts the merit of works: "Spiritual treasure is no other than an assemblage of merits; which merits are the foundation of that future building which is prepared for us in Heaven: for the whole preparation of future glory is by merits, which merits we acquire by grace; and this grace is the fountain of merit." (*a*)

Now let any man judge, whether this Popish writer does not, in these and similar passages, speak the language of Pelagius. That he sometimes stumbles on great and precious truths, cannot be denied. Where this is the case, let him have his due commendation. But the least that can be said is, that those of his lucubrations which I have met with abound with such astonishing self-contradictions. as are only to be paralleled in the puny publications wherewith Mr. John Wesley hath edified his readers.

So much for Thomas Aquinas. Next, for the celebrated African bishop; concerning whom, Mr. Sellon thus descants: "Austin's writings are judged to confirm the Popish doctrines so much, that the effigy of that father is set with three others, to support the papal chair. And suppose I was to make the effigy of Arminius serve as a leg to my chair, would it thence follow that I am an Arminian? As little does it follow, that the doctrine of predestination asserted by St. Austin, is the received doctrine of Rome, only because the Pope affects to sit on the shoulders of Austin's wooden image. If my adversary has only such wooden arguments to urge, the interests of his dearly beloved Arminianism will be as ridiculously and as feebly supported, as is the Pope's (*b*) chair by the worm-eaten effigy. Is it true, that the system of grace, maintained by Austin, is espoused by the Roman Church? Quite the reverse. The writers of that communion do,

(*y*) Est enim liber vitæ conscriptio ordinatorum in vitam æternam. Quicunque enim gratiam habet, ex hoc ipso est dignus vitâ æternâ. Et hæc ordinatio deficit interdum: quia aliqui ordinati sunt, ex gratiâ habiti, ad habendum vitam æternam: a qui tamen deficiunt per peccatum mortale. Illi qui sunt ordinati ad habendum vitam æternam non ex prædestinatione divinæ, sed solùm ex gratiâ; dicuntur esse scripti in libro vitæ, non simpliciter, sed secundum quid. Aquin. Summ. pt. 1. qu. 23. art. 3. page. 61. Edit. Antverp. 1565.

(*z*) Homo autem secundum propriam naturam habet, quòd sit liberi arbitrii: et ideò, in eo, qui habet usum liberi arbitrii, non fit motio à Deo, ad justitiam, absque motu liberi arbitrii. Aquin. *ibid.* 1. 2dæ quæst. 113. art. 3. p. 245.

(*a*) Thesaurus spiritualis est congregatio meritorum: quæ sunt fundamentum futuri ædificii, quod nobis præparatur in cælo. Quia tota præparatio futuræ gloriæ est per merita, quæ acquirimus per gratiam, quæ est principium merendi. Ejusdem Lect. 4. in 1. tom. vi. p. 410. Edit. Antverp. 1620.

(*b*) After all, what if none of the four supporting images should be really representative of St. Austin? I am aware, that the contrary has been affirmed, by authority incomparably more credible than that of Mr. Sellon. I, therefore, only start the query as a bare possibility. But, were it even fact, it would not be the first mistake of the kind into which the Holy Inafallible See hath fallen. Witness the following famous instance. "Till the year 1699, the bishops of Rome thought they had a pregnant proof, not only of St. Peter's erecting their chair, but of his sitting in it himself: for till that year, the very chair, on which they believed, or would make others believe, he [St. Peter] had sat, was shewn, and exposed to public adoration, on the 18th of January, the festival of the said chair. But while it was cleaning, in order to be set up in some conspicious place of the Vatican, the twelve labours of Hercules, unluckily, appeared to be engraved on it. "Our worship, however," says Giacomo Bartolina, who was present at this discovery, and relates it, "was not misplaced: since it was not to the wood we paid it, but to the prince of Apostles, St. Peter." Bower's Hist. of the Popes, vol. i p. 7.

indeed, make very pompous use of St. Austin's name, and pretend to pay no little deference to his authority: but with just as much sincerity, as Mr. Sellon professes to revere and vindicate the Church of England. Papists dazzle the vulgar by the mention of St. Austin, that the brightness of his name may render their apostacy from his doctrines imperceivable.

With what propriety St. Austin's image lends its shoulder to the Pope's haunch, may be judged from the following brief sketch of Austin's doctrine: which I shall give in the words of the honest and learned Mr. Du Pin.

"Sinners," says St. Augustin, "sin voluntarily, and without compulsion: and they cannot complain that God hath denied them his grace, or the gift of perseverance, since he owes his grace to no-body."(*c*) The historian goes on: "He [Austin] again insisteth upon the same matter, and upon the same principles, in both the books which he writ in answer to Hilary's and Prosper's letters. The first is, of the predestination of the saints; and the second, of the gift of perseverance: wherein he demonstrates, that the beginning of faith and good purpsoes is the gift of God; and that so, our predestination, or vocation, doth not depend upon our merits. The second book concerns the gift of perseverance; which he shews to depend equally on God, as the beginning of our conversion. St. Augustin composed these treatises in the year 429. (*d*)

"St. Augustin's principles, concerning predestination and reprobation, do exactly agree with his opinion touching grace. Both those decrees, according to him, suppose the foreknowledge of original sin, and of the corruption of the whole mass of mankind. If God would suffer all men to remain there, none could complain of that severity, seeing they are all guilty and doomed to damnation, because of the sin of the first man. But God resolved, from all eternity, to deliver some, whom he had chosen out of pure mercy, without any regard to their future merits; and, from all eternity, he prepared, for them that were thus chosen, those gifts and graces which are necessary to save them infallibly: and these he bestows upon them in time. All those, therefore, that are of the number of the elect, hear the gospel, and believe, and persevere in the faith working by love, to the end of their lives. If they chance to wander from the right way, they return, and repent of their sins: and it is certain, that they shall all die in the faith of Jesus Christ."(*e*)

Let the reader but compare the above summary of St. Austin's doctrine with the determinations of the Council of Trent, quoted in the 3d of the preceding sections; and he will, at first view, perceive, how little stress is to be laid on the Pope's reposing his loins upon St. Austin's effigy, while he tramples the leading (*f*) doctrines of that predestinarian saint under foot, and anathematises all who embrace them.

Had I any kind of intercourse with his Arminian holiness of Rome, I would advise him to cashier the image of St. Austin from serving any longer as a support to his easy chair. I would recommend to him a log, made of Ledsham ash: which he might soon obtain, by ordering one of his emissaries (whereof he has a pretty many) in this kingdom, to procure an effigy of Mr. Walter Sellon, as nearly resembling the original, as it can be made; to serve—not, indeed, upon due recollection, as a stay to his Holiness's throne—nor even as a prop to his foot-stool—but, which would be perfectly in character, as a leg to a certain convenience (a *sella perforata*, though not the *sella porphyretica*,) whereon, I presume his Holiness deigns, occasionally, to sit: and which, the wooden effigy of this wooden Arminian would, with all imaginable propriety and gracefulness, assist in supporting.

SECTION VI.

The Charge of Ranterism *refuted and retorted.*

PASS we, now, to a slander against the Calvinistic doctrines, drawn from a very different topic. "Antinomianism and Ranterism are," according to my adversary, "the genuine effects of absolute predestination." As to Antinomianism, I have, elsewhere, (*g*) shewn what it is, and demonstrated that it no more

(*c*) Dupin's Hist. of Ecclesiastical Writers, vol. 3. p. 203. (*d*) *ibid.*

(*e*) *ibid.* p. 205, 206. These citations demonstrate the justness of Mr. Bayle's following remark. "It is certain," says this shrewd, perspicacious writer, "that the engagement, which the Church of Rome is under, to respect St. Austin's system, casts her into a perplexity which is very ridiculous. It is manifest to all men, who examine things without prejudice and with sufficient abilities, that Austin's doctrine, and that of Jansenius, are one and the same; so that we cannot, without indignation, behold the Court of Rome boasting to have condemned Jansenius, and yet to have preserved St. Austin in all his glory. These are two things altogether inconsistent. More than this, the Council of Trent, in condemning Calvin's doctrine of free-will, did necessarily condemn that of St. Austin: for no Calvinist ever denied, or can deny, the concurrence of the human will, and the liberty of the soul, in that sense which St. Austin has given to the words concurrence, co-operation, and liberty. So that when they [*i. e.* the Papists] boast of having St. Austin's faith, it is only meant to preserve a decorum, and to save their system from the destruction which a sincere confession of the truth must necessarily occasion." Bayle's Hist. Dict. vol. i. art. Augustin.

(*f*) This is evident, among other proofs, from the following instance: some of St. Austin's works, concerning grace and against free-will, are actually under the black mark of the Romish index *Expurgatorius*. For the knowledge of which, I am indebted to the information of Spanhemius. "In doctrinam illius [Augustini] de gratia et libero arbitrio, iniquiora sunt sæpe judicia familiæ Jesuitarum et obvia. Nec pauca inquisitores Hispanici et index Expurgatorius in Augustino damnant, obelo iis configenda. Spanhem. Operum, tom i. 925.

(*g*) See my Caveat against Unsound Doctrines.

follows from Calvinism, than midnight from the sun. But, as the charge of Ranterism may carry a new appearance to those who are unacquainted with the scurrilities of the superannuated Arminians, from whose quiver Mr. Sellon has borrowed his shafts, I will not dismiss it without some examination.

The sect who, in the reign of Charles I., justly went by the name of Ranters, were no other than the spawn, or continuation, of the (*k*) Familists, who made so much noise under the administration of Elizabeth. To judge, therefore, of the branch, we must review the parent-tree. To trace the rise, and ascertain the principles of the Ranters, we must follow the stream to the spring, by carrying up our enquiries to the Familists themselves.

The learned Camden, in his history of Queen Elizabeth, informs us, under the year 1580, that "not only perfidious subjects, but also foreigners, out of Holland, a country (*i*) fruitful of heretics, began, at this time, to trouble the peace of the Church and commonwealth in England. Under a shew of singular integrity and sanctity, they insinuated themselves into the affection of the ignorant, common people; and then instilled into their minds several damnable heresies, manifestly repugnant to the Christian faith: using uncouth and strange kind of expressions. These named themselves of the Family of Love, or House of Charity. They persuaded their followers, that those only were elected, and should be saved, who were admitted into that family; and all the rest, reprobates, and to be damned: and that it was lawful for them to deny, upon their oath, before a magistrate, whatsoever they pleased; or before any other, who was not of their family." He adds, that their leader, Henry Nicholas, "with a blasphemous mouth, gave out, that he partook of God, and God [partook] of his humanity."

King James I. has given us a miniature drawing of these people, sketched with his own hand: "That vile sect," says his Majesty, "called the Familie of Love, think themselves only pure, and, in a manner, without sinne; the only true church, and only worthie to be participant of the sacraments; and all the rest of the world to be but abomination in the sight God."(*k*)

Hence it appears, that these wretched fanatics (like some others I could easily name) held, 1. That men's election or reprobation was conditional; and that the condition was, their joining, or not joining, themselves to this pretended family of love: consequently, 2. That salvation did not extend beyond the purlieus of their own sect: 3. That faith was not to be kept with any but themselves: and, 4. That men might, in the present life, be in a manner without sin."(*l*) Their tenets, therefore, appear to have been a farrago of Pelagianism, Popery, and enthusiasm.

Henry Nicholas, a native of Amsterdam, and the founder of this sect, had, it seems, began to sow his tares in England, many years before the æra assigned by Camden: though it was not perhaps, until about the year 1580, that the Familists were sufficiently numerous and daring to alarm the vigilance of government. But the enthusiast had before taken a voyage hither, in the reign of king Edward VI., and, joining himself, at first, to a Dutch church in London, perverted "a number of artificers and silly women."(*m*)

From a paper, subscribed by one of these sectarians, and published by Mr. Strype, we may derive still stronger light into some of their distinguishing principles. It seems, in the year 1581, Dr. Wolton, bishop of Exeter, deprived the rector of Lidford, in Devonshire, for being a Familist, or Ranter. This ranter's name was Anthony Randal: who, among other heterodoxies, held, that the Mosaic history of Adam's Temptation and Fall was a mere allegory: "moreover, that as many as receive Jesus Christ and his doctrine, did fully keep all the moral law, and lived pure without sinning."(*n*) In the summary of assertions, which the said Anthony Randal acknowledged under his own hand, I find the following passages:—"He saith, that he cannot put down" [*i. e.* safely commit to writing] "what he hath learned of predestination, or Providence, without speaking, or at least seeming to speak, against the law of the realm. He saith, he hath taught openly, and will teach, during his life (being not forbidden by the prince,) that as many as receive Jesus Christ and his doctrine, do fulfil, keep, and do, all the moral law given by God to Moses: and so to live clean and clear without sinning, or the act of sin. And moreover, that every one that preacheth any doctrine contrary to this, neither knoweth God, nor his Christ, nor yet the power and strength of the Holy Spirit."(*o*) Let me make a short stricture on these two paragraphs. It is sufficiently plain, 1. That the ranter denied predestination,

(*h*) Fuller's Church History of Britain; b. x. *s.* 2. p. 33.

(*i*) I do not wonder at this remark of the Historian. Nor will any other unprejudiced person, who considers that, among the rest, Arminius (at whom, and his adherents, Mr. Camden strongly seems to glance in this sentence) was a Dutchman.

(*k*) Basilicon Doron, Pref. p. 8. Edit. 1603.

(*l*) Of this sect was Velsius, an Hollander, who, in the year 1563, made much disturbance among the Dutch congregation in London. (See Strype's Annals of the twelve first years of Elizabeth; chap. 34.) This was the same Velsius, who, "In the year 1556, held a dispute at Frankfort, with one Horne, who appeared in behalf of Calvin's doctrine of absolute predestination, and against free-will. Him Velsius called *ambitionis et κενοδοξιας vilissimum manicipium, i. e.* a most vile slave of ambition and vain-glory. He asserted, that he that was born might not sin, and, in effect, could not sin: that is, if he remained in the grace of regeneration." (Strype, *ibid.* p. 347.) So far were these ranting free-willers from Calvinism!

(*m*) Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 112.

(*n*) Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 222.

(*o*) Appendix to ditto, p. 93.

and had (at best) but a very lax idea of divine Providence: yet, 2. He was honest enough to grant, that the doctrines of Predestination and Providence were a part of the national belief, established by "the law of the realm." Hence, 3. He would not venture to blaspheme those doctrines under his hand-writing, for fear of the consequences that might follow. Herein, the ranter acted discreetly enough. 4. He was an avowed perfectionist: and, 5. Was a most uncharitable bigot; else he had never affirmed, that every one, who preaches against his ranting doctrine of sinless perfection, knows nothing of God, or of Christ, or of the Holy Spirit. Who, on this occasion, can help thinking on Messieurs John Wesley and Walter Sellon? I mean, so far as concerns the tenet of perfection. For, on the articles of predestination and providence, even ranting Randal himself would not venture to fly so openly in the face of the "law of the realm," as have his ranting successors, the two adventurers above mentioned.

In the second year of James I. the Ranters or Familists (call them which you please,) presented a very long petition to that monarch; in which they had, at last, the courage to own their firm belief of universal redemption, and, not obscurely, hinted their attachment to the doctrine of free-will. The whole petition may be read in Fuller.(*p*) I shall content myself with transcribing two or three paragraphs. They term themselves "The Family of Love, or of God;" and disclaim all affinity to the Puritans, whom they brand with the epithets of disobedient, brain-sick, proud-minded, heady, and hypocritical: whose malice," add the Ranters, "hath, for five and twenty years past, and upwards, and ever since, with many untrue suggestions, and most foul errors and odious crimes (the which we could then, if need were, prove,) sought our utter overthrow and destruction." The Puritans, I dare believe, deemed themselves to be, as indeed they were, honoured by the low slanders of these wild and extravagant sectarists. But, would we think it possible? this very Family of Love, (or of Lust rather, says Fuller,) these identical Ranters, pretended, with as much confidence and as little truth as Messieurs John and Walter do at this day, to be very sound and zealous members of the Church of England! "If," continue the petitioners, "we do vary, or swerve, from the established religion in this land, either in service, ceremonies, sermons, or sacraments; then let us be rejected for sectaries, and never receive the benefit of subjects." We may learn, from this astonishing instance of impudence and falsehood, that it is no new thing, with schismatics, to lay the brats of their own invention at the door of the Church. Mr. Wesley, among others, seeks much to avail himself of this audacious artifice. As if the Church of England was the common receptacle of error, and looked ninety-nine ways at once!

But to resume the petition. I shall not, here, stay to enquire into the merits of the question concerning the universality of redemption and grace. I shall only shew, from the very words of the Ranters themselves, that they held the universality of both. They tell the King that the writings of Henry Nicholas were written and published, "To the end that all people, when they hear or read his writings, might endeavour to bring forth the fruits of repentance, according as all the holy scripture doth likewise require the same of every one: and that they might, in that sort, become saved, through Jesus Christ the Saviour of all the world." They add, that Nicholas's books were written by an immediate impulse from Heaven: or, to use their own phraseology, that his productions did "proceed out of the great grace and love of God and Christ towards all kings, princes, rulers, and people, upon the universal earth, to their salvation, unity, peace, and concord, in the same godly love."

"This Family of Love," says merry old "Fuller, who shut their doors before, now" [*i. e.* about A. D. 1655] keep open house: yea, Family is too narrow a name for them; they are grown so numerous. Formerly by their own confession in this petition, they had three qualities few, poor, and unlearned. For the last, *billa vera*: their lack of learning they still retain: being otherwise many, and some rich; but all under the name of Ranters. And thus," adds the facetious historian, "I fairly leave them, on condition they will fairly leave me, that I may hear no more of them for delivering truth and my own conscience, in what I have written concerning their opinions."(*q*)

By this time, the reader must clearly see with how little reason and justice Mr. Sellon pronounces Ranterism to be the genuine effect of the doctrine of predestination. So far from being an effect of it, it is totally and diametrically the reverse of that doctrince, in every point of view. Mr. Sellon is the ranter, both in the speculative and practical sense of the term. Speculatively: for he avowedly holds, with his ranting brethren of the two last centuries, that our Lord is the intentional Saviour of all the world, without any exception; and that the grace of God extends "to all people upon the universal earth." Nay, on the article of sinful perfection, this modern Arminian exceeds the madness of his ancient brethren. For, some of them only asserted that people may be in a manner without sin: whereas, the still more illuminated Mr. Sellon affirms, with the hottest of the elder sect, that people may be totally without sin. In which respect, he outrants many of the old Ranters themselves.

(*p*) Church Hist. of Brit. book x. sect. 18.

(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 33.

But what is empty speculation, if unproductive of substantial practice? herein, likewise, my worthy assailant comes not a jot behind the foremost of the primitive Ranters. For, what are his written works, but one continued series of ranting against the sovereignty and grace of God, and against all who affirm with the Church (art. xvii.) that predestination to life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby, before the foundations of the world were laid, he hath constantly decreed, by his counsel, secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind? And yet (so exactly does he tread in the footsteps of the "Family of Love,") Mr. Sellon would, like them, fain cajole his readers into an opinion that he is no sectary, nor doth vary, nor swerve, from the established religion of this land!" Thus, though he has reason enough to be ashamed of his relations, the Ranters, he can hardly, I imagine, have the assurance to disown them. Should he, however, be sufficiently case-hardened, to deny the consanguinity; he bears the family-likeness so strongly, that in vain would he attempt to shuffle off the name, while every feature and line of his doctrinal physiognomy compels us to write Ranter upon his forehead.

SECTION VII.

An Enquiry into the Judgment of the earliest Fathers, *concerning the Points in Question.*

In my letter to Dr. N. I took occasion to observe, that there is the utmost reason to believe that the main body of the Christian Church (in which I do not include the Arians of those times) were, for the four first centuries, unanimous believers of the doctrines now termed Calvinistic.(*a*) For this observation, I assigned two reasons: 1. The universal horror and surprize, which the broaching of Pelagius's opinions, about the beginning of the 5th century, occasioned in the whole Christian Church; and, 2. The authority of Dr. Cave, who asserts, in express terms, that Pelagius *hæresin novam condidit*, "was the founder of a new heresy." From whence I inferred, and infer still, that, if the non-imputation of Adam's offence to his posterity, and the bottoming of predestination and justification upon human worthiness, were (as all historians concur to affirm) branches of Pelagius's new heresy; it follows, that the opposite doctrines, of Adam's transgression imputed to his offspring, and of predestination and justification by grace alone, were, and must have been, branches of the old faith universally held by the Church for the first 400 years after Christ.

These two arguments Mr. Sellon, very prudently, passes over, unexamined and unmentioned: and skips to my ninth page, from whence he gleans an incidental remark, on which he thus descants: "Your telling us, p. 9 that, during the four first ages of the Christian Church, predestination and its concomitant doctrines were undisputed, for ought appears to the contrary, is no reason at all." It, certainly, is a strong presumptive reason, though not offered as direct proof, for, two of the direct reasons had been given before, and still remain, not only undemolished, but untouched, by my cautious adversary; who, with all his furious zeal for Arminianism, chose rather to let those reasons keep possession of the field than run the risque of burning his own fingers in assaulting them. I will attend, however, to what he delivers concerning the "no reason at all."

He grants, that those doctrines were, for the four first ages, undisputed: which he thus affects to account for; "because it does not appear that there were any that held them." We shall presently see that they were held, and held firmly too, by those of the primitive fathers who are commonly distinguished by the title of Apostolical, from their having lived nearest to the Apostles' times, *i. e.* within the first Christian century. In the mean while, let us weigh the mode of argumentation adopted by Mr. Sellon: "The doctrines of grace were therefore undisputed, because it does not appear that they were believed." I hardly think, this will stand the test. Here is an absolute, peremptory assertion, built (not so much as on a phantom or a shadow, but on a mere non-appearance. Besides: does it not, at least, seem more probable, that these doctrines were therefore unopposed, because they were generally held? For, daily experience evinces that, to this day, those same doctrines meet with opposition enough from the persons by whom they are not held: and, I am apt to think, that human nature, as such, is just that, now, which it was in the four first centuries. Had the primitive times swarmed with Arminians, as the latter times have, the doctrines of grace would have been no less opposed and disputed against then, than they have been since.

Another consideration also merits our attention. Not only every Church, or collective body of professing Christians; but likewise every individual man, who thinks religion and philosophy worthy of attending to, must, necessarily, form some judgment or other concerning the points in debate, I may venture, therefore, without taking any undue advantage, to lay it down as a datum, that the christians of the four first ages (who certainly had the scriptures in their hands, and heard them read in their public assemblies) could not possibly be neutrals, on a subject of such importance as that of predestination and grace; but must, unavoidably, have either believed that doctrine,

(*a*) Church of Engl. vind. from Armin.

or disbelieved it: they were on one side, or on the other. Indeed, had the holy scripture made no mention at all of predestination, neither for, nor against, it is possible (and but barely possible,) that the primitive Churches might have thought little or nothing about that sublime article. But it is undeniable, that the scriptures make very express, ample, and repeated mention of it: and the mention there made of it must be understood in some sense or other. Now, if predestination and its derivative doctrines were at all thought of by the first Churches; and if, for ought that can be proved to the contrary, those doctrines passed undisputed till contravened by Pelagius in the fifth century; does it not (to say the least) look as if they had been universally received and embraced, during the first (*b*) 400 years after Christ? We will suppose, a moment, for argument sake, the doctrines of grace to have passed undisputed among English Protestants, from the æra of the Reformation down to the emersion of Mr. John Wesley. What, in such a case, would have been the natural inference? Not, that nobody held these undisputed principles: but, that they would and must have been controverted, long before, had they not been held universally. Why is the existence of a certain luminary, called the sun, undisputed? Surely, not because its existence is disbelieved; but, on the contrary, because it is universally known and acknowledged. I must, therefore, repeat my question, which seems to have given Mr. Sellon and his fraternity so much disquiet: where was not the doctrine of predestination, before Pelagius?

The Arminians treat election, as Gardiner, the Popish bishop of Winchester, treated the doctrine of free justification. Before the Homily on Salvation was published, archbishop Cranmer and others sent for Gardiner, and shewed him that excellent Homily, "wherein was handled the matter of justification; endeavouring to persuade him to allow of it, by reasoning with him concerning it. But Winchester pretended, whatsoever they said could not salve his conscience; and challenged them to shew any old writer who taught as that Homily did." (*c*)

If the tesimtony of old writers was needful, to confirm the good old doctrines, there are old writers enough at hand, to confirm all and every one of them. But it suffices for me, that we have the suffrages of the oldest writers; I mean, the Prophets and Apostles. The holy Scriptures are the truest and the purest antiquity. (*d*) While these are for us, it matters not who are against us. However, the Calvinists of later ages are very far from standing alone, in their resolute adherence to the scripture doctrines. The learned bishop Beveridge, whose acquaintance with the monuments of primitive antiquity is incontestible, treating, (for instance) of regeneration by the efficacious grace of God, expresses himself thus; and avers, that the first Churches believed as follows: Our Lord "doth not say, there are some things you cannot do without me, or, there are many things you cannot do without me; but, without me ye can do nothing: nothing good, nothing pleasing and acceptable unto God. Whereas, if we could either prepare ourselves to turn, or turn ourselves when prepared, we should do much. And, to put it out of doubt, the same Spirit tells us elsewhere, it is God that worketh in you both to will and to do, of his good pleasure. It is he who first enables us to will what we ought to do, and then to do what we will. Both the grace we desire, and our desire of grace, proceed from him. And therefore it is requisite, in order to our conversion, that the understanding be not only so enlightened as to discern the evil from the good; but that our wills be also so rectified as to prefer the good before the evil. By this rectifying, or bringing of the will into its right order again, its liberty is not destroyed, but healed: so that it is free, after, as well as before conversion; free to God and Holiness, as it was before free only to sin and wickedness. And this was the doctrine of the Primi-

(*b*) The masterly compilers of that learned and valuable work, entitled, The History of Popery, expressly affirm what I only advanced as probable. "This doctrine," say they, *viz.* that "God bestoweth his determining grace on whom he will, and to whom he will he denieth it;" "This doctrine continued generally in the Church, till about the year 405, at which time a certain Briton, bred up in the monastery of Bangor, originally named Morgan (but that word, in Welch, signifying, of or belonging to the sea, he was thence in Latin called Pelagius,) began to set on foot several errors: as, denying original sin; affirming the number of the elect and reprobate not to be definite, but indefinite and indeterminate &c." Hist. of Popery, vol. ii. p 355.

(*c*) Strype's Eccles. Mem. vol. 3. p. 278.

(*d*) Calvin touches this point, with great judgment and elegance, in one of the most admirable compositions which any age has seen: I mean, his Dedication of his Institution to Francis I. of France. In that highly-finished apology for the Protestant religion, the apostolical reformer thus speaks: "Improbis clamoribus nos obruunt, ceu patrum contemptores et adversarios. Nos verò adeò illos non contemnimus, ut si id præsentis instituti esset, nullo negotio mihi liceat meliorem eorum partem eorum, quæ hodiè à nobis dicuntur, ipsorum suffragiis comprobare. Sic tamen in eorum Scriptis versamur, at semper meminerimus, omnia nostra esse, quæ nobis serviant, non dominentur. Nos autem unius Christi, cui, per omnia, sine exceptione, parendum sit. Hunc delectum qui non tenet, nihil in religione constituum habebit: quando multa ignorarunt sancti illi viri: sæpè inter se conflictantur; interdum etiam secum ipsi pugnant."

I am by no means singular in my admiration of the piece now cited. Mr. Bayle acknowledges, that the above Dedicatory Epistle "is one of those three or four prefatory pieces, so much admired, Thuanus's Epistle Dedicatory, and Casaubon's Preface to Polybius, are of that number. We must join to these the Preface of Mr. Pelisson, on the works of Sarrasin." Had Mr. Bayle seen Wiltsius's Dedication of his Oeconomia Fœderum, to King William; and could he have lived to see Dr. Samuel Johnson's Preface to his edition of Shakespear; a critic of his taste and discernment must certainly have added those masterly performances to the admired number.

tive Church. St. Augustin, in whose days Pelagius first rose up against this truth, hath written several volumes to this purpose." (*e*)

St. Jerom, who was cotemporary with St. Augustin, addressed him, not as the founder, but as a principal restorer, of the doctrines of grace; "Thou art famous," said Jerom to Austin, "through the world. The orthodox revere thee, as the re-builder of the ancient faith." (*f*) And I am much mistaken, if St. Jerom, who lived more than thirteen hundred years ago, was not better qualified to judge and pronounce concerning the faith of the ancients, than all the followers of Van-Harmin taken together.

There are cases, wherein a man's own testimony, even in his own cause, is not only admissible, but weighty and respectable. Of this kind I consider the following declaration of St. Austin. "We have shewed (says he, directing his speech to the Pelagians,) by invincible authorities, that the holy bishops, who lived before us, taught the same faith which we maintain; and overthrew the arguments which you make use of, not only in their discourses, but in their writings also. We have shewed you their opinions, which are very particular and clear. I hope their testimonies will cure your blindness, as I wish it: but, if you continue obstinate in your error, which God forbid, you are no more to look for a tribunal to justify you, but for those wonderful defenders of the truth to accuse you, St. Irenæus, St. Cyprian, Rheticius, Olympius, St. Hilary, St. Gregory, St. Ambrose, St. Basil, St. John Chrysostom, &c. with all those who communicated with them, that is to say, the whole Church." (*g*)

I once devoted a considerable share of time and attention to the fathers. But, I scruple not to acknowledge, that, after a while, I desisted from this study as barren and unimproving. Some excellent things are, indeed, interspersed in their writings: but the golden grains are almost lost amidst an infinity of rubbish. "If a man," says Dr. Young, "was to find one pearl in an oyster of a million, it would hardly encourage him to commence fisherman for life." So say I, of the fathers in general. Even supposing (what I can by no means grant,) that the harvest of instruction would recompense the toil of breaking up the ground; a life-time would hardly suffice to read the fathers with care: and, perhaps, two life-times would scarcely enable a reader to digest them completely. That knowledge which is truly important, lies in a much narrower compass. I am quite of his mind, who said *Unus Augustinis, præ mille Patribus; et unus Paulus præmille Augustinis.* One page of St. Austin is worth a thousand of most other fathers; but one page of St. Paul is worth a thousand of St. Austin's. I speak not this, to depreciate the labours of such learned persons as have trod the paths of what is called primitive antiquity; but simply to profess the idea, I cannot help entertaining, of the vanity and unprofitableness, with which I apprehend this kind of chace to be generally attended. If any are otherwise minded, let them follow the chace, and prosper.

There are, however, a few writings, still extant, which, in point both of antiquity and value, appear to rank next below the inspired. The chief of these are the remains of Barnabas, Clemens Romanus, Ignatius, and Polycarp. A few citations, from these venerable divines and martyrs, will serve to evince the falsehood of Limborch's assertion, where he tells us, that, "prior to the rise of St. Austin, the primitive Churches knew little or nothing about predestination." If that proverbial remark be true, the nearer the fountain the clearer the stream; the testimonies, brought from these early writers, must come with weight little, if at all, short of decisive.

I. Very frequent mention is made of Barnabas, in the New Testament. He was originally a Jew by religion, a Cypriot by birth, and for some time a companion of St. Paul in his journies for the gospel. Dr. Cave (*h*), and others, are of opinion, that he was one of the seventy disciples who were sent out by Christ himself (Luke x.) to preach the word. But it is certain, that, some years after our Lord's ascension, he was expressly fixed upon, by the peculiar designation of the Holy Ghost, to be a preacher at large; Luke xiii. 2. It is probable, that he at last received the crown of martyrdom in his native island of Cyprus.

From the fragment of an epistle retrieved by the learned archbishop Usher, and generally admitted to be the authentic work of Barnabas, I select the following passages.

That he held the absolute freeness of divine grace, appears from this remarkable assertion: "When Christ" says he, "chose his own Apostles who were to preach his gospel, he chose them when they were wickeder than all wickedness itself; to demonstrate, that he came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." (*i*) That he was far from being startled at the doctrine of reprobation, seems more than probable: else, I should imagine, he would scarcely have represented the incarnation and death of Christ to have been designed for filling up the measure of Jewish iniquity. His words are these: "Therefore did the Son of God come in the flesh, to this very end, that he might finish and bring to perfection the sins of

(*e*) Bishop Beveridge's Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles. Art. 16

(*f*) See a book, entitled, Melius Inquirendum, p. 51, written by Mr. Alsop, the learned and ingenious author of Anti-Sozzo.

(*g*) Dupin's Hist. of Eccles. Writers, p. 201, 202.

(*h*) Hist. Literar. vol. i. p. 11.

(*i*) Epist. Barnab. Sect. v.—I follow the edition of Cotterelius.

those who had persecuted his prophets unto death. For this reason" [*i. e.* this was one reason for which] he suffered.(*k*) If a modern Calvinist was to express himself in this manner, what a hideous outcry would be raised, as if heaven and earth were falling!

Far from representing the death of Christ as a contingency, or as an event which might, or might not have taken place; Barnabas avers that it came to pass necessarily: "It was Christ's own will that he should thus suffer. It was requisite that he should suffer on the tree. For the prophet saith concerning him, Deliver my soul, &c."(*l*)

Speaking of regeneration and conversion, he ascribes the power, by which those supernatural effects are accomplished, entirely to God: "When God hath renewed us by the remission of sins, he hath formed us into a quite different likeness; so that we have a child-like mind: forasmuch as he himself fashions us anew."(*m*) Again: "behold we have been formed afresh: as he speaketh by another prophet; Lo, saith the Lord, I will take away from them, that is, from those whom the Spirit of the Lord fore-viewed, I will take away from them [their] stony hearts, and I will send fleshiy hearts into them."(*n*)

In the following Paragraph, Barnabas seems to glance at the specialty of redemption: "The Lord saith again" [ἴ. *e.* Christ, the second person in the Trinity,] "In whom shall I appear before the Lord my God, and be glorified? He answereth: I will praise thee in the Church, in the midst of my brethren; and sing to thee in the midst of the Church of the Saints."(*o*) If this venerable writer only glances at particular redemption, in the last passage; he more than glances at it, in this which follows: "Understand, therefore, O ye children of [spiritual] gladness, that the Lord hath made all [these] things manifest to us beforehand, that we might know to whom we should gratefully render thanks in all things. Since therefore the Son of God, though he is Jehovah, and will judge the living and the dead, suffered, that his punishment might make us alive; let us rest assured, that the Son of God could not have suffered but for us."(*p*) The sense evidently is, that the essential dignity of Christ, as Κυριος, or Sovereign Lord, will not permit us to believe that it was possible for him to suffer and shed his blood in vain, or for those who are not, eventually, "made alive by his (*q*) punishment" in their room and stead. To the same effect he thus speaks, in the person of Christ: "Wherefore?" [*i. e.* wherefore was the sin-offering, under the law, to be eaten by the priests alone?] "Because I am to offer up my flesh as a sacrifice for the sins of the new people:"(*r*) *i. e.* for the sins of those who shall be made new creatures in Christ by the Spirit and grace of God: who can say, with Barnabas, in the words already quoted, "He himself fashions us anew: behold, we have been formed afresh." And these surely, are far enough from including the whole of mankind. It is plain, Menardus understood this passage (as every unprejudiced reader must) of Christ's offering up himself only "for the sins of the new, or renewed people," as militating very strongly against universal redemption; else, in his pert note on the place, he would not, like many other annotators, have flown directly in the face of the text, and presumed to charge Barnabas with being in an error; "Λαὸν τε καινὸν, *i. e. populi novi. Non ità recté: quia Christus pro universo mundo passus est.*" Barnabas, however, thought otherwise. And so would his angry commentator, had he duly weighed the notion, of indiscriminate redemption, in the balance of the sanctuary.

Barnabas's judgment, respecting the certainty of perseverance, may be concluded from his connecting evangelical hope with final salvation. Though hope is, perhaps, one of the lowest on the round of Christian graces; yet, a Christian grace it is: and the hope, which has the finished redemption of Jesus for its object, shall be crowned with everlasting glory, by him who will never break a bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax: "They, who hope in him, shall live for ever."(*s*) Much less shall the stronger graces fail: "Whosoever eateth of these things shall live everlastingly." "He" [*i. e.* God] "saith whosoever shall hear those that call, and believeth, shall live eternally."(*t*)

According to this truly apostolic writer, free-will has nothing to do in the affairs of spiritual and future salvation. Speaking of God's true Israel, he asks, "But, from whence is it, that they come to consider and understand these things? We, who consider his commandments aright, speak as the Lord willeth us to speak. For that end, he hath circumcised our ears and our hearts, that we might understand these things."(*u*) Again: "He, giving us repentance, hath led us into the incorruptible temple. The person, therefore, who is desirous of salvation, looketh not unto man, but to him that dwelleth in man and speaketh by man."(*x*)

I shall chose my citations, from Barnabas,

(*k*) *Ibid.*—Father Menard, a learned French Papist, who, in his Commentary on this Epistle, is studious of Pelagianizing as many parts of it as he can; has yet a very striking, because a very honest, note on this passage: "Profert aliam causam adventûs Christi; ut colligeretur et subduceretur veluti summa peccatorum Judeorum: hoc est, ut consumarentur peccata eorum, additâ Christi morte, eorumque impœnitentiâ ad necem, &c."

(*l*) *Ibid.* (*m*) *Ibid.* Sect. vi. (*n*) *Ibid.*
(*o*) *Ibid.* (*p*) *Ibid.* Sect. vii.
(*q*) I have ventured to render πληγη by the general word punishment: though it strictly signifies a blow, a stripe, a wound.
(*r*) *Ibid.* (*s*) *Ibid.* Sect. viii.
(*t*) *Ibid.* Sect. xi. (*u*) *Ibid.* Sect. x.
(*x*) *Ibid.* Sect. xvi.

with but one testimony more: "Issue not thy commands to thy maid-servant, or to thy man-servant, in an acrimonious manner, lest thou fear not that God who is master both of you and them: for he came not to call men, επι προσωπον, according to their outward condition in life, but [his call is] unto those whom the Spirit hath prepared,"(*y*) be their outward condition what it may.

II. Clemens (*z*) Romanus is said to have been a disciple of the apostle Peter: and is universally allowed to be that Clement, whom St. Paul numbered among his fellow labourers, and whose name he peremptorily affirmed to be in the book of Life. Phil. iv. 3. He was made bishop of Rome, probably, about A. D. 64, or 65. But it is very uncertain at what time, and in what manner, he was honoured with martyrdom.

His First Epistle to the Corinthians is celebrated, by many of the ancient writers, as one of the finest and most valuable productions of the apostolic age. So highly was it esteemed, that, for several centuries, it made a part of the public service of the primitive Church: being read in their assemblies, and revered as inferior only to the books of the New Testament. Nor does a learned modern (Monsieur Du Pin) betray the least want of judgment, in declaring the Epistle, now under consideration, to be, "after the Holy Scriptures, one of the most eminent records of antiquity." It seems to have been written before the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans: consequently, much within forty years after our Lord's ascension; and about six or seven years after the death of the apostle Paul, with whom, and with several others of the apostles, Clement was personally and intimately acquainted.

The testimonies of such a writer, in favour of the great truths called Calvinistic, deserve the reader's attention. Among which testimonies, are the following:

The Epistle opens thus: "The Church of God, which dwelleth at Rome, to the Church of God dwelling at Corinth, called and set apart by the will of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord." (*b*) Hinting at some violent tumults and dissentions which had lately agitated and divided the Corinthian Church, he terms such proceedings "a criminal and unholy sedition, strange and unseemly in the elect of God." (*c*) Reminding them of the exemplary care with which they had formerly attended to the performance of every good work; he observes, "your contest, day and night, was for the whole brotherhood; that the number of his elect might be saved with mercy and with [a good] conscience." (*e*) Nor did Clement consider the salvation of the elect as precarious, or their perseverance as uncertain. "It being the will of God," says he, "that all his beloved ones should be made partakers of repentance; he hath established them firmly by his own Almighty purpose." (*f*)

His judgment, concerning the extent of redemption, may be inferred from the two following passages. In the first, treating of Rahab's deliverance by the line of scarlet depending from her window, he considers that event as typical of salvation by Christ's atonement: hereby says he, "They [*i. e.* Rahab, and as many of her friends as were collected under her roof for preservation] made it manifest, that redemption by the blood of the Lord should accrue to all who believe and hope in God."(*g*) Again: the Messiah's "Life is taken from the earth; because of the iniquities of my people. He went unto death." (*h*)

That this primitive bishop had the most exalted ideas of the immutability, the certainty, and the omnipotence, of God's decrees, is evident beyond all contradiction. Witness his description of the all-controlling power with which God's providential disposals are attended: "In pursuance of his will, the teeming earth produces, at the proper seasons, abundant provision both for men, and for wild beasts, and for all the animals that are upon it; without varying from, and without altering, aught of those things which were decreed by him." (*i*) With a sublimity both of sentiment and style, which would do honour even to Homer or Demosthenes, he thus asserts the independency, sovereignty, and invincibility, of the divine appointments: "By the word of his Majesty he hath constituted all things; and he is able, by a word, to overturn them. Who shall say unto him, What hast thou done? or who shall resist the might of his power? He hath done all things at what season he pleased, and in what manner he pleased: and not one of the things which have been decreed by him shall pass away. All things are open to his view, nor hath any thing absconded from his will and pleasure." (*k*)

Far from supposing that the precious doctrine of election conduces to immorality, he represents election as the main ground-work of sanctification, and as the grand inducement to virtue and obedience: "Let us draw nigh to God with holiness of mind, lifting up chaste and unpolluted hands, loving our gentle and compassionate Father, who hath made us a part of the election unto himself. For so it is written: When the Most High parcelled out the nations, and when he dispersed the sons of Adam, he appointed the boundaries of the nations

(*y*) *Ibid.* Sect. xix.
(*z*) Vide Cave's Hist. Liter. vol. i. p. 17. Also, his Apostolici, p. 78. And Dupin's Eccles. Writers, vol. i. p. 27.

(*b*) Clem. Ep. I. ad Cor. Sect. i. (*c*) *Ibid.*
(*e*) *Ibid.* Sect. iii. (*f*) *Ibid.* Sect. viii.
(*g*) *Ibid.* Sect. xii. (*h*) *Ibid.* Sect. xvi.
(*i*) *Ibid.* Sect. xx. (*k*) *Ibid.* Sect. xxvii.

according to the number of his angels. His people Jacob were the Lord's portion; Israel was the line of his inheritance. And, in another place, he saith: Behold, the Lord taketh to himself a nation from the midst of the nations, as a man taketh the first-fruits from his corn-floor." (*k*) Under the ravishing view of interest in this unspeakable blessing of election, well may the excellent father add, as he does presently after: "Since, therefore, we are the portion of the Holy One, let us practise all the works of holiness: avoiding slanders, and defiled and unchaste embraces, drunkenness and innovations, together with abominable desires, detestable adultery, and loathsome pride." (*l*) How far, how infinitely far, is the believing consideration of God's electing love from leading to licentiousness!

Nothing can be more scriptural than this writer's doctrine concerning the soverignty and freeness of divine grace. "Let us," says he, "closely and steadfastly adhere to those persons unto whom grace is given of God." (*m*) To this grace, thus freely given, he ascribes the exercise of the social virtues; "Equity and lowliness of mind and meekness, are found in those who are the blessed of God." (*n*) Speaking of the Old-Testament saints, he refers the whole of their good will, good works, justification and eternal felicity, to the discriminating favour and sovereign pleasure of God alone: "All these persons were glorified and magnified, not by themselves, or by their own works, or by the righteous practice which they wrought; but by his will. We too, being called by his will in Christ, Jesus are justified, not by ourselves, nor by our own wisdom, or understanding, or piety, or by the works which we have performed in holiness of heart; but by faith, whereby Almighty God hath, from eternity, justified all those." (*o*) *i. e.* all those whom it was his will to justify.

Clement easily foresaw that the doctrine of free grace and unmerited justification, as stated by him in the above passage, might be cavilled at by legalists and merit-mongers, as tending to the consequential exclusion of good works. He, therefore, discreetly anticipates this cavil, by entering a just caveat against an inference so unnatural and malicious. "What then shall we do, brethren?" says he, in the very next paragraph: "Shall we desist from well-doing, and renounce our love" [to God and our neighbour]? "May the Sovereign Lord never permit this to befal us by any means! Nay, but let us be in haste to accomplish every good work, with earnestness, and with full propensity." (*p*)

He most carefully guards against the sacrilegious encroachments of free-will and self-righteousness: "It is by Jesus Christ that we can steadfastly look into the heights of Heaven. It is by him that we shall behold his spotless and most exalted countenance. By him the eyes of our heart have been opened. By him our foolish and dark understanding springs up afresh into his marvellous light. It was the will of the Lord that we should by him taste of that knowledge which can never die." (*q*) "He that made and formed us hath introduced us into his world: having afore prepared his benefits for us, even before we were born. As, therefore, we have all things from him, we ought for all things to give him thanks." (*r*)

Dissuading the Corinthians from casting blocks of offence in each others way he thus enforces his probibition: "Remember the words of our Lord Jesus: for he hath said, Woe to that man; it were good for him rather not to have been born, than that he should cause one of my elect people to stumble." (*s*) Though the elect themselves may stumble, *i. e.* though it is possible for them both to offend, and to be offended; yet, according to Clement's Theology, none of them can finally miss of glory. They shall all, eventually, be completely sanctified, and made meet for the inheritance of the saints in light. "All the elect of God are made perfect in love." (*t*) He adds: "It was of love that the Lord accepted us. It was through the love which he bore to us, that our Lord Christ did, by the will of God, give his blood for us, and his flesh in the room of our flesh, and his soul in the room of ours." This eminent saint believed, and expressly asserts, that pardon of sin does not extend beyond the pale of election. His words are these: "It is written, Blessed are they whose iniquities are remitted, and whose sins are covered: blessed is the person to whom the Lord will by no means impute sin; nor is there deceit in his mouth. This blessedness accrues to those who have been elected of God through our Lord Jesus Christ." (*u*) The Royal Psalmist was, no doubt, one of God's elect: and he is, accordingly, so styled by our apostolic author: "elect David saith, I will confess unto the Lord, &c." (*x*) I cannot close my citations from St. Clement more suitably, than with that most excellent prayer, which almost concludes his epistle: and which I most earnestly beg of God, the Holy Spirit to engrave indelibly on the reader's heart and mine: "May the all-seeing God the Sovereign of spirits and the Lord of all flesh, who hath elected the Lord Jesus Christ, and us into a peculiar people through him; grant, to each soul that calls on his holy and exalted name, the graces of

(*k*) *Ibid.* Sect. xxix. (*l*) *Ibid.* Sect. xxx.
(*m*) Let us be intimately associated with the blameless and the righteous: for these are the elect of God. As much as to say: Innocency and righteousness of life are the marks by which God's elect are visibly and practically known and distinguished.

(*n*) *Ibid.* Sect. xxx. (*o*) *Ibid.* Sect. xxxii.
(*p*) *Ibid.* Sect. xxxiii. (*q*) *Ibid.* Sect. xxxvi.
(*r*) *Ibid.* Sect. xxxviii. (*s*) *Ibid.* Sect. xlvi.
(*t*) *Ibid.* Sect. xlix. (*u*) *Ibid.* Sect. l.
(*x*) *Ibid.* Sect. lii. (*y*) *Ibid.* Sect. lviii.

"faith, fear, peace, patience, long suffering, temperance, purity, and soundness of judgment; through our high-priest and defender, Jesus Christ."(*y*)

I have made the large extracts from Barnabas and Clement, because their two epistles appear to be the oldest remains of uncanonical antiquity. Indeed, the first epistle of Clement to the Corinthians was evidently composed many years prior to some of the writings of the New Testament itself. For, if that epistle (as there is the strongest reason to believe) was antecedent to the final conquest of Jerusalem by Titus, it must have been written considerably earlier than the Gospel of St. John, his three Epistles, and the book of Revelation. A circumstance, however, which I should not have noticed here, had I not thought it necessary to offer some apology to my readers, for having detained them so long with these quotations, in a work, which, as I transcribe it from the rough copy, I am designedly rendering as concise as may consist with justice to the argument:—the genuine Epistles of Ignatius and Polycarp, though extremely ancient, yet are not of quite so high antiquity as the two preceding: for which reason, I shall present the reader with the fewer citations; but those sufficiently weighty and express, to convince any impartial, attentive enquirer, that these two venerable preachers and martyrs were, in deed and in truth, earnest contenders for the faith which was once delivered to the saints.

III. Ignatius is said to have been ordained bishop of Antioch in Syria, A. D. 66, (*z*) and to have held that see for upward of 40 years. He was a disciple of St. John, and had the happiness of being particularly intimate with that apostle. Under the third general persecution, *i. e.* about the year 107, Ignatius, having asserted the divinity of the Christian religion in the emperor Trajan's own presence, was sentenced to be thrown to wild beasts, on an amphitheatre at Rome: which was accordingly executed.

On his way from Antioch to Rome, this blessed prisoner of Christ, loaded with chains, and led as a sheep to the slaughter, wrote those six Epistles (of whose authenticity there seems no just reason to doubt,) addressed to the Christians in Ephesus, Magnesia Tralles, Rome, Philadelphia, and Smyrna. As to the Epistle inscribed to Polycarp, though thought genuine by Vossius, it is rejected as spurious by archbishop Usher; and considered as doubtful, even by Dr. Cave.

In the exordium of his Epistle to the Smyrneans, Ignatius addresses them as "Filled with faith and love, and indefectible in every gift of grace."(*a*) And, indeed, the gifts of grace would stand us in little stead, if indefectibility was not their certain attendant. So far was this holy bishop from doubting the final perseverance of those who are really endued "with faith and love;" that he tells them, in terms of the fullest assurance, "I glorify Jesus Christ our God, who hath made you thus [spiritually] wise. For I have understood, that ye are knit firmly together in immoveable faith, even as though ye were both in flesh and spirit nailed to the cross of Jesus Christ our Lord; and that ye are made stedfast in love, through the blood of Christ."(*b*)

He believed the redemption wrought by Christ, to be co-extensive with the Church of God's peculiar people: "Christ," says he, "suffered all these things on our account, that we might be saved."(*c*) He would not allow the grace of true repentance to be in a man's own power: for, speaking of some persons, whom he styles "wild beasts in human shape," he adds, "you ought not only to refuse receiving such, but, if possible, you should even avoid meeting them. You ought only to pray in their behalf, if they may by some means repent; which, however, is exceeding difficult: but the power of this [*viz.* of making them repent] rests with Jesus Christ our true life."(*d*)

Sensible of his inability to undergo the tortures of martyrdom, in his own strength, he thus expresses his reliance on the strength of grace: "The nigher to the sword, the nigher to God. When surrounded with wild beasts, I shall be encompassed with God. It is only by the name of Jesus Christ that I shall so endure all things as to suffer with him; he enduing me with strength who was himself perfect man."(*e*)

That he held God's sovereign and righteous præterition of some, appears from the following expression: "Whom some men ignorantly deny; or, rather, have been denied of him."(*f*)

Nothing can breathe a more genuine sense of christian humility, than his absolute renunciation of merit in all its branches: "It is by the will of God, that I have been vouchsafed this honour" [namely, the honour of being in chains for the gospel:] "not from conscience" [*i. e.* from my own uprightness, or conscientiousness,] "but from the grace of God."(*g*) On the same principle, speaking of one Burrhus, a deacon, who was to be the bearer of this Epistle to Smyrna, and from whose tender friendship Ignatius had reaped great consolation, he thus prays in his behalf: "May grace make him retribution!"(*h*)

His Epistle to the Ephesians, opens thus: "Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the Church which is at Ephesus in Asia, blessed by the greatness and fulness of God the Father;

(*y*) *Ibid.* Sect. lviii.

(*z*) See the article Ignatius, in a work, entitled, The Great Historical, Geographical, and Poetical Dictionary. Edit. Lond. 1694.

(*a*) Ignat. ad Smyrn. p. 1. Edit. Voss. Lond. 1680.
(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 1, 2. (*c*) *Ibid.* p. 2.
(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 3. (*e*) *Ibid.* p. 4
(*f*) *Ibid.* (*g*) *Ibid.* p. 8. (*h*) *Ibid.* p. 9.

predestinated ever, before time, unto the glory which is perpetual and unchangeable, united and chosen [*i. e.* fixed upon to be the everlasting residence of the saints] by the will of the Father, and of Jesus Christ our God, through the true suffering."(*i*) That is, through the humiliation and sufferings of Christ the true propitiation.

Congratulating the Ephesians, on the harmony which subsisted among themselves, he takes occasion to intimate, that the Church, which is Christ's mystic body, is as firmly united to Christ as Christ himself is united to the Father.(*k*) Is it possible to express the infallible certainty of final perseverance, in stronger terms? And would not one almost believe, that Ignatius designed the above passage as a comment on those words of our Lord, Because I live, ye shall live also?

How remote he was from crying up the pretended abilities of free-will, may sufficiently appear from what follows: "Carnal men," *i. e.* men unrenewed by the Almighty Spirit of God, "are not able to perform spiritual things —ye do all things," *i. e* all spiritual things, "by Jesus Christ,"(*l*) or by grace and strength derived from him.

In the inscription of his Epistle to the Philadelphians, he observes, of the clergy of that Church, that Christ had, in pursuance of his own will, firmly established them in stedfastness, by his holy Spirit."(*m*) A glaring proof, that, in the judgment of Ignatius, saving grace is not that evanid, loseable thing, which Arminianism represents it to be. As the acquisition of it is not owing to the will of man; so neither is it dependent on man's will for preservation and continuance. In the course of the same Epistle, he has a similar remark: "Although some have been desirous of seducing me after the flesh, yet that Spirit which is of God is not seduced;" (*n*) *i. e.* not to be seduced.

Making mention of one Agathopus, who attended him from Syria toward Rome, at the manifest hazard of life; he terms him "an elect person, who bears me company from Syria, having renounced the present life."(*o*) He styles the Church at Tralles, "elect and esteemed of God:"(*p*) and, in the same Epistle, gives another very strong attestation to the doctrine of final perseverance. For, treating of some heretics, who denied the literality of Christ's sufferings, he thus descants: "Avoid those evil shoots" [that spring up by a Christian Church, like suckers by the side of a tree,] "which bring forth deadly fruit, whereof, if a man taste, he presently dies. These are not of the Father's planting; for, if they were, the branches of the cross would appear, and their fruit would be incorruptible" *i. e.* imperishable and immortal: "through which he doth by his passion [*i. e.* by virtue of his own sufferings and death,] call you who are his members. For the head cannot be born without the members: God, who is the same [*i. e.* who is always himself unchangeable, and without shadow of turning,] having passed his word for their union."(*q*) Yet, though this apostolic bishop was thus rooted and grounded in a belief of the essential perpetuity of grace; he still was of opinon (and so, I am confident, is every Calvinist under Heaven,) that, without constant and intense watching unto prayer, the exercise of grace is liable to a partial and temporary failure. "I am yet in danger, [says the blessed martyr: *i. e.* in danger,] if left to my own strength, of denying Christ with my mouth, in order to avoid the torments of death." But his self-diffidence (and who can be too diffident of self?) did not, however, make him lose sight of God's faithfulness to him, which, he well knew, could, alone keep him faithful to God: for he immediately adds, in the very next words, "nevertheless, my Father in Jesus Christ is faithful to fulfil your prayer and mine."(*r*) And so he found him to be. God did hear his prayer, and make him faithful unto death. Reader, may the same happy coalition of fear and faith; may the most absolute self-distrust, united with an unshaken confidence in the stability of divine grace, be your portion, and mine, till we enter the haven of everlasting joy: where we shall no longer stand in need of faith, to fill our sails, nor of fear, to steady us with its ballast!

In his Epistle to the Romans, Ignatius has an observation, which shews that he was far enough from holding the tenet of free-will, in the Arminian sense of it: "A Christian is not the workmanship of suasion, but of greatness:"(*s*) *i. e.* men become real Christians, not by the power of moral argument, but by the mighty operation of divine agency. Whoever denies the ability of free-will, in spirituals, must, with that, deny the meritoriousness of human works. And so did Ignatius. Witness that passage, where, speaking of the savage treatment he received from the soldiers who were guarding him to Rome, he says, "They behave themselves the worse to me for my beneficence to them. I reap, however, the more instruction from their injurious behaviour. Yet, I am not justified by this."(*t*) He knew, that neither the sufferings, which he was enabled to endure for Christ; nor his kindness to his persecutors; nor his improving their barbarities into profitable instruction; constituted any part of that righteousness, for the sake of which he was justified before God. He considered them as valuable fruits

(*i*) Epist. ad Eph. p. 16.
(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 20.
(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 22.
(*m*) Ep. ad Philad. p. 39
(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 42.
(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 45.
(*p*) Ep. ad Trall. p. 46.
(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 52.
(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 54.
(*s*) Ep. ad Rom. p. 57.
(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 58.

of the Spirit, and as proofs of grace received: but not as matter of merit; not as causes or conditions either of his present or future acceptance with the Majesty of Heaven. Yet this consideration did by no means render him negligent to obey, or reluctant to suffer. Warmed with the faith that works by love, his language was, Καλον εμοι αποθανειν δια Ιησουν Χριςον, η βασιλευειν την περαγον της γης: "It is better for me to die for Jesus Christ, than to be monarch of the whole earth."(*u*)

IV. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, is, by many (among whom are Usher and Cave,) supposed to have been the person meant by the Angel of the Church in Smyrna, mentioned Rev. ii. 8. That he was one of the apostle John's disciples, cannot be questioned, if ancient testimony be allowed to carry the least weight. He was burnt alive for the Christian faith, A. D. 167, or (as others) 169, in about the hundredth year of his age, and about the 74th of his episcopate.

We have one Epistle of his, written to the believers at Philippi. From this venerable, but concise performance, two or three short extracts may suffice.

He terms the chains, with which many persecuted Christians were bound for their attachment to the gospel, "the ornamental bracelets of them that have been really elected by God and our Lord."(*x*) For those, who have been "really elected," he believed that the blood of Christ was shed: for he presently adds, "who submitted to go unto death itself, for our sins."(*y*) And, farther on: "It was for us that he underwent all things; that we might live through him."(*z*) Nor was he less sound in the article of gratuitous justification by the sovereign will of God: "Into which joy," says he, "many are exceedingly desirous to enter: knowing, that ye are saved by grace; not of works, but by the will of God through Jesus Christ."(*a*)

Polycarp considered his own martyrdom for the faith as an event which God had foreordained: for, in the prayer which he offered up after he was bound to the stake with his hands behind him, was this expression: "Among whom, [*i. e.* among that company of foregoing martyrs, who had already set their lives as a seal to truth,] may I be received unto thee, this day, for a goodly and acceptable sacrifice: even as thou, the faithful God, who canst not lie, hast fore-appointed, and didst reveal to me beforehand, and hast accordingly brought to pass."(*b*) The same Christians of Smyrna, who recorded their Bishop's dying prayer, appear to have agreed in judgment with him, as to perseverance, and the extent of our Lord's redemption: for, in their circular letter to the Churches, occasioned by the martydom of their holy pastor, they observe, the Jews and Heathens "do not know that we shall never be able to forsake Christ, who suffered for the salvation of the whole world of them that are saved."(*c*) They conclude their Epistle with this affectionate wish: "We pray for your health and happiness, brethren: and that ye may, according to the gospel, walk in the doctrine of Jesus Christ: together with whom, be glory ascribed to God, even our Father, and to the Holy Spirit, for saving the holy elect people."(*d*) A person, named Pionius, who, afterwards took a copy of the above congregational epistle; adds this pious prayer for himself: "That the Lord Jesus Christ would gather me also with his elect."(*e*)

By this time, it sufficiently appears that Mr. Sellon must be extremely deficient either in knowledge, or in honesty, (I am prone to think, in both;) else, even he would never have ventured to assert that predestination, and its concomitant doctrines, "do not appear to have been held by any body, during the first four centuries from the Christian æra." Calvinism is, by no means, that novel thing which it is for the interest of Arminianism to wish. What Mr. Sellon sneeringly calls "The good old cause," is indeed an old cause, and a good one. The doctrines of grace must needs be good old doctrines, was it only because they are so plentifully diffused through a good old book, called the Bible. We have, also, just seen, that they are likewise asserted by those good old divines who lived nearest to the apostles, and who were actually conversant with them. I have, moreover, shewn, again and again, and hope to give still farther proof of it in the course of the present defence, that the said good old doctrines are the doctrines of the good old Church of England, and were the avowed principles of her good old reformers. Whereas the tenets of Messieurs Wesley and Sellon are as bad as they are new. I mean new, comparatively speaking: else they are, (as I intend to demonstrate, before I have done with them) as old as Pelagius. But no scheme of errors, however grey, is of equal antiquity with the truths from which it deviates.

SECTION VIII.

The Judgment of some eminent Christians, who flourished before *the Reformation, concerning the Doctrines in Debate.*

Even in the worst and darkest of times, God has never left himself entirely without witness, nor permitted the truths of his gospel

(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 59.
(*x*) Polycarpi Ep. ad Philipp. Sect. i. Edit. Coteler.
(*y*) *Ibid.* (*z*) *Ibid.* Sect. viii. (*a*) *Ibid.* Sect. i.
(*b*) Epist. Eccles. Smyrn. de Martyris Polycarpi. Sect. xiv. (*c*) *Ibid.* Sect. xvii
(*d*) *Ibid.* Sect. xxii. (*e*) *Ibid.* Sect. xxiv.

to be totally exterminated. They have, sometimes, laid, to all outward appearance, in very few hands: but they have constantly subsisted somewhere. The prophet Elijah once imagined that himself was the only person who was kept faithful to God, amidst that torrent of idolatry which then overwelmed the land of Israel. But what said the answer of God unto him? I have reserved to myself seven thousand men who have not bowed the knee to the image of Baal. Even so then, at this present time also, there is, and at every time there has been and shall be, a remnant, according to the election of grace. (*f*) However discouraging appearances may be, in seasons either of persecution, idolatry, or general profaneness, there are many known instances of divine preservation; and many others, unknown by us, but noticed by him who knoweth them that are his. (*g*)

"Ask now of the days that are past, which were before thee," and they will testify of his unfailing faithfulness, not only in enduing his people with faith and love to the truth; but also in raising up some of them, to be witnesses for Christ. Even within the circle of my contracted reading, I have met with accounts of many. A select number of the most distinguished shall, without further ceremony, be introduced to Mr. Sellon: and I heartily wish he may profit by their acquaintance.

I. Among those who may, with the strictest justice, be styled the morning stars of the Reformation, were the ancient and famous Churches of the Albigenses and Waldenses: so denominated from Alby, a city of Languedoc in France, where they abounded in great numbers: and afterwards about the year 1170, from Peter Valdo, (*h*) an opulent citizen of Lyons, by whom these excellent people were much countenanced and assisted. Though some suppose them to have acquired the name of Waldenses, quasi Vallenses, from their being extremely numerous in the valleys of Piedmont. Others, from the German (*i*) word Waldt, which signifies a wood: woods being their frequent refuge from persecution.

Dr. Alix, in his remarks on the Ecclesiastical History of these Churches, is, in general, prodigiously careful not to drop the least hint concerning (what has been since called) the Calvinism of those Christians. But the present learned bishop of Bristol has been more just and candid. His Lordship tells us, from Mezeray, "they had almost the same opinions as those who are now called Calvinists." (*k*) It will, I apprehend, be easily made appear, that their opinions were not only almost, but altogether the same. Nor did they soon deviate from the evangelical system of their forefathers: for, so low down as the æra of the Reformation, I find that "they sent to Zuinglius for teachers, and afterwards to Calvin: of whose sentiments," add the compilers of the work I quote, "the remainder of them, called the Vaudois, continue to be." (*l*)

Their first rise was of very considerable antiquity. The Romish Council, assembled, by order of pope Alexander III. at Tours, in May 1163, prohibited all persons, under pain of excommunication, from having any intercourse with these people; who are described as teaching and professing "a damnable heresy, long since sprung up in the territory of Toulouse." (*m*) Van Maestricht assures us, that they wrote against the errors and superstitions of the Church of Rome, in the year 1100. (*n*) According to Pilichdorffius, (*o*) the Waldenses themselves carried up the date of their commencement as a body, as high as three hundred years after Constantine, *i. e.* to about the year 637. For my own part, I believe their antiquity to have been higher still. I agree with some of our oldest and best Protestant divines, in considering the Albigenses, or Waldenses (for they were, in fact, one and the same,) to have been a branch of that visible Church, against which the gates of hell could never totally prevail; and that the uninterrupted succession of Apostolical doctrine continued with them, from the primitive times, quite down to the Reformation: soon after which period, they seem to have been melted into the common mass of Protestants. Neither does this conjecture limit the extent of the visible Church in former ages to so narrow a compass, as may at first be imagined. For they were, says Poplinerius, (*p*) "Diffused, not only throughout all France, in the year 1100, but through almost every country in Europe. "And," says he; "to this very day, they have their stubborn partizans in France, Spain, England, Scotland, Italy, Germany, Bohemia, Saxony, Poland, Lithuania, and other nations."

Archbishop Usher, whose enquiries were never superficial, and whose conclusions are never precipitate, lays great stress on a remarkable passage in Reinerius, a Popish in-

(*f*) Rom. xi. 2—6. (*g*) 2 Tim. ii. 19.

(*h*) "Omnium vero maxime notari meretur Petrus Valdo, civis Lugdunensis; qui cum dives esset, bona sua omnia in pauperum usum impendit: expositisque vernaculo sermone, sacris literis confluentem ad se multitudinem pariori fide imbuit." Joh. Alph. Turretini Hist. Eccl. Compend. p 149. See a much larger account of this good man in Usher de Eccl. Christian. Successione, c. 8.

(*i*) Vide Maestrichtii Opera, p. 1121.

(*k*) Dissertations on the Prophecies, vol. 3. p. 177. Lord Lyttelton has a similar remark: who observes, that the doctrine of the Albigenses, &c. "Was much the same with the Creed of the Protestant Churches in these days." Life of Henry II. vol. iv. p. 305. Octavo.

(*l*) Great Hist. Dict. art. Albig.

(*m*) Bower's Hist. of the Popes, vol. vi. p. 128.

(*n*) "Imprimis etiam veritati Testimonium præbuerunt Ecclesiæ Waldenses; earumque Confessiones, Catecheses, jam Anno M C. scriptæ adversus errores et superstitiones Ecclesiæ Romanæ." Opera, p. 1120.

(*o*) Vide Usserium de Christ. Ecclesiar Success cap. 8. p. 109.

(*p*) Apud Usher. u. s. p. 106

quisitor, who died about the year 1259. The passage is this: "Of all the sects which as yet exist, or ever have existed, none is more detrimental to the Church," *i. e.* to the Romish Church, "than the sect of the Waldenses. And this on three accounts: 1. Because it is a much more ancient sect than any other. For, some say, that it has continued ever since the Popedom of Silvester: (*q*) others, that it has subsisted from the time of the Apostles. 2. It is a more extensive sect than any other: for there is almost no country, in which this sect has not a footing. 3. This sect has a mighty appearance of piety: inasmuch as they live justly before men, and believe all things rightly concerning God, and all the articles contained in the Creed. They only blaspheme the Roman Church and Clergy." (*r*)

I have premised enough, concerning the people. Let us now enquire into the particulars of their faith.

There is extant, a short Waldensian Confession, written in the year 1120, and consisting of XIV. Articles. The 1st Article professes their agreement with, what is usually termed, The Apostles Creed. The 2nd acknowledges Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, to be the one God. The 3d recapitulates the canonical books of the Old and New Testament, just as they now stand in the Protestant Bibles; and excepts against the Apocrypha, as uninspired. The 4th asserts, that, "By the disobedience of Adam, sin entered into the world, and we are made sinners in Adam, and by Adam." The 5th runs thus: "Christ was promised to our forefathers; who received the law, to the end that, knowing their sin by the law, and their unrighteousness and insufficiency, they might desire the coming of Christ, to satisfy for their sins, and, by himself, to accomplish the law." The 6th affirms, that "Christ was born at the time appointed by God his Father." The 7th, "Christ is our life and truth, and peace and righteousness, and advocate, and master, and priest: who died for the salvation of all those who believe, and is raised again for our justification." (*s*) Six of the remaining articles are levelled at the superstitions of Popery: and the last testifies their due subjection to the civil powers.

Almost 400 years afterwards, the descendants of those ancient and evangelical Churches gave proof, that they were, in no respect whatever, degenerated from the purity and simplicity of the gospel. For, in the beginning of the year 1508, I find them presenting a large account of their faith, in three separate papers addressed to Uladislaus, king of Hungary. "We believe," say they, "and confess, that Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three in person, but one in the essence of Deity, is the producer of faith and the giver of salvation." (*t*) They say, speaking of Christ, "By whose merit the alone Father accomplishes our salvation, according to the purpose of his own election." (*u*) They affirm, that "he intercedes for those who shall possess the inheritance of glory:" (*x*) and that "he forsaketh not his Church, for which he offered up himself unto death; but is ever present with her, "in a way of grace, efficacy, and help, which are his free gift." (*y*) They define the holy, universal Church to be "the aggregate of all the elect, from the beginning of the world to the end of it:—whose names and number he alone can tell, who hath inscribed them in the Book of Life." (*z*) To these persons, grace is given: "The first and principal ministry of the universal Church is the gospel of Christ, wherein are revealed the grace and truth which he hath painfully purchased for us by the torture of the cross; which grace is given to the elect, who are called by the Holy Ghost and God the Father unto salvation, with the gift of faith." (*a*) Under the article, entitled *Communio Sanctorum*, they come, if possible, more roundly to the point. Nothing can be clearer than their meaning; though the persons who drew up the confession were far from commanding a good style in Latin. "It is manifest," say they, "that such only as are elected to glory become partakers of true faith, grace, righteousness in the merit of Christ, [and] eternal salvation." (*b*)

What they deliver concerning the doctrine of purgatory, though rather uncouthly expressed, deserves to be laid before the reader. "There is no other chief place of determinate purgatory, but the Lord Christ; of whom it

(*q*) There were two Popes of this name. Silvester I. died A.D. 335. Silvester II. A.D. 1003.

(*r*) Usher De Success. p. 78. Dr. Cave also lays as much stress on this testimony as does archbishop Usher: see his Historia Literaria, vol. i. p. 632. And so does the great Spanhemius, Oper. vol. iii. col. 1129.

(*s*) History of the Popes, vol. i. p. 423. 424.

(*t*) "Credimus et fatemur, satorem atque fidei salutis datorem esse Deum Omnipotentum, in Deitatis subtantiâ unum, in personis vero Trinum, Patrem, Filium, Spiritumque Sanctum." *Fascic. Rerum. et expet.* vol. i. p. 163.

(*u*) "Cujus merito, solus genitor, secundùm propositum electionis suæ, salutem operatur." *Ibid.*

(*x*) "Qui, in solo gratiæ residens fidelis advocatus, interpellat pro his, qui hæreditatem gloriæ percepturi sunt." *Ibid.*

(*y*) "Ecclesiam suam, pro quâ seipsum obtulit ad mortis supplicium, gratiâ, virtute, auxilioque, dono gratuito, non deserit." *Ibid.*

(*z*) "Credimus, sanctam Catholicam ecclesiam—esse numerum omnium electorum, à mundi exordio, usque ipsius consummationem:—quorum nomina, numerumque, ille solus scit, qui ea in vitæ libro exaravit." *Ibid.* p. 164.

(*a*) "Primum et potissimum Ministerium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, est Evangelium Chr.sti; quo gratia et veritas, crucis tormento laboriosè acquisita, manifestatur: quo gratia electis, vocatis dono fidei à spiritu sancto, Deoque Patri, in salutem largitur." *Ibid.*

(*b*) "Palam itaque est, quod tantummodò electi, veræ fidei, gratiæ, justitiæ in Christi merito, ad gloriam, salutis æternæ participes sunt." *Ibid.* p. 167.

was truly said by the angel, he shall save his people from their sins. And so saith St. Paul: having made a purgation of sins, he sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high. Every one, therefore, who shall be saved, must draw from this full fountain of righteousness and goodness. By grace alone, through the gift of faith, whosoever is to be saved cometh to the purgation by Christ Jesus; as saith St. Paul: a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ; and we believe in Christ Jesus, that we may be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law. And Christ himself saith, he that believeth on me hath eternal life." (*c*)

I take leave of this confession, with one citation more. "St Paul says, Christ loved his Church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it, &c. It is not said that he might prepare her for hell; but for heaven and for repose, after her present toils. For it is certain, that only the elect of God are blessed; and God leadeth them into that righteousness which we have already treated of. Concerning them, the apostle saith, He hath elected us in him, before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and blameless before him in love. And again, he saith; whom he did predestinate, them he also called; and whom he called, them he also justified." (*d*)

Archbishop Usher presents us with another concise profession of faith, transmitted by these good people to Francis I. of France, in the year 1544: which, though subsequent to the opening of the Reformation, is too excellent to be wholly unnoticed in this place. A single extract, however, shall suffice. "We believe, that there is but one God; who is a spirit, the maker of all things, the parent of all men; who is over all, through all, and in us all, and is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, whom alone we hope for; the distributor of life, food, and raiment; the distributor also of health and sickness, of conveniences and inconveniences. Him we love, as the author of all goodness: him we dread, as the inspector of hearts.

"We believe Jesus Christ to be the Son and image of the Father, in whom dwelleth all the fullness of the godhead; by whom we come to the knowledge of the Father, and who is our mediator and advocate: neither is there any other name under Heaven, given unto men, whereby to be saved.

"We believe that we possess the Holy Ghost, the comforter, proceeding from the Father and the Son; by whose inspiration, we are enabled to pray; and by whose efficacy we are born again. He it is who worketh all good works in us; and by him are we led into all truth.

"We believe that there is one Holy Church, *viz.* The congregation of all God's elect, from the beginning to the end of the world, whose head is our Lord Jesus Christ. Which Church is governed by the word, and led by the Spirit of God.

"We believe, that the pious, and those who fear God, will approve themselves unto him, by being studious of good works, which God hath prepared before hand, that they should walk in them: such are love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, honesty, modesty, temperance, and what other works we find applauded in Scripture." (*e*) It would, perhaps, be difficult to meet with so much genuine gospel, comprised within so small a compass, in any writings, except the inspired. If the reader be desirous to know the horrid and almost unparalled persecutions, which the Albingenses suffered at the hands of the Romish Church, from age to age (after the more open apostacy of that Church from the original faith of the gospel,) even to the extinction of no fewer than ten hundred thousand lives; he may, among others, consult that excellent work, entitled, The (*f*) History of Popery, a book which it is pity that any Protestant should be without, and Mr. Samuel Clark's General (*g*) Martyrology. That most excellent prince, Lewis XII of France, was

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(*c*) "Nullus alius locust est principalis certi purgatorii, nisi dominus Christus de quo recte est dictum ab angelo, ipse enim salvum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum. Et sic dicit sanctus Paulus: purgationem peccatorem faciens, sedet ad dexterum Majestatis in excelsis.——Et omnis, qui salvabitur, oportet eum de hoc fonte sumere pleno justitiæ et æquitatis:—ex solâ gratiâ, per donum fidei, quisquis salvandus venit ad purgatorium per Jesum Christum: ut dicit sanctus Paulus; non justificatur homo ex operibus legis, &c. *Ibid.* page 178.

(*d*) "Sanctus Paulus dicit, Christus dilexit ecclesiam, et semetipsum tradidit pro ea, ut illam sanctificaret, &c. Non ut pararet eam infernum; sed in cœlum, in quietem, post præsentes labores. Quia certum est, quod soli beati sunt electi Dei; et illos ducit Deus in eam justitiam, quam superius posuimus; de quibus apostolus dicit, elegit nos in ipso, ante constitutionem mundi, ut essemus sancti et immaculati inconspectu ejus in charitate. Et iterum dicit; quos prædestinavit, hos et vocavit: et quos vocavit, hos et justificavit." *Ibid.* 179.

(*e*) "Credimus unum tantùm esse Deum, qui spiritus est, rerum cunctarum conditor, pator omnium, super et per omnia, in nobis omnibus, adorandus in spiritu et veritate, quem solum expectamus; datorum vitæ, alimentorum, indumentorum, prosperæ item valetudinis, infirmitatis, commodorum, et incommodorum. Hunc diligimus, tanquam omnis bonitatis autorem; et, ceu cordium inspectorem, timemus.

"Jesum Christum credimus esse patris filium et imaginem; in quo omnis plenitudo Deitatis habitat; per quem cognoscimus patrem; qui noster est mediator et advocatus; nec ullum aliud sub cœlo nomen hominibus datum est per quod servari nos oporteat.

"Credimus nos habere consolatorem, spiritum sanctum, á patre et filio procedentem; cujus inspiratione precamur, et efficaem regeneramur. Is in nobis omnia bona opera efficit: atque per eum in omnem deducimur veritatem.

"Credimus unum sanctam ecclesiam, omnium electorum Dei, á constitutione ad finem mundi, congregationem: cujus caput est Dominus noster Jesus Christus. Hanc verbum Dei gubernat, spiritus sanctus ducit.——

"Pios et Deum timentes credimus Deo se probaturos ut bonis vacent operibus, quæ præparavit ut in eis ambulent. Hæc autem opera sunt charitas, gaudium, pax, patientia, benignitas, probitas, modestia, temperantia, aliaque opera in scripturis commendata." Usher, De Succession, cap. 10, p. 151.

(*f*) Comprised in two volumes, small quarto; and printed at London, 1735.

(*g*) Folio, London, 1660.

actuated by a better spirit. When incited to persecute the Waldenses, he returned this truly great reply: God forbid that I should persecute any for being more religious than myself.

From whole Churches, let us, for the present, pass to particular persons.

Gotteschalcus, sometime a Benedictine monk in the monastery of Orbez, and diocese of Soissons, flourished about A. D. 840. He is thought to have obtained the sirname of Fulgentius, or the shining, on account of his uncommon attainments in literature; (*h*) though, perhaps, his agreement in doctrine with the famous Fulgentius (bishop of Ruspæ, in Africa, who was counted the St. Austin of his age, and died in the year 533) might have given the first occasion to call him by that name.

Archbishop Usher has written the history (*i*) of this worthy and learned person, and of the controversies concerning predestination and free-will, which his (*i. e.* Gotteschalcus's) writings and sufferings were the means of reviving in the ninth century. To this elaborate performance of the great prelate, I stand indebted for most of the particulars which I am now going to lay before the reader.

It seems uncertain, whether Gotteschalcus was a native of Germany, or of France. His name appears to indicate the former. (*k*)

His deep acquaintance with the writings of St. Austin brought him into love with the doctrines of grace; and he determined to avow them, at all events. In such a Church as the Roman, and in a period of such religious darkness as the ninth age, it was no wonder that his ardent espousal of the evangelical system, and the unyielding firmness with which he openly maintained it, should involve him in a series of persecution, which, at length, sunk him to his grave.

Hincmar was made archbishop of Rheims, A. D. 845, and soon distinguished himself as Gotteschalcus's inexorable oppressor. This prelate had a mind unsoftened with any one of the humane feelings: (*l*) and, for his religion, it was Christianity reversed. Mean, sanguinary, and imperious, by nature; he had, moreover, imbibed some of the grossest dregs of Pelagianism: (*m*) which he obtruded on others with an enthusiastic vehemence, bordering on madness; and with a fierceness nothing short of brutal. From a metroplitan, thus disposed and thus principled; armed, too, with that extent of authority which ecclesiastics of his rank then possessed; Gotteschalcus had nothing to look for, but that unrelenting hatred and severity, which superior merit [especially, when it ventures to deviate from the beaten path] seldom fails to experience, at the hands of those, in whom ignorance and bigotry are united with the powers of mischief.

Among the articles which Hincmar charged this holy man with maintaining, were the three following. (*n*)

1. That, "As God hath predestinated certain persons to life eternal; so hath he, likewise, pre-ordained other certain persons to eternal death.

2. "It is not the will of God, that every one of mankind should be saved: he willeth the salvation of those only who [eventually] are saved. All are saved, whom God wills to save: consequently, whoever perish, it was not the divine pleasure to save them. For, if all those are not saved whom God willeth to be so; it would follow, that God does not act according to his own will: and, if he wills more than he is able to perform, he is no longer omnipotent, but impotent; but the scripture affirms that he is omnipotent; for he doth whatsoever he pleased to do. All things that the Lord would, hath he done in heaven, and in earth, in the sea, and in all deep places, Psalm cxxxv. 6. Again; O Lord, the King Almighty, the whole world is in thy power; and, if thou hast appointed to save Israel, there is no man that can gainsay thee. Thou art Lord of all things, and there is no man that can resist thee who art the Lord. Esther xiii. 9. 11.

3. "Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was not crucified and put to death for the redemption of the entire world, *i. e.* not for the ransom and salvation of the whole of mankind; but only for such as are saved."

To these were afterwards added, as doctrines of Gotteschalcus:

"They who are predestinated to destruction cannot be saved; and they who are predestinated to the kingdom cannot perish.

"Ever since the first man fell by his free-will, none of us are able to use their free-wills unto good, but only to evil." (*o*)

Gotteschalcus's opinions were, undoubtedly, stated by Hincmar in the most rigorous and exceptionable terms. For this reason, let us hear the judicious and learned martyr speak for

(*h*) Cave's Hist. Liter. vol. i. p. 558.

(*i*) Entitled, Gotteschalci et Prædestinationæ Controversiæ ab eo motæ, Historia. Dublinii, 1731.

(*k*) Gott enim Germanis Deum. Schalck servum, denotat, ut Gotteschalcus, Godschalck, sive Dei servum, sonet. Usserii Gotesc. p. 14.

(*l*) He caused his own nephew and name's sake, Hincmar, bishop of Laon, to be deposed from his see, in 871, and thrown into prison, where both his eyes were put out; because, in a dispute between the Pope and the French King, he had sided with the former, contrary to the judgment of his uncle.

(*m*) Nor was he a Pelagian only, but a violent Anti-trinitarian also; as appears from the following remarkable incident, mentioned by Dr. Cave: "Interiit liber a Ratramno scriptus pro defensione hymni cujusdam vetusti, cui versiculum istum [te Trina Deitas unaque poscimus] Hincmarus exungi jusserat; te summa Deitas, deinceps, in ecclesia sua, cantari præcipiens." Hist. Lit. p. 530. sub Art. Bertramus.

(*n*) Usserii Gottesch. p. 15. 16.——Necnon Vossii Histor. Pelagian. l. 7. par. 4. p. 738.

(*o*) Usser. *Ibid.* p. 28.

himself. This he continues to do, in two separate confessions of his faith penned by his own hand, and which are, happily, still preserved." (*p*)

"I believe," says he, "and acknowledge, that the Almighty and unchangeable God gratuitously foreknew and predestinated the holy angels, and elect men, unto life eternal." ——St. Austin asks, "wherefore, said our Lord to the Jews, ye believe not, because ye are not of my sheep? Because (saith Austin) "our Lord perceived that they were predestinated to everlasting destruction, and were not purchased with the price of his blood. What mischief, then, can the wolf do? What hurt can the thief and robber do? They can destroy those only who are predestinated thereunto." The same St. Austin, speaking of the two worlds, expresses himself thus: 'The Church is a (*q*) whole world, and there is also a whole world which hateth the Church. The world [of the reprobate] hateth the world [of the elect]: the world of those who are at enmity with God hateth that world which is reconciled to him; the world of the condemned hateth the world of the saved; the world of the impure hateth the world of the holy.' Austin saith again: 'There is a world, of which the Apostle says, That we should not be condemned with the world, 1 Cor. ii. 32. For this world, our Lord doth not pray.' So also speaketh St. Isidore; (*r*) "There is a double predestination: of the elect, unto happiness; and of the reprobate unto death" (*s*)

The above extract is from Gotteschalcus's smaller confession. His larger one runs in the form of a most pious and solemn address to Almighty God. It were needless to cite any parts of it, after what has been already produced. Whoever pleases, may see it, at full length, in Usher's History, referred to below.

For thus believing, the great and good man was degraded from the order of priesthood, and imprisoned in the monastery of Hault-Villier. He was, moreover, sentenced to undergo the punishment of scourging: which inhuman discipline was continually repeated, with the most merciless severity, 'till, by mere dint of torture, they had compelled him to commit one of his own books to the flames, which he had written, in favour of predestination, against Rabon, archbishop of Mentz. His sufferings might, at any time, have been exchanged for liberty and ease, had he but dissembled his judgment, and ceased to avow his faith. But he was enabled to continue steadfast, to the very last. No torments could induce him to deny, with his mouth, the grace which he loved in his heart. In nim was eminently realized that saying ascribed to Ignatius: Stand firm as a beaten anvil. It is the part of a magnanimous combatant, to be torn to pieces, and yet to overcome. (*t*)

I have termed Gotteschalcus a martyr. And such, in fact, he was. I grant his execution was more tedious and lingering than that of those who are usually crowned with that venerable name. His sufferings did not terminate with the pain of an hour, but were extended through a long series of years: and nothing, inferior to the Almighty power of God, could have kept him faithful unto death. Exhausted, at length, by an uninterrupted succession of hardships, he breathed out his soul into the hands of Christ, A. D. 870, in about the one and twentieth year of his imprisonment. Hincmar, to whose restless persecutions this man of God stood indebted for most of his calamities, did not always ride triumphant on the wheel of prosperity. About twelve years after the death of Gotteschalcus, the Nordmans, swarming from the North of Europe, made irruptions into France; on which, the prelate of Rheims thought proper to consult his personal safety, by deserting his flock. Abdicating, therefore, the see, which he had so unworthily filled, he retreated (*Barbarus à Barbaris*) to a more solitary and secure part of the kingdom: in which melancholy retirement, surrounded with woods and morasses, he died (probably of a broken heart) A.D. 882.

III. Remigius, archbishop of Lyons, and Gotteschalcus's cotemporary, deserves to be mentioned here, as an eminent assertor of the doctrines of grace.

Hincmar of Rheims had written a letter of complaint against Gotteschalcus, addressed to the Church of Lyons. This was replied to by Remigius; part of whose answer ran thus. "The blessed fathers of the Church do, with

(*p*) Apud Usser. *Ibid.* à p. 211. ad. p. 237.

(*q*) Witsius has a similar thought; but much more elegantly expressed. "Electi fidelcs, post vocationem efficacem, et considerati cum exornante eos gratiâ Dei; licet minor, melior tamen mundi pars, et in mundi mundi mundus sunt." De Oecon. Fœd. l. 2. c. 9. s. 13.

(*r*) I suppose, the person, here quoted by Gotteschalcus, was that Isidore, who fixed his seat of retirement at, or near, Pelusium (now Belbeis) in Egypt; whence he is commonly called, Isidorus Pelusiota Re flourished about A.D. 412.

(*s*) Credo et confiteor, Deum omnipotentem et incommutabilem præscisse et prædestinâsse angelos sanctos, et homines electos, ad vitam gratis æternam. ——Beatus Augustinus——ità dicit,——Quare dicit Dominus Judæis, vos non credites, quia non estis ex ovibus meis? Nisi quia videbat eos ad æternum interitum prædestinatos, non ad vitam æternam sui sanguinis pretio comparatos.——Quid potest lupus? Quid potest fur et latro? non perdit nisi ad interitum prædestinatos. Item, de duobus loquens mundis: Totus mundus ecclesia est, et totus mundus odit ecclesiam. Mundus igitur odit mundum: inimicus, reconciliatum; damnatus salvatum; inquinatus, mundatum. *Item.* Est mundus, de quo dicit apostolus. Ne cum hoc mundo damnemur. Pro isto mundo Dominus non rogat. Unde dicit et S. Isidorus: Gemina est prædestinatio, sive electorum ad requiem; sive reproborum, ad mortum." Apud Usser. u. s. p. 211. 212.

(*t*) Ignat. ad Polyc.

one consent, with one voice, and as it were with one spirit, display and celebrate that immoveable truth of God's prescience and predestination, respecting both its parts, *viz.* concerning the elect, and reprobate: to wit, [the predestination] of the elect, unto glory; and of the reprobate, not unto sin, but unto punishment. And in these particulars, they [*i. e.* the fathers] openly affirm that the unchangeable series of God's disposals is demonstrated to us; which divine disposals are not temporal, neither did they commence in any period of time, but are strictly eternal. Nor is it possible for any one elect person to perish: or that any of the reprobate should be saved, because of their hardness and impenitency of heart. This both the verity of the sacred writings, and the authority of the holy and orthodox fathers, harmoniously declare, and inculcate on us as a point to be believed and held by us without the least doubt or scruple. Pursuant to the foregoing account of the universal faith, Almighty God did, from the beginning, prior to the formation of the world, and before he had made any thing, predestinate (for certain just, and immutable reasons of his eternal counsel) some certain persons to glory, of his own gratuitous favour: of which certain persons, not one shall perish, through his mercy protecting them. Other certain persons he hath predestinated to perdition, by his just judgment, for the evil desert of their ungodliness, which he foreknew: and, of these, none can be saved. Not because of any compulsive violence offered them by the divine power, but because of the stubborn and persevering naughtiness of their own iniquity." (*u*) Remigius expresses himself with a prudential guardedness, which reflects no little honour on his judgment. He acknowledged, as the present Calvinists also do, 1. That there most certainly are a two-fold prescience and predestination, terminating on two sorts of persons, the elect and reprobate. 2. That God's disposals, or decrees, are strictly eternal: and, 3. That they are unchangeable. 4. That, consequently, not one elect person can perish; nor, 5. any reprobate be saved. 6. That the election of the former was absolutely gratuitous and unmerited: 7. That the punishment of the latter (observe: not their reprobation itself, but their perdition, or actual damnation) is owing to their foreseen ungodliness. Which foreseen ungodliness results, 8. not from any compulsive force offered to them, or put upon them by God himself, but from that "stubborn and persevering naughtiness of their own iniquity," which God is, indeed, able to remove, but under the power and guilt of which it is his inscrutable will to leave them.

Among the illustrious partizans of grace, I must not omit to number,

IV. Florus, sirnamed Magister, a deacon of the Church of Lyons; who, about A.D. 852, published A Defence of Predestination, in opposition to a Semipelagian treatise on that subject, written by the famous scholastic, Duns Scotus. The drift of Florus's book (drawn up, it seems, in the name of the whole Church of Lyons) was, says Vossius, to prove, "That there is a double predestination: *viz.* of some, who are elected into life; and of others, who are destined to death. That men have, by nature, no free-will, except to what is evil. That the elect are compelled to good. But that the reprobate are not compelled to sin: they are only compelled to undergo the punishment which, by sin, they have merited." (*x*) I am inclinable to doubt, whether Vossius (whose "Pelagian History" might, with more truth, be styled, An Apology for Pelagianism) has, in the above passage, stated the Theses of Florus with sufficient candour. I can hardly suppose a man of the judgment and learning, which Florus seems to have possessed, would ever assert, that "The elect are compelled to what is good." We may, perhaps, learn his sentiments on this subject, with greater certainty and precision, from his own words, largely cited by archbishop Usher. (*y*)

"Our Lord himself," says Florus, "plainly shews, that the very first commencement of what good we have is not of ourselves, but of him: Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you. John xv. 16. Thus, likewise, the apostle speaks to believers: He who hath begun a good work in you, will perfect it even unto the day of Christ. Phil. i. 6. And again; Unto you it is given, in Christ's behalf, not only to believe, but also to suffer for his sake. Phil. i. 29. The blessed apostle, St. John, affirms, Not that we loved God, but that he

(*u*) "Ecce beatissimi patres ecclesiæ uno sensu uno ore, quia et uno spiritu, Divinæ præscientiæ et prædestinationis immobilem veritatem, in utrâque parte, electorum, scilicet et reprobuum, prædicant et commendant: electorum utique, ad gloriam; reproborum vero, non ad culpam, sed ad pœnam. Et in his, non temporalium, neque ex aliquo tempore inchoantium, sed sempiternarum, dispositionum Dei immutabilem ordinem nobis demonstrari confirmant: nec aliquem electorum posse perire, nec ullum reprobrum (propter duritiam et impœnitentiam cordis sui) posse salvari. Hoc et Divinarum scripturarum veritas et sanctorum atque orthodoxorum patrum auctoritas constanter annuntiant, indubitanter nobis credendum et tenendum inculcant. —— Juxta præmissam Catholicæ fidei rationem, omnipotens Deus, ante constituti. onem mundi, antequam quicquam sacceret, a principio certis et justis atque immutabilibus causis æterni consilii sui, quosdam ad regnum, gratuitâ bonitate suâ, ex quibus nemo set peritus protegente misericordiâ suâ; et quosdam prædestinaverit ad interitum, justo judicio suo, propter meritum, quod præscivit, impietatis eorum, ex quibus nemo posit salvari. Non propter violentiam aliquam Divinæ potestatis; sed propter indomabilem et perseverantem nequitiam propriæ iniquitatis." Remigius apud Usser. Gottesc. p. 29.

The masterly comment of Remigius, on that controverted passage:—who will have all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth. 1 Tim. ii. 4. may be seen at large in Usher, u. s. p. 31. I wish it was not too prolix for insertion here.

(*x*) Vossii Histor. Pelagian. p. 745.

(*y*) Gottesch. Hist. cap. x. per totum.

loved us, and gave his Son to be the propitiation for our sins. 1 John iv. 10. And again, a blessed apostle says, Let us run with patience, the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus the author and the finisher of our faith. Heb. xii. 2. If, therefore, we desire to be true members of the universal Church, let us faithfully put all to the account of grace. The Lord chuseth his saints; not they him. God himself both begins and accomplishes what is good, in his believers. He first loves his saints, in order that they may also love him. Man has not, of himself, a will to that which is good: neither has he, of himself, the power to perform a good work. Both one and the other are received from him, of whom the apostle saith, It is God that worketh in us, both to will and to do, of his own good pleasure. Through his mercy, he himself is beforehand with the will of man: as saith the Psalmist: My God will prevent me with his goodness. He himself inspires man with the grace of thinking rightly; according to that of the apostle: Not that we are, of ourselves, sufficient to think any thing, as of ourselves; but our sufficiency is of God. He is himself the cause of our having a good will. He is himself the cause of our desiring and accomplishing what is holy. And he not only worketh these things, at present, in his elect; but he hath also, before the formation of the world, predestinated them, by his grace, that they should be holy and blameless before him. Eph. i. 4. Whoever, then, does not believe that this grand and most efficacious cause" [*viz.* God's predestination and grace] "precedes our will, in order that we may will and do that which is right, doth manifestly oppose the truth, and stands convicted of Pelagianism."(*z*) It is true, that, in these passages, Florus nervously asserts the efficacy of divine influence: but says nothing about forcible compulsion. And, indeed, there was no reason why he should. The operation of grace renders itself effectual, without offering the least violence to the human mind. Open a blind man's eyes to see the sun, and he will need no compulsion to make him admire it. Suppose there was a person, to whose ceaseless bounty you owed every comfort you enjoy, but of whom, notwithstanding, you never had so much as the sight. Should that person, in process of time, favour you with a visit; would you stand in need of compulsion, to make you speak to him? must you be dragged by the hair of your head, into his presence? No. You would, at once, fly to him, and bid him welcome. You would, freely, yet irresistibly (such is the sweetly captivating power of gratitude,) thank him, and give him your best accommodations, and wish your best were better for his sake. Similar is the free, though necessary, tendency of an enlightened soul to God and Christ. Calvinism disclaims all compulsion, (*a*) properly so called. It pleads only for that victorious, conciliating efficacy, which is inseparable from the grace of divine attraction: and acknowledges no other energy but that to which the apostle sets his *comprobatum est*, where he says, The Love of Christ constraineth us.

(*z*) Florus Magist. apud Usser. u. s. p. 143—146.

(*a*) According to Mr Locke, compulsion may then be said to take place, "When the beginning or continuation of any action is contrary to the preference of the mind." (See his Essay on Understanding, Book ii. ch. xxi. sect. 13.) If, therefore, this acute logician was in the right, it will follow, that, in the supernatural agency of grace on the heart, compulsion is quite excluded, be it at agency ever so effectual: since, the more effectually it is supposed to operate, the more certainly it must engage the "preference of the mind." And, where the preference of the mind is thus engaged, won over, and secured, (the accomplishing of which is the very business of grace) there compulsion can have no manner of footing or, existence.

Another remark of Mr. Locke's deserves to be well considered: "voluntary is not opposed to necessary, but to involuntary. For a man may prefer what he can do, to what he cannot do:" [he may, for instance prefer] "the state he is in to its absence or change, though necessity has made it in itself unalterable." *Ibid.* Sect. ii. I am apt to think, that the preceding citations from Locke will make Mr. Sellon stare. I wish the citation next ensuing may not make him swear. If the "Exotic" can get any body to lend him Locke's Essay, he will find in the 14th section of the chapter above referred to the following observations: "Whether man's will be free, or no," is "an unreasonable, because unintelligible, question. It is as insignificant, to ask, whether man's will be free; as to ask, whether his sleep be swift, or his virtue square. Liberty being as little applicable to the will, as swiftness of motion is to sleep, or squareness to virtue." How far such concessions, as these, are reconcilable with some parts of that great man's theological system; or even with some of his own favourite metaphysical principles, I leave to the determination of more competent readers.

(*b*) It seems, we are, originally, indebted to the Church of Rome for this appellation. "Calvinists: A name given by Papists to the reformed of France, Swisserland, Germany, and the Low-Countries." Great Hist. Dict.

(*c*) Vir, ipsis fatentibus adversariis doctrinâ illustris, pietate conspicuus. Wharton, in App. ad Cavii Hist. Liter. p. 76.

SECTION IX.

The Judgment of some eminent Persons, prior *to the* Reformation, *continued.*

If we carry down our enquiries to the century preceding the Reformation, we shall find that period illuminated by several very distinguished advocates for the doctrines of free and soverign grace, as now held by those who are since called (*b*) Calvinists.

V. John Huss, the well-known Bohemian martyr, was converted to the truth of the gospel, next under God, by reading the works of our renowned countryman John Wickliff. He took his batchelor of arts' degree in the University of Prague, A. D. 1393, and was eminent for learning (as learning then went), but more so for the exemplary sanctity of his life. (*c*) I need not relate the perfidy of the Council of Constance, who condemned him to the

flames, in open violation of the safe-conduct which had been solemnly granted him by the Emperor Sigismund Suffice it to observe, that this infamous synod acted up to their own maxim, of "No faith to be kept with heretics:" and that he was burned, A. D. 1415. His dying prediction at the stake is, however, too remarkable to be omitted. "He behaved himself, at his martyrdom, with a wonderful chearfulness; and seems to have had a spirit of prophecy: for whereas Huss, in the Bohemian tongue, signifies a goose, he told them, You now roast a goose; but, after an hundred years, a swan shall rise out of my ashes. Which was fulfilled in Luther, who just an hundred years after Huss's death, began to appear in opposition to the Pope." (*d*)

Among the articles of pretended heresy, which this excellent man was arraigned and put to death for maintaining, were the following: (*e*)

"There is but one holy, universal, or Catholic Church, which is the universal company of all the predestinate. I do confess," said Huss, "that this proposition is mine; and [it] is confirmed by St. Augustine upon St. John.

"St Paul was never any member of the devil, albeit that he committed and did certain acts like unto the acts of the malignant Church" [*i. e.* St. Paul, prior to his conversion. acted like a reprobate, though he was, secretly, and in reality, one of God's elect]. "And likewise St. Peter, who fell into an horrible sin of perjury and denial of his master; it was by the permission of God, that he might the more firmly and stedfastly rise again and be confirmed." To this charge, Huss replied, "I answer according to St. Austin, that it is expedient that the elect and predestinate should sin and offend." (*f*)

"No part or member of the Church doth depart, or fall away, at any time, from the body: forsomuch as the charity of predestination, which is the bond and chain of the same, doth never fall." Huss answers; This proposition is thus placed in my book: "As the reprobate of the Church proceed out of the same, and yet are not as parts or members of the same; forsomuch as no part or member of the same doth finally fall away: because that the charity of predestination, which is the bond and chain of the same, doth never fall away. This is proved by Cor. xiii. and Rom. viii. All things turn to good, to them that love God: also, I am certain that neither death nor life can separate us from the charity and love of God, as it is more at large in the book."

Another article, objected against him, was, his being of opinion that "the predestinate, although he be not in the state of grace according to present justice, yet is he always a member of the universal Church." He answers: "Thus it is in the book, about the beginning of the fifth chapter, where it is declared, that there be divers manners or sorts of being in the Church: for there are some in the Church, according to the mis-shapen faith; and other some according to predestination: as Christians predestinate, now in sin, shall return again unto grace." The good man added: "Predestination doth make a man a member of the universal Church; the which [*i. e.* predestination] is a preparation of grace for the present, and of glory to come: and not any degree of" [outward] "dignity, neither election of man" [or, one man's designation of another to some office or station,] "neither

(*d*) Hist. of Popery, vol. ii. p. 193. Mr. Rolt, in his Lives of the Reformers (p. 17, 18,) gives a more circumstantial account of Dr. Huss's Martyrdom and prophecy. "Dr. Huss," says that judicious compiler, "heard his sentence, without the least emotion. He kneeled down, with his eyes lifted toward Heaven, and said, with all the spirit of primitive martrydom, May thy infinite mercy, O my God, pardon this injustice of my enemies. Thou knowest the injustice of my accusations, how deformed with crimes I have been represented; how I have been oppressed by worthless witnesses and an unjust condemnation. Yet, O my God, let the mercy of thine, which no tongue can express, prevail with thee not to avenge my wrongs. The Bishops, appointed by the Council, stript him of his priestly garments, degraded him, and put a mitre of paper upon his head, on which devils were painted, with this inscription, A ring-leader of heritics. Our heroic martyr received this mock mitre with a gallant air of unconcern, that seemed to give him dignity, instead of disgrace. A serenity, a joy, a composure, appeared in his looks, which indicated that his soul had cut off many stages of tedious journey in her way to the point to eternal joy and peace. The Bishops delivered Huss to the Emperor, who put him into the hands of the duke of Bavaria. His books were burnt at the gate of the Church, and he was led to the suburbs to be burnt alive. When he came to the place of execution, he fell on his knees, sang portions of Psalms, looked stedfastly toward Heaven, and repeated these words: Into thy hands, O Lord do I commit my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O most good and faithful God. When the chain was put about him at the stake, he said, with a smiling countenance, My Lord Jesus Christ was bound with an harder chain than this, for my sake; and why should I be ashamed of this old rusty one? When the fagots were piled up to his very neck, the duke of Bavaria was officious enough to desire him to abjure. No, said Huss; I never preached any doctrine of an evil tendency; and what I taught with my lips, I now seal with my blood. He said to the Executioner, Are you going to burn a goose? in one century, you will have a swan, whom you can neither roast nor boil. If he was prophetic, he must have meant Luther, who had a swan for his arms. The flames were then applied to the fagots; when the martyr sang an hymn, with so loud and cheerful a voice, that he was heard through all the crackings of the combustibles and the noise of the multitude. At last, his voice was cut short, and he was consumed. The duke of Bavaria ordered the executioner to throw all the martyr's cloaths into the flames: after which, his ashes were carefully collected, and cast into the Rhine."

(*e*) Fox's Acts and Monument, vol. i. p. 693.

(*f*) Let not the reader imagine, that I approve of the unguarded manner, in which Mr. Huss here expresses himself. I only give his answer, faithfully, as I find it. His meaning, I doubt not, was this: That by the incomprehensible alchymy of God's infinite wisdom, even moral evil itself shall be finally over-ruled to good.

any sensible sign" [*i. e.* predestination does not barely extend to the outward signs, or means of grace: but includes something more and higher:] "For the traitor Judas Iscariot, notwithstanding Christ's election" [or appointment of him to the apostleship,] and the temporal graces which were given him for his office of apostleship, and that he was reputed and counted of men a true apostle of Jesus Christ; yet was he no true disciple, but a wolf covered n a sheep's skin, as St. Augustin saith."

"A reprobate man is never a member of the holy Church. I answer, it is in my book, with sufficient long probation out of the xxvi. Psalm, and out of the v. chapter to the Ephesians: and also by St. Bernard's saying, The Church of Jesus Christ is more plainly and evidently his body, than the body which he delivered for us to death. I have also written, in the fifth chapter of my book, that the holy Church" [*i.e.* the outward, visible Church of professing Christians, here on earth] "is the barn of the Lord, in the which are both good and evil, predestinate and reprobate: the good being as the good corn, or grain; and the evil, as the chaff. And thereunto is added the exposition of St. Austin."

"Judas was never a true disciple of Jesus Christ. I answer, and I do confess the same. They came out from amongst us, but they were none of us. He knew from the beginning, who they were that believed not, and who should betray him. And therefore I say unto you, that none cometh unto me, except it be given him of my Father."

Such were some of the allegations, brought against this holy man by the Council of Constance; and such were his answers, when he stood on his public trial, as a lily among thorns, or as a sheep in the midst of wolves. How easy it is for me to write in defence of these inestimable truths, which (through the goodness of Divine Providence) have now, in our happy land, the sanction of national establishment! But with what invincible strength of grace was this adamantine saint endued, who bore his explicit, unshaken testimony to the faith, in the presence and hearing of its worst foes, armed with all the terrific powers of this world!

Prior to his execution, Mr. Huss made his solemn appeal to God, from the judgment of the Pope and Council. In this appeal (*g*) (the whole of which would well repay the reader's perusal,) he again repeats his assured faith in the doctrine of election; where he celebrates the willingness with which Christ vouchsafed, "By the most bitter and ignominious death, to redeem the children of God, chosen before the foundation of the world, from everlasting damnation."

Much farther proof might be given of Huss's Calvinism. Enough, however, has been produced. Yet will I request my reader's patient attention to the passage that follows. He was accused of having affirmed, that "Christ doth more love a predestinate man, being sinful, than any reprobate, in what grace possible soever he be."(*h*) To which, his reply was: "My words are in the fourth chapter of my book, entitled, Of the Church. And it is evident, that God doth love the predestinate being sinful" [*i. e.* the elect, even prior to their conversion;] than any reprobate, in what [seeming] grace soever he be for the time; forasmuch as he [*i. e.* God] willeth that the predestinate shall have perpetual blessedness, and the reprobate to have eternal fire. The predestinate cannot fall from grace: for they have a certain, radical grace rooted in them, although they [may] be deprived of the abundant grace for a time."(*i*)

As to what he says above, concerning the love which God bears to the predestinate, even while sinful; though it be, perhaps, rather incautiously phrased, it still is, in effect, affirming no more than the Apostle has affirmed before him: God, who is rich in mercy, for the great love wherewith he loved us, even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ. By grace ye are saved. Eph. ii. 4, 5.

It is very observable, that the Popish Council of Constance charged Huss with being a Fatalist: (*k*) and opposed the doctrine of predestination, which he held and taught, by the same identical cavils which have been, since, so greedily licked up, and so plentifully disgorged, by Messrs. Wesley, Sellon, and others of that fraternity. These gentlemen blush not to whet their bills on the door posts of Popery itself, rather than not be enabled to peck at those Protestant doctrines, to which

(*g*) See this appeal, at full length, in Fox, u. s. p. 695, 696.

(*h*) Fox, *ibid.* p. 700.

(*i*) Fox, *ibid.*

(*k*) See a curious tract, inserted into the Fasciculus Rerum fugiendarum et expetendarum, entitled, Rationes et Motiva ac Reprobationes Articulorum Wicleff et sequacis ipsius Johannis Hus, in Concilio Constantiensi damnatorum. By perusing the reasons, which the council of Constance there assign, for their rejection and condemnation of Huss and his doctrines, the reader will immediately see from what magazine Arminianism pilfers its arguments. By way of specimen, take the following extract: The papists, in the above council, charged the martyr, and not untruly, with holding, that Omnia de necessitate absoluti evenium. On which position they thus descant: Ista propositio est falsa et erronea: quia ex ipsa sequitur, 1. Superflua esse præcepta prohibitiones, leges, consilia, et monitiones. 2. Sequitur, obliquitates, deformitates, et peccata tolli. Sequitur, 3, omnem actum laudabilem, virtuosum, meritorium, etiam præmium et liberum arbitrium, excludi. [4.] Quia non laudamur, nec vituperamur, meremur, aut præmianur, nisi de iis quæ sunt in potestate nostra ad utramque partem contradictionis flexibilia. Fascic. vol. i. p. 288. *i. e.* "If," say the Roman Confessors, "all things come to pass by an absolute necessity, then, 1. all precepts and prohibitions are vain. 2. The very nature of sin is taken away. There can, 3. be no such thing as a laudable, virtuous, meritorious, or even rewardable action. Consequently, 4. we can neither be praised, nor blamed, we can neither merit by, nor be rewarded for, any thing we do." So spake the Popish doctors, in the year 1415. And so speak the Arminians in the year 1771.

they (I will not say, for divers good, but) for divers weighty causes, have, themselves, most solemnly, though most hypocritically, subscribed.

Next after the testimony of John Huss, naturally follows that of his intimate friend and faithful fellow-martyr, Jerom of Prague. As they were united in their lives by the most sacred ties of religious and learned regard, so in their deaths they were almost undivided: for they were both executed within a twelvemonth of each other.

VI. Jerom, surnamed of Prague, from the place of his nativity, was a lay gentleman, of competent fortune, and of very extraordinary learning. Having taken his master of arts' degree, in the university of his native city, he visited most of the countries in Europe. In the course of this tour, the universities of Paris, Cologne, and Heidelburg, successively complimented him with the same degree which he had taken at Prague. The writers of the Biographical Dictionary (*l*) seem to think it probable, that the university of Oxford likewise favoured him with the same mark of respect. It is, however, certain, that, during his progress, he was over in England; where he copied out the books of Wickcliff, and returned with them to Prague.(*m*)

In proving the Calvinism of Dr. John Huss, I have proved the Calvinism of his brother in the faith, the learned and pious Jerom. "I knew him," said Jerom, speaking of Huss, "to be a just and true preacher of the holy gospel: and whatsoever things Mr. Huss and Wickliff have held or written, I will affirm, even unto death, that they were holy and blessed men."(*n*) In pursuance of this declaration, delivered before a full meeting of the Council of Constance, he was condemned to death: and, in the very sentence of condemnation, the Council alleged this reason, among others, why they proceeded against him to the ultimate severity, *viz*, because he had "affirmed, that he never, at any time, had read any errors or heresy in the books and treatises of the said Wickliff and Huss, and because the said Jerom is an adherent and maintainer of the said Wickliff and Huss and their errors, and both is and hath been a favourer of them."(*o*) As he suffered for the same blessed cause, so he suffered on the same spot of ground where his friend Huss had been executed: and his persecutors gave the strongest proofs they were able of their meanness and malice, by fixing him to a stake which had been shaped into an image, resembling his brother-martyr, who had so lately and so gloriously set his life as a seal to the truth in that place.(*p*)

Yet, though no circumstance was omitted which might tend to shake his fortitude and to disconcert him in his last moments, "he suffered with all the magnanimity of Huss. He embraced the stake, to which he was fastened with the peculiar malice of wet cords. When the executioner went behind him, to set fire to the pile, Come here, said Jerom, and kindle it before my eyes; for if I dreaded such a sight, I should never have come to this place, when I had a free opportunity of escaping. The fire was kindled, and he then sung an hymn, which was soon finished by the incircling flames.(*q*)

VII. John de Wesaliâ was another eminent witness for the doctrines of grace, and suffered much for his adherence to them. "He was," says Monsieur Bayle, "a doctor of divinity; and was very ill treated by the inquisition in Germany, for having taught some doctrines which disgusted the Catholics."(*r*) Another writer informs us, more particularly, what those doctrines were, which gave the Church of Rome so much disgust. Diether Isenburgh, archbishop of Mentz, convened an assembly of Popish doctors, A. D. 1479, to sit in judgment on this pretended heretic, who was then, on account of his religious principles, a prisoner in a convent of that city. A long catalogue of articles was laid to his charge: of which, the following were some:

"God hath, from everlasting, written a book, wherein he hath inscribed all his elect: and whosoever is not already written there will never be written there at all.

"Moreover, he that is written therein will never be blotted out of it.

"The elect are saved by the alone grace of God: and what man soever God willeth to save, by enduing him with grace, if all the priests in the world were desirous to damn and excommunicate that man, he would still be saved. Whomsoever, likewise, God willeth to condemn, if the whole clan of pope, priests, and others, were desirous of saving that man, he still condemned would be.

"If there had never been any Pope in the world, they, who are saved, would have been saved notwithstanding.

"They who undertake pilgrimages to Rome, are fools.

"I will not look on any thing as sinful which the scripture does not call so.

"I despise the Pope, his Church and his Councils. But I love Christ. Let the word of Christ dwell in us abundantly.

"It is a difficult thing to be a [true] Christian."(*s*)

The Church of Rome took fire at these

(*l*) Vol. vii. p. 39.
(*m*) Rolt's Lives of the Reformers, p. 19.
(*n*) See Fox's Acts and Monume..ts, vol. i. p. 722.
(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 723.
(*p*) See Fox, *ibid.* p. 724. (*q*) Rolt, page 2`.
(*r*) Bayle's Hist. & Crit. Dict. vol. v. p. 540.
(*s*) "Deus, ab æterno, condidit librum, in quem scripsit omes suos electos. Quicunque autem in eo non est scriptus, nunquam inscribetur in ipsum in æternum. Et qui in eo scriptus est, nunquam ex eo delebitur.

"Sola Dei gratia salvantur electi. Et quem Deus vult salvare, donando sibi gratiam, si omnes sacerdotes vellunt illum damnare aut excommunicare, adhuc

propositions. The affair was carried before the tribunal of the inquisition. In the course of his examination, another heinous heresy was laid to his charge: *viz.* that he had given it as his opinion, that St. Paul contributed nothing toward his own conversion by the help of his own free-will.(*t*) A man need but look into the 9th chapter of the Acts, to be fully convinced that Dr. Wesaliâ was in the right. How exactly, by the bye, does Mr. Sellon jump with these Romish inquisitors, who has declared, *totidem verbis*, that, in converting St. Paul, "The Lord did wait for St. Paul's compliance and improvements!" *i. e.* at the very time when God struck Saul to the earth, he waited for Saul's consent to fall! Had the Almighty waited for the compliance of him who was breathing out threats and slaughters against the gospel, he might have waited long enough, and waited for nothing at last.

Wesaliâ, it seems, was extremely old and infirm when he underwent the above inquisitorial examination. Being, says Mr. Bayle, "Broken by age and diseases, he was not able to express his thoughts before such a dreadful tribunal:" hence proceeded the retraction, into which he was trepanned. It is plain, that his retraction was not considered as sincere, from his being condemned to perpetual confinement and penance "in a monastery of the Augustins; where he died soon after."(*u*)

SECTION X.

The Judgment of several eminent Persons, who flourished in England, *antecedently to the Reformation.*

From among the ancient worthies, natives of our own land, and remarkable for having been led into an acquaintance with the distinguishing doctrines of the gospel; Bede, Grosthead, Wickliffe, Bradwardin, and Lord Cobham, may be selected, as none of the least conspicuous. If our island be disgraced with having given birth to Pelagius, she is also honoured with having been the mother of such sons as have cut up Pelagianism both root and branch.

I. Beda, or Bede, whom all succeeding ages have concurred to surname The Venerable, was born A.D. 672, or 673, in the county of Durham, somewhere near the mouth of the Tine.(*x*) Dr. Fuller styles him "the profoundest scholar in that age, for Latin, Greek, Philosophy, History, Divinity, and Mathematics:" and adds, that "homilies of his making were read, during his life-time, in the Christian Churches: a dignity afforded to him alone:"(*y*) He died A. D. 734.(*z*) An incident, which occurred in his last moments, is of so singular a nature, that I cannot help giving it to the reader. "One of the last things he did, was the translating of St. John's gospel into English. When death seized on him, one of his devout scholars, whom he used for his secretary or amanuensis, complained, My beloved master, there remains yet one sentence unwritten.—"Write it then quickly," replied Bede: and summoning all his spirits together (like the last blaze of a candle going out) he indited it, and expired." Thus, adds the historian, "God's children are immortal, while their Father hath any thing for them to do on earth: and death, that beast, cannot overcome and kill them, till they have first finished their testimony, Rev. ii. 7. which done, like silk-worms, they willingly die, when their web is ended, and are comfortably entombed in their own endeavours."(*a*)

I should offer an insult even to the most unknowing reader, were I to observe, that the very name of Arminius was unheard of for many centuries after this early period. But if Arminius himself was unborn, the doctrines of which that Dutch schismatic was the reviver and the varnisher, had, about the beginning of the fifth century, been broached by Pelagius, who was the Arminius of that age. With what horror and detestation our learned and pious Anglo-Saxon reviewed that heretic and his heresies, appears from what he says of both, in the course of his ecclesiastical History of the English Nation.(*b*) He goes even so far, as to style the free-will system, "The Pelagian plague."(*c*)

Archbishop Usher, in his History of the Predestinarian Controversy, already referred to so often, cites some of Pelagius's propositions, together with Beda's refutations of them, in the very words of each writer. The following extract will enable the reader to form an exact judgment of Beda's Calvinism.

"Whereas Pelagius says, that we are not impelled to evil by the corruption of our nature,

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salvaretur ille. Et quem Deus vult, damnare, si omnes Presbyteri, Papa, et alii, vellent hunc salvare, adhuc este damnarctur.

"Si nullus unquam Papa fuisset, adhuc salvati fuissent hi qui salvati sunt.

"Peregrinantes Romam fatui sunt.

"Quecunque non dicuntur esse peccata in sacra scriptura, ea non pro peccatis habeo.

"Contemno Papam, Ecclesiam, et Consilia.

"Res est difficilis esse Christianum." Fascic. Rerum, vol. i. p. 325, 326.

(*t*) "Opinatur quod beatus Paulus, in sua conversione, nihil fecit suo libero arbitrio pro sua conversione." *Ibid.* p. 331.

(*u*) Bayle, u. s. p. 542.

(*x*) Dupin's Eccles. Writ. vol. vi. p. 89.

(*y*) Church Hist. cent. 8. p. 98.

(*z*) Idem. Worthies of England, part 1. p. 292.

(*a*) Fuller's Church Hist. u. s. p. 99.

(*b*) Particularly in lib. 1. cap. 10. which chapter is entitl-d, "Ut, Arcadio regnante, Pelagius, Brito, contra gratiam Dei superba Bella susceperit." And cap. 17. entitled, "Ut Germanus Episcopus, cum Lupo, Britanniam navigans, et primo maris, postmodum Pelagianorum, tempestatem, divina virtute, seda verit."—p. 12. and 18.—Edit. Antverp. 1550.

(*c*) "Renascentibus virgultis Pelagianæ pestis Germanus cum severo Brittanniam reversus, &c. *Ibid*, lib. 1. cap. 21. p. 25.

seeing we do neither good nor evil without the compliance of our own will; he herein contradicts the apostle, who affirms, "I know, that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing." Rom. vii.—Moreover, when Pelagius asserts that we are at liberty to do one thing always" [*i. e.* to do always what is good, if it be not our own faults,] "seeing we are always able to do both one and the other," [*i. e.* in Pelagius's opinion, free-will has a power of indifference to good or evil; to either of which it sovereignly inclines, according to its own independent determination: to this Beda replies] "He herein contradicts the prophet, who humbly addressing himself to God, saith, I know, O Lord, that a man's way is not his own; it is not in man that walketh to direct his own steps: Jer. x. 23. Nay, Pelagius maketh himself greater than the apostle, who said, With my mind I myself serve the law of God, but with my flesh the law of sin." Rom. vii. 25.(*d*)

On one hand, Pelagius had affirmed, "That, in the expulsion of Adam from Paradise, and in the assumption of Enoch into heaven, God himself had given a demonstration of man's free-will: since Adam would not have merited punishment at the hand of a just God, nor would Enoch have deserved to be elected, unless each of them had it in his power to act the reverse of what they did. In the very same manner, adds Pelagius, we must judge concerning the two brothers, Cain and Abel; and concerning the twins, Esau and Jacob." To this Beda opposes the following simple, strong, scriptural answer: "Pelagius here runs counter to the apostle, whose decision is, the children being not yet born, neither having done good nor evil, that the purpose of God, according to election, might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth, it was said, The elder shall serve the younger: as it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated." Rom. ix 11—13.(*e*)

Pelagius had asserted, that "The just God could never command us to do any thing impossible; nor can the merciful God condemn a man for doing what he could not avoid." Beda replies, "The former proposition is true, if spoken with reference to that succour which we derive from him, to whom the universal Church thus prays, Lead thou me forth in the path of thy commandments. Psalm cxix. 35. But, if a man trust to his own powers, he is refuted by that most true saying of Christ, Without me can ye can do nothing. John xv. 5. And whereas Pelagius declares, that he who is gracious will not condemn a man for doing what he could not avoid; he, in this, flatly opposes the assertion of the same gracious Redeemer and just Judge; who avers, that, except a man, even infants themselves included, be born again, of water and the Spirit, he cannot see the kingdom of God." John iii. 5.(*f*)

II. Robert Grosthead, born at Stradbrook, in Suffolk, was made bishop of Lincoln, A. D. 1235.(*g*) Mr. Camden terms him, "a much better scholar and linguist than could be expected from the age he lived in: an awful reprover of the Pope, a monitor to the king, a lover of truth, a corrector of prelates, an instructor of the clergy, a maintainer of scholars, a preacher to the people, a diligent searcher of the Scripture, and a mallet to the Romanists."(*h*)

This great luminary was translated to Heaven, October 1, 1253. Few ecclesiastics make so bright a figure in the annals of their country. "He was," says Rapin, "a prelate of resolution and courage, neither to be gained by court-favours, nor to be frightened by the Pope's menaces. Wholly intent on following what appeared to him reasonable and just, he little regarded the circumstances of the

(*d*) Quod dicit [Pelagius] nos vitio naturæ ad malum non impelli, qui nec bonum, sine voluntate, nec malum, facimus; repugnat apostolo, dicenti, scio quia non habitat in me, hoc est in carne mea, bonum. Rom. vii. 18. Quod dicit, liberum nobis esse unum semper agere, cum semper utrumque possimus, contradicit propheta, qui Deo supplex loquitur, dicens, Scio, domine, qui non sit hominis via ejus; nec viri est, ut ambulet et dirigat gressus suos. Jer. x. 23. Sed et apostolo majorem se facit qui dixit, ego igitur ipse, mente, servio legi Dei; carne, autem, legi peccati. Rom. vii. 25. Beda, apud Usser. Gottesch. p. 6, 7.

(*e*) "Pelagius: Adam de Paradiso ejicitur; Enoch de mundo rapitur. In utroque, Dominus libertatem arbitrii ostendit. Non enim a justo Deo, aut ille puniri meruisset, aut hic eligi, nisi uterque utrumque potuisset. Hoc de Cain et Abel fratribus, hoc etiam de Esau et Jacob geminis, intelligendum est.—Beda: contradicit apostolo, qui, de eisdem loquens, ait, cum enim, necdum nati fuissent, &c." Apud Usser. *Ibid* p. 7.

(*f*) "Pelagius: Nec impossibile aliquid potuit imperare, qui justus est; nec damnaturus est hominem pro eo quod vitare non potuit, qui pius est.—Beda quod dicit, dominum non impossibile aliquid præcepisse qui justus est; verum proiectò dicit, si ad ejus respicit auxilium, cui catholica vox supplicat. Deduc me in semitâ mandatorum tuorum. Psal. cxix. 35. Si verò viribus animi sui fidit, refell itemum veridica ejusdem justi conditoris sententia, quâ dicit, sine me nihil potestis facere. Johan. xv. 5.—Quòd dicit, eum, qui pius est, non damnaturum esse hominem, pro eo quod vitare non potuit; contradicit ejusdem pii redemptoris et justi judicis sententiæ, quâ, etiam de parvulis, ait, nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aquâ et Spiritu, non potest videre regnum Dei." Apud Usser. u. s. p. 8.

(*g*) Vide Cav. Hist. Litter. i. 716.—Necnon Godwinum, de præsulib. Angliæ, p. 289. edit. Cantabr. 1743. sol.

(*h*) Britannia. vol. i. col. 565.—edit. 1722.—Part of bishop Grosthead's character, as drawn by Camden, is given in the words of Matthew Paris. The whole portrait is worthy of being seen at full length. "Fuit ille [*i. e.* Grosthead] domini papæ et regis redargutor manifestus, prælatorum corruptor, monachorum correctorum. Presbyterorum director, clericorum instructor, scholarium sustentator, populi prædicator, incontinentium persecutor, scripturarum sedulus perscrutator diversarum, Romanorum malleus et contemptor. In mensâ refectionis corporalis dapsilis, copiosus, et civilis hilaris et affabilis: in mersâ verò spirituali devotus, lachrymosus, et contritus: in officio pontificali sedulus, venerabilis, et infatigabilis." Mat. Paris. Apud. Godwinum, u. s. p. 291.

times, or the quality of persons; but equally opposed the king's will, and the pope's pleasure, according as it happened. He could not see, without indignation and concern, the best preferments in the kingdom bestowed on Italians, who neither resided on their benefices, nor understood English. Refusing to institute an Italian to one of the best livings of his diocese, he was presently after suspended: but, regardless of the censure, he continued his episcopal functions. He even refused, at that very time, to admit of new provisions from the Pope in favour of other Italians, declaring, that to entrust the cure of souls to such pastors was to act in the name of the devil, rather than by the authority of God. Soon after, Grosthead touched the Pope in a very sensible part, by computing the yearly (*i*) sums drawn by the beneficed Italians out of England. Innocent IV., who then sat in the papal chair, sent him a menacing letter, which would have frightened any but him. Grosthead returned a very bold answer, which put Innocent into a terrible rage. What! said the Pope, has this old dotard the confidence to censure my conduct? By St. Peter and St. Paul, I will make such an example that the world shall stand amazed at his punishment. For is not his sovereign, the king of England, our vassal? Nay, is he not our slave? It is but, therefore, signifying our pleasure to the English Court, and this antiquated prelate will be immediately imprisoned, and put to what further disgrace we shall think fit. The annals of Lannercost inform us, that the bishop was excommunicated, a little before his death: but he, without regarding the censure, appealed to the court of heaven. Several historians add, that Innocent moved, in the conclave, to have the body of Grosthead taken up and buried in the highway: but to this the cardinals would not consent. Be this as it will, if he was excommunicated, he paid no attention to it, but continued to discharge his functions. Neither were the clergy of his diocese more scrupulous than their bishop: for they obeyed him until the day of his death." (*k*)

It was not without much imaginary reason that the Pope was so violently exasperated against Grosthead: who might well stand, in his Holiness's books, for a rebel and a heretic. (*l*) Of his rebellions, some account has been now given. Of his heresy take the following passage for a sample:

"Grace is that good pleasure of God, whereby he willeth to give us what we have not deserved, in order to our benefit, not to his. It is manifest, therefore, that all the good which is within us, whether it be natural, or freely conferred afterwards, proceeds from the grace of God: for there is no good thing of which his will is not the author; and what he wills is done. He himself averts our will from evil, and converts our will to good, and makes our will to persevere in that good.—A will to good, whereby man becomes conformed to the will of God, is a grace freely given: for the divine will is grace. And grace is then said to be infused, when the divine will begins to operate on our will." (*m*)

The humility of this great and good man is evident from what he says in one of his Epistles, written while he was arch-deacon of Leicester. "Nothing that occurs in your letters ought to give me more pain than your styling me, a person invested with authority, and endued with brightness of knowledge. So far am I from being of your opinion, that I feel myself unfit even to be a disciple to a man of authority: and perceive myself enveloped with the darkness of ignorance, as to innumerable matters which are objects of knowledge. But, did I in reality possess any of those high qualities which you ascribe to me, he alone would be worthy of the praise, and it would all be referrible to him unto whom we daily say, Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but to thy name give the glory." (*n*) The same spirit of modesty and self abasement accompanied him to the Episcopal chair. Hence he usually styled himself, in his subsequent Letters, *Robertus, permissione Divinâ, Lincolniensis Ecclesiæ Minister humilis*; "Robert,

(*i*) These sums, remitted to beneficed foreigners, amounted, in the year 1252, to seventy thousand marks: while the king's revenue hardly rose to twenty thousand. See Fuller's Church Hist. book iii. p. 65.

(*k*) Rapin's Hist of Engl. vol. iii. p. 214—218.

(*l*) Grosthead also passed, among some of the vulgar, for a magician: only because he was well skilled in Greek and Hebrew, and had a bias to the study of Astronomy. Hence those old verses, written in the reign of king Richard II.

> For of the greet clerk Grostest
> I red, how ready that he was
> Upon Clergy and lede of brasse
> To make, and forge it, for to tell
> Of such things as befell.
> And seven yeers bysiness
> He laid: but, for the luckuesse
> Of half a minute of an houre,
> Fro first that he began labour,
> He lost all that he had doe.

Vide Hist. et Antiq. Univers. Oxon. i. p. 82.

(*m*) "Gratia est bona voluntas Dei, quâ vult nobis dare quod non meremus, ut nobis ex dato benè sit, et non ut ipse donanti aliquid inde provenîat. Patet itaque, quòd omne bonum, quod in nobis est, sive sit gratuum, sive naturale, à gratiâ Dei est; quibuslibet est bonum, quod ipse non velit esse: et ejus velle est facere. Non est igitur bonum, quod ipse non faciat. Aversionem igitur voluntatis à malo et conversionem ad bonum, et perseverantiam in bono, ipse facit. Bona autem voluntas, quâ est homo conformis voluntati divinæ, est gratia data à gratiâ quæ est voluntas divina: et tunc dicitur gratia infundi, cùm voluntas divina in nostram voluntatem incipit operari." Grosthead, De Grat. et Justif. In Fascic. Rer. vol. ii. p 282.

(*n*) "Nihil autem, in literis vestris, mihi magis debet esse molestum, quàm quod dixistis, quocunque animo illud dixeritis, me verum autoritate et scientiæ claritate præditum. Cùm adhuc ad discipulatum viri authentici me sentiam minùs idoneum, et innumerabilium sciendorum ignorantiæ tenebris perfusum. Quòd si aliquid horum esset in me, ille solus ex his laudandus, et totum illi tribuendum, cui quotidie dicimus, Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo, da gloriam." Idem, *id.* p. 309.

by Divine permission, the poor Minister of the Church of Lincoln." (o)

I acknowledge, that, on the subjects of grace and free-will, Grosthead does not always preserve an invariable consistency. The wonder, however, ought to be, not that he saw no better, but that he saw so well as he did. Like Apollos, he was, as to the main, eloquent, mighty in the scriptures, fervent in spirit, speaking and teaching boldly the things of the Lord: though, like the same excellent Alexandrian, he sometimes needed an Aquila and Priscilla to expound to him the way of God more perfectly. (p)

III. John de Wickliff, surnamed The evangelical Doctor, enlightened and adorned the succeeding century. He was born in the parish of Wickliff, near Richmond, in Yorkshire, about A. D. 1324. The historical particulars, relative to the life of this extraordinary man, are so interesting and numerous, that I forbear to enter on them lest they lead me too far.

Mr. Guthrie, in his History of England, observes, that Wickliff "seems to have been a strong predestinarian." (q) It will presently appear, that he more than seemed to have been such; and that Luther and Calvin themselves were not stronger predestinarians than Wickliff. I shall open the evidence, with two propositions, extracted from his own writings:

1. "The prayer of the reprobate prevaileth for no man.

2. "All things that happen, do come absolutely of necessity." (r)

The manner, in which this great harbinger of the reformation defended the latter proposition, plainly shews him to have been (notwithstanding Guthrie's insinuation to the contrary) a deep and skilful disputant. "Our Lord," says he, "affirmed that such or such an event should come to pass. Its accomplishment, therefore, was unavoidable. The antecedent is infallible: by parity of argument, the consequent is so too. For the consequent is not in the power of a created being, forasmuch as Christ affirmed so many things" [before they were brought to pass.] "Neither did Christ [pre-] affirm any thing accidentally. Seeing, then, that his affirmation was not accidential, but necessary; it follows, that the event affirmed by him must be necessary likewise. This argument," adds Wickliff "receives additional strength, by observing, that in what way soever God may declare his will by his after-discoveries of it in time; still, his determination, concerning the event, took place before the world was made: *ergò*, the event will surely follow. The necessity, therefore, of the antecedent, holds no less irrefragably for the necessity of the consequent. And who can either promote or hinder the inference, *viz.* That this was decreed of God before the foundation of the world?" (s) I will not undertake to justify the whole of this paragraph. I can only meet the excellent man half-way. I agree with him, as to the necessity of events: but I cannot, as he evidently did, suppose God himself to be a necessary agent, in the utmost sense of the term. That God acts in the most exact conformity to his own decrees, is a truth which scripture asserts again and again: but that God was absolutely free in decreeing, is no less asserted by the inspired writers; who, with one voice, declare the Father's predestination, and subsequent disposal, of all things, to be entirely founded, not on any antecedent necessity, but on the single sovereign pleasure of his own will.

The quotation, however, proves, that Wickliff was an absolute Necessitarian. And he improves, with great solidity and acuteness, the topic of prophecy into (what it most certainly is) a very strong argument for predestination. As the prophecies of the Old and New Testaments are such an evidence of the divine inspiration of the sacred writers, and such a proof of Christianity, as all the infidels in the world will never be able to overthrow; so, on the other hand, those same prophecies conclude, to the full, as strongly in favour of peremptory predestination. For, if events were undecreed, they would be unforeknown: and if unforeknown, they could not be infallibly (t) predicted. To say, that 'events may be

(o) Similar was the humility of the ever memorable bishop Hall; whose last will began thus: "In the name of God, Amen. I, Joseph Hall, D.D. not worthy to be called bishop of Norwich, &c." Fuller's Worthies, part ii. p. 139. Still more demiss were the modesty and self-abasement of that thrice eminent prodigy of holiness, Mr. Bradford, the martyr: who subscribed himself, The sinful John Bradford: a very painted hypocrite, John Bradford: the most miserable, hard-hearted, and unthankful sinner, John Bradford. See Fox's Mart. vol. iii.

(p) Acts xviii. 24—26.

(q) See Rolt's Lives of Reform. p. 10.

(r) Fox's Acts and Mon. vol. i. p. 513.

(s) "Christus asseruit, hoc esse futurum: ergò, hoc est, fuit, vel erit. Antecedens est necessarium: ergò, et consequens. Non enim est in potestate creaturæ; quando Christus talia multa asseruit. Nec assertio animæ Christi per accidens est hujusmodi et ideò, sicut necessariò Christus illud asseruit, ità necessario illud evenit. Confirmat hoc: quocunque futuro signato, ante mundi constitutionem Deus determinavit hoc fore. Ergò, hoc erit. Quanta ergò erit necessitas in antecedente, tanta est necessitas in consequente. Et quis enim potest facere vel impedire, quin Deus determinavit hoc ante mundi constitutionem?" Wickliff, in Trialog. vide Fascic. Rer vol. i. p. 256.

(t) It is very observable, that Wickliff's argument for predestination, drawn from the prophecies of our Lord, and cited at large in the preceding note, so puzzled the then archbishop of Armagh (whose name I know not, nor do I think it worth hunting out,) that it furnished his Popish grace with employment for two years together, to reconcile the free-will of man with the certain completion of prophecy. A task, however, which after all his labour, the Romish prelate found too hard for him. Yet, his Lordship that he might not be forced to acknowledge predestination and give up free-will, thought proper to give up the infallible prescience of Christ himself; blasphemously affirming, that "it was possible for

foreknown, without falling under any effective or permissive decree;' would be saying either nothing to the purpose, or worse than nothing. For, if God can, with certainty, foreknow any event whatever, which he did not previously determine to accomplish or permit; and that event, barely foreknown but entirely undecreed, be so certainly future, as to furnish positive ground for unerring prophecy; it would follow, 1. That God is dependent, for his knowledge, on the things known; instead of all things being dependent on him: and, 2. That there is some extraneous concatenation of causes, prior to the will and knowledge of God, by which his will is regulated, and on which his knowledge is founded. Thus Arminianism, in flying from the decree, jumps over head and ears into the most dangerous and exceptional part of that very stoicism which she pretends to execrate and avoid.

I return, now, to doctor Wickliff, whose strictures led me into this digression.

What he little more than intimates, in the citation given above; he delivered, it seems, more plainly and peremptorily, elsewhere. Among the 62 articles, laid to his charge by Thomas Netter (commonly called, Thomas of Walden, who flourished about the year 1409,) and for which that writer refers to the volume and chapter of Wickliff's works; are these three:

That "all things come to pass by fatal necessity:

That "God could not make the world otherwise than it is made: and,

That "God cannot do any thing, which he doth not do." (*u*)

This is fatalism with a witness. And I cite these propositions, not to depreciate Dr. Wickliff, whose character I admire and revere, as one of the greatest and best since the apostolic age; nor yet with a view to recommend the propositions themselves: but, simply, to shew, how far this illustrious reformer ran from the present Arminian system, or rather no-system, of chance and free-will. But, concerning even those of Wickliff's assertions, which were the most rash and unguarded; candour (not to say, justice) obliges me to observe, with Fuller, that, were all his works extant, "we might therein read the occasion, intention, and connexion, of what he spake: together with the limitations, restrictions, distinctions and qualifications, of what he maintained. There we might see, what was the overplus of his passion, and what the just measure of his judgment. Many phrases, heretical in sound, would appear orthodox in sense. Yea, some of his [reputedly--] poisonous passages, dressed with due caution, would prove not only wholesome, but cordial truths: many of his expressions wanting, not *granum ponderis*, but *granum salis*; no weight of truth, but some grains of discretion." (*x*)

What I shall next add, may be rather styled bold truths, than indiscreet assertions. He defined the Church to consist only of persons predestinated. And affirmed, that God loved David and Peter as dearly when they grievously sinned, as he doth now when they are possssed of glory. (*y*) This latter position might, possibly, have been more unexceptionably expressed; be it, substantially, ever so true.

Wickliff was sound in the article of gratuits paroudon and justification by the alone death and righteousness of Jesus Christ. "The merit of Christ," says he, "is, of itself, sufficient to redeem every man from Hell. It is to be understood of a sufficiency of itself, without any other concurring cause. All that follow Christ, being justified by his righteousness, shall be saved, as his offspring." (*z*) It has been already observed, and proved, that he had very high notions of that inevitable necessity, by which he supposed every event is governed. Yet, he did not enthusiastically sever the end from the means. Witness his own words: "Though all future things do happen necessarily, yet God wills that good things happen to his servants through the efficacy of prayer." (*a*) Upon the whole, it is no wonder that such a profligate factor for Popery and Arminianism, as Peter Heylin, should (pro more,) indecently affirm, that "Wickliff's field had more tares than wheat; and his books more heterodoxes than sound Catholic doctrine." (*b*)

His character, as briefly drawn by bishop

Christ to be mistaken in his prophecies, and to misinform his Church as to future events." The passage is so uncommon, that I will give it in the writer's own words. "Dicit adversarius [scil. Wickliff,] quoad istud argumentum, dominum Armachanum per duos annos studuisse pro ejus dissolutione, et finaliter nescivit (ut dicit aliter evadere, nisi concedendo, quod Christus errasse potuit, et ecclesiam decepisse. Quam conclusionem nullus Catholicus (ut dicit Wickliff) concederet. Et sic videtur ponere Dominum Armachanum extra numerum Catholicorum.' Guilelm. Wodford contrà Wicklesmu, Vide Fascic. Rer. vol. i. p. 256.

(*u*) Fuller's Church Hist. b. iv. p. 134. What this valuable historian premises, concerning Wickliff, before he enters on his accounnt of him, deserves to be quoted, I intend," says Dr. Fulier, "neither to deny, dissemble, defend, nor excuse, any of his faults. We have this treasure saith the Apostle, in earthen vessels: and he, that shall endeavour to prove a pitcher of clay to be a pot of gold, will take great pains to small purpose. Yea, should I be over officious to retain myself to plead for Wickliff's faults, that glorious saint would sooner chide than thank me."

(*x*) *Ibid.* p. 135. (*y*) *Ibid.* p. 134.

(*z*) See Allix's Remarks on the Albigenses, chap. xxiv. p. 229. Dr. Allix farther observes, that Wickliff "rejects the doctrine of the merit of works, and falls upon those who say, that 'God did not all for them,' but think that 'their merits help.' Hear us, Lord, for nought, says Wickliff; that is, for no merit of ours, but for thy mercy." *Ibid.* p. 229, 230.

(*a*) See Allix. u. s. p. 235.

(*b*) Miscell. Tracts, p. 543.

Newton, and a word or two from Mr. Rolt, shall conclude his article. Bishop Newton terms him, "the deservedly famous John Wickliff, the honour of his own, and the admiration of all succeeding, times. Rector only of Lutterworth [in Leicestershire] he filled all England, and almost all Europe, with his doctrine. He began to grow famous, about the year 1360. He (*e*) translated the canonical scriptures into the English language and wrote comments upon them. He demonstrated the antichristianity of Popery, and the abomination of desolation in the temple of God.—His success was greater than he could have expected. The princes, the people, the university of Oxford, many even of the clergy, favoured and supported him, and embraced his opinions.—This truly great and good man died of a [second stroke of the] palsy, the last day of the year 1387. But his doctrines did not die with him. His books were read in the public schools and colleges at Oxford, and were recommended to the diligent perusal of each student in the University, till they were condemned and prohibited, by the council of Constance, in the next century. He himself had been permitted to die in peace; but after his death, his doctrines were condemned [again,] his books were burnt, his very body was dug up and burnt too, by a decree of the council of Constance, and the command of Pope Martin V. executed by Richard Fleming, bishop of Lincoln. His followers, however, were not discouraged; and many of them witnessed a good confession even unto death." (*d*)

"I am informed," says Mr. Rolt, (*e*) "by a gentleman, who lives near Lutterworth, that the gown, which Dr. Wickliff wore, now covers the communion table in that Church. (*f*) And, as this eminent man may justly be considered as the author of the Reformation, not only in England, but throughout all Europe; surely, some decent respect should be paid to his worth, and a public monument erected to his memory. The Wickliffites were opressed, but could not be extinguished. Persecution served only to establish that faith which became general at the Reformation, about a hundred years after these restraints were moderated. The whole nation then unanimously embraced the doctrine which Wickliff began; and Popery was abolished in England, that the purity of religion might increase the blessings of liberty." Let me just add; surely Arminianism must blush to call herself Protestant, when he, whom all unite to consider as (under God) the "author of the Reformation, not in England only, but in all Europe," was not merely a Calvinist, but more than a Calvinist; and carried the doctrine of predestination to such an extreme height, as even Luther, Calvin, and Zanchius, did not fully come up to. Mr. Hume is sufficiently moderate, and not at all above par, in affirming Wickliff to have "asserted, that every thing was subject to fate and destiny, and that all men are predestinated either to eternal salvation or reprobation." (*g*)

IV. Thomas Bradwardin, personal chaplain to king Edward III. and at last archbishop of Canterbury, may rank with the brightest luminaries, of whom this or any other nation can boast. Mr. Camden observes, that Bradwardin Castle, in Herefordshire, "gave both original and name" to this famous archbishop; "who for his great variety of knowledge, and his admirable proficiency in the most abstruse parts of learning, was honoured with the title of Dr. Profundus,"(*h*) or the profound doctor. That his ancestors had been seated in that part of Herefordshire mentioned above, is admitted by the general stream of writers, who have treated of this great man. But he himself was certainly born in Sussex. Sir Henry Savile seems to have had very sufficient reason for determining our prelate's birth-place to the city of Chich-

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(*c*) A Specimen, or two, of Wickliffe's translation of the New Testament, into the old English of that period, may not be displeasing to the reader.

"Matth. xi. 25, 26. In thilke tyme Jhesus answeried and seid, I knowleche to thee, Fadir, Lord of Hevene and of earthe, for thou hast hid these thingis fro wise men and redy, and hast schewid hem to litil children. So, Fadir; for so it was plesynge to fore thee.

"John x. 26—30. Ye beleven not, for ye ben not of my scheep. My scheep heren my vois, and I knowe hem, and thei suen me. And I gyve to hem everlastynge life, and thei schulen not perische, without ende; and noon schal rauysche hem fro myn hand. That thing that my Fader gaf to me, is more than alle thingis: and no man may rauysche from my Fadirs hond. I and the Fadir ben oon.

"Romans ix. 11—21. Whanne thei weren not ghit borun neithier hadden doon ony thing of good, either of yvel; that the purpos of God schulde dwell bi electioun, not of works, but of God clepyng; it was seid to him, that the more schulde serve the lesse: as it is writun, I louyde Jacob, but I hatide Esau. What therfore schulen we seie? wher wickidnesse be anentis God? God forbede. For he seith to Moises, I schal have mercy on whom I have mercy, and I schal gyve mercy on whom I have mercy. Therefore, it is not neither of man willynge, neither renynge; but of God hauynge mercy. And the Scriptures seith to Farao, For to this thing have I styrrid thee, that I schewe in thee my vertu, and that my name be teeld in a erthe. Therefore, of whom God wole, he hath mercy: and whom he wole, he endurith. Thanne seeith thou to me, what is sought ghit, for who withstondith his will? Oo man, what art thou that answerist to God! Wher a maad thing seith to him that made it, What hast thou maad me so? Wher a pottere of cley hath not power to make, of the same gobbet, oo vessel into onour, a nothir into dispyt!"

Taken from Lewis's edition of Wickliffe's Transl. N. Test.—Loud. 1731. folio.

(*d*) Dissertations on the Prophecies, vol. iii. Diss. 24. part 1.

(*e*) Lives of the Reformers. p. 12.

(*f*) I, too, remember to have heard, but how authentically I cannot affirm, that the pulpit, in which Wickliff used to preach, is still preserved in the Church of Lutterworth.

(*g*) Hume's Hist. of Engl. vol. iii. p. 57. octavo 1767.

(*h*) Camden's Britannia, vol. i. col. 686.

ester. (*i*) The year that gave him to the world, was probably 1290, about the middle of the reign of Edward I. During the reign of Edward II. he was admitted into Merton College, Oxford: and was proctor of the University, A. D. 1325. He made himself perfect master of the philosophy of Aristotle and Plato. But his chief talent lay in Mathematics and Theology: to these he devoted his main application, and in these he distanced the brightest of his cotemporaries. Sir Henry Savile had in his possession a large manuscript volume of astronomical tables, composed by this extraordinary man; on which that most learned writer sat a very high value, and of which he speaks in very respectable terms.

If Sir Henry admired Bradwardin as a philosopher; he revered and was in raptures with him as a divine. "It was in divinity," says he, "that the archbishop snatched the prize from all his coevals. That single volume [*De Causâ Dei,*] of which I am the editor, written to unravel and expose the falsehood of Pelagianism, is alone sufficient to crown him with the most consummate theologist of that century. We have the sad, but resistless conviction of experience, that the Pelagian heresy has been a growing evil, for ages back. To this, therefore, our accomplished author opposed his artillery. Some lectures, which he had formerly delivered at Oxford, were the basis of this most noble performance. At the earnest entreaty of the Merton students, to whom those lectures had been read, he arranged, polished, enlarged, and reduced them into form, while he was Chancellor of the diocese of London. No sooner was the work completed and given to the public, than vast multitudes of hands were employed in transcribing it, and copies of it were diffused throughout the greatest part of Europe. No treatise could be more eagerly sought and received. Hardly a library was without it. It captivated the very muses; for Chaucer the father of English poetry, who flourished within a few years after the archbishop's decease, puts him in the same rank with St. Austin, in these lines, so pleasingly remarkable for their antique simplicity of style:

"But what that God afore wrote, must needs bee,
After the opinion of certain clerkis
Witnesse of him that any clerke is,
That in schole is great altercation
In this matter, and great disputation,
And hath been of an hundred thousand men.
But I ne cannot bolt it to the bren,
As can the holy doctour Saincte Austin,
Or Boece, or the bishop of Bradwardin (*k*)."

Our excellent prelate, being a most exact mathematician, has, conformably to the rules of the science he so much admired, thrown his theological arguments into mathematical order: and, I believe, was the first divine who pursued that method. Hence, his book against the Pelagians is, from the beginning to end, one regular, strong unbroken chain. This does, indeed, render his work abstruse and difficult, in some measure, to such as peruse it superficially: but, at the same time, it conduces to make his reasonings intrinsically firm, conclusive, and invincible."(*l*)

Having, for some years, sat as Divinity Professor, at Oxford, with the most exalted reputation; he was admitted to the friendship of Richard de Bury, the learned bishop of Durham: and, at length, went to live with him as one of his family. Seven other persons (mostly Merton men) conspicuous for genius and learning, were also transplanted, from Oxford, to the house of that munificent prelate, who had a very high relish for the pleasures and improvements resulting from literary conversation."(*m*)

Such was the modesty of Bradwardin, that his preferments flowed in upon him, not only unsought, but undesired. It was with great difficulty, that he was prevailed upon to let a canonry of Lincoln be annexed to his chancellorship of London, though the revenue of the latter was far from large. At length, his vast learning, and the invariable purity of his life, rendered him so famous, that he was nominated by John Stratford, then archbishop of Canterbury, to be chaplain to his sovereign, King Edward III. In this capacity, he attended that great Prince, during his long and successful wars in France. With a warpless integrity, rarely found in those who wait on kings, he made it his business to calm and mitigate the fierceness of his master's temper, when he saw him either immoderately fired with warlike rage, or unduly flushed with the

(*i*) "De loco nativitatis, putabam aliquando apud Bradwardin castrum et vicum natum fuisse: ——sed me ab hâc sententiâ non improbabili revocârunt expressa verba ipsius Bradwardini ubi non obscurè ut mihi videtur, innuit, se Cicestriâ oriundum. Verba sunt: Per similem etiam rationem quicquid nunc scribo Oxoniæ, scriberet pater meus Cicestriæ; quia genuit me scribentem imò avus & proavus, &c. (De causâ Dei, l. 3. cap. 22.) Ut non multùm aberrâsse videantur Balæus, et antiquitatum Britannicarum auctor, qui Hartfeldiæ natum asserunt, in diocesi Cicestrensi: quibus auctoribus, aut quibus permoti argumentis, nescio. Apud me, certè illa auctoris verba præponderant, dum aliquid certius ab aliis afferatur." Savilii præf. ad lect. Bradwardini operi, de causâ Dei præfix.

(*k*) Chaucer's lines have, perhaps, at present, little else besides their rust to recommend them. But Sir H. Savile's version of them into Latin, is highly elegant and classical.

Non evenire non prætest, quicquid Deus
Præscivit: ità fert crebra doctorum cohirs.
Hîc literatum quem libet testem voco,
Quantùs utrinque fluctibus lis hæc scholas
Trivit, teritque: pene inextricabili
Ingenia nodo centies mille implicans.
Excutere nudos hæc adusque furfures
(Quod ab Augustino præstitum, et Borthio.
Ac Bradvardino episcopo) non sum potis.

(*l*) Savil. in Præf. u. s.

(*m*) Anglia Sacra, vol. 1. p. 766. Edit. 1691.

advantages of victory. Nor were his piety and watchfulness limited to his monarch. He often preached to the army with such meekness and persuasiveness of wisdom, as restrained them from many of those savage violences, which are too frequently the attendants on military success.

On the death of Stratford, the church of Canterbury unanimously chose Bradwardin for their archbishop. But the king being still engaged in France, refused to part with him. John Ufford was then put in nomination for that see: but he dying soon after his election, Bradwardin was chosen a second time, and the king yielded to the choice. He was, accordingly, consecrated at (*n*) Avignon, in 1349, and returned into England soon after. But he did not long adorn the metropolitical chair. He died, at Lambeth, the October following; (*o*) and was interred in St. Anselm's chapel, by the south wall, within the cathedral of Canterbury: disgraced with a most wretched (*p*) Epitaph, which is only worthy of preservation for its having once marked the tomb of so great a man.

I have dwelled the longer on the outlines of Bradwardin's History, because I find them so superficially hurried over by the generality of our English writers. A species of negligence, not easily excusable, where a character, so peculiarly illustrious, was the object of investigation.

The Protestant cause is more indebted to this extraordinary prelate, than seems to be commonly known. He was, in some sense, Dr. Wickliff's spiritual father: for it was the perusal of Bradwardin's writings, which, next to the Holy Scriptures, opened that protoreformer's eyes to discover the genuine doctrine of faith and justification. "Bradwardin taught him" [*i. e.* taught Wickliff] "the nature of a true and justifying faith, in opposition to merit-mongers and pardoners, purgatory and pilgrimages."(*q*)

I now beg my reader's permission to lay before him a few passages from Bradwardin's golden work, entitled, "The Cause of God:" written as an antidote against the Pelagian poison, and to demonstrate the absoluteness both of providence and grace. This inestimable performance was printed, A. D. 1618, by the united care (and, it should seem, at the joint-expense) of the pious Dr. George Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, and the most learned Sir Henry Savile.

Bradwardin laments the Pelagianism of his own times, in terms but too applicable to the present: "What multitudes, O Lord, at this day, join hands with Pelagius, in contending for free-will, and in fighting against thy absolutely-free grace; and against that great spiritual champion for grace, the Apostle Paul! By how many is thy unmerited grace looked upon with scornful abhorrence, while they proudly insist, that free-will alone is sufficient to salvation! or, if they make use of the word grace, and slightly pretend to believe that grace is necessary; to what purpose is this pretence, while they boast of its being in the power of free-will to lay thy grace under obligation? thus making grace itself no longer gratuitous, but representing thee as selling it, instead of giving it.(*r*)

"Some, more haughty than even Lucifer, are not content with barely lifting themselves to an equality with thee; but are most daringly desirous to govern and control thee, who art the King of kings. Such are they, who dread not to affirm, that, even in a common action, their own will walks first, as an independent mistress; and that thy will follows after, like an obsequious handmaid: that they themselves go foremost, like sovereign lords; while thou walkest behind them, like a hired servant: that they issue their orders, as kings; and that thou like an implicit subject, actest according to the imperial nod of their determining will."(*s*) By such nervous reasoning, and by such well adapted images, did this christian hero cut in sunder the very sinews of what was then termed antecedent merit; but which is now suppled into the smoother phrase of, "conditional grace:" the same thing in sense, though of softer sound.

Among the first positions, which Bradwardin undertakes to prove, are these: that "God is, not contingently, but necessarily, perfect. That he is incapable of changing. That he is not (for instance) irascible and

(*n*) Bradwardin was a known predestinarian: a circumstance which by no means weighed in his favour with the Pope. Accordingly, on the day of the archbishop's consecration, after the ceremony was over, he was insulted, as he sat at dinner, by a buffoon mounted on an ass for that purpose. The person who procured him this low affront was the cardinal of Tudela, the Pope's near kinsman.—Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 43.

(*o*) Vide Savile, ubi supra.

(*p*) Doctor doctorum Bradwardin hâc jacet urnâ,
Norma pastorum laudabilis et diuturna.
Qui invidiâ caruit, vitam sine crimine duxit.
Et ex ore suo quicquid sit scibile fluxit.
Nullus sub sole est, cui sic fuere omnia nota.
Cautia, nunc dole: tristeris et Anglia tota.
Vos qui et transitis hic omnes, atque reditis,
Dicite quòd Christi pietas sit promptior isti.
Weever's Ant. Funeral Mon. p. 25.

(*q*) History of Popery, vol. ii. p. 164.

(*r*) "Quot domine, hodie cum Pelagio pro libero arbitrio contra gratuitam gratiam tuam, pugnant et contra Paulum, pugilem, gratiæ spiritualem! Quot etiam nodie gratuitum gratiam tuam fastidiunt, solumque liberum arbitrium ad salutem sufficere stomachantur! Aut si gratiâ utantur, vel perfunctorie necessariam eam simulant, ipsamque se jactant liberi sui arbitrii viribus promereri; ut sic saltem nequaquam gratuita, sed vendita videatur!" Bradw. De Caus. Dei, in præf.

(*s*) "Imò et superbiores Lucifero, æqualitate tui nequaquam contenti, super te Rex regum, impudentissimè gestiunt se regnare. Non enim verentur astrure, suam voluntatem, in actione communi, præire, tuî Dominum; tuam subsequi, ut ancillum; se præire, ut Dominos; te subsequi, sicut servum: se velet reges, præcipere, te, tanquam subditum, obedire." *Ibid.*

appeasable; liable to the emotions of joy and sorrow; or, in any respect, passive. Since, if he were, he would be changeable: whereas he is always the same, and never varies. He cannot change for the better, because" says Bradwardin, "he is already perfectly good [and happy.] Neither can he change for the worse, because he is necessarily perfect, and therefore cannot cease to be so."(*t*)

He justly observes, that "the divine will is *universaliter efficax*, universally efficacious: which is a mark of much higher perfection, than if his will could be hindered, frustrated, or miss of its intent. If God could wish for any thing, and yet not have it; or if he could will any thing, and yet not bring it to pass; he would and must, from that moment, cease to be perfectly happy, which is impossible."(*u*) The consequence is plain: *viz.* that every thing falls out according to God's original design, or effective and permissive determination.

He powerfully beats down the Doctrine of human merit. He will not allow that men can merit at the hand of God, either antecedently, or subsequently, *i. e.* either prior to grace received, or after it. Is it not more bountiful to give than to barter? to bestow a thing freely, gratis, and for nothing; than for the sake of any preceding or subsequent desert, which would be a sort of price or payment? Even a generous man often confers benefits on others, without any view to the previous or succeeding merit of the object. Much more does God do this, who is infinitely richer in bounty than the most liberal of his creatures." (*x*) From this, and a hundred other passages to the same effect, it is evident, that, where he applies the word *meritum* to any human act of obedience, he means no more by it, than moral goodness and virtue, as opposed to sin and vice: in which sense the term merit is incontestably used by several of the primitive fathers; though the word has been long and justly reprobated by all sound divines, on account of the antichristian use that is made of it by Papists and Pelagians.

From that declaration of our Lord, My Father worketh hitherto, and I work; and from that assertion of the apostle, in him we live, and are moved [κινουμεθα,] and exist; the archbishop infers, 1. That no thing whatever can put any other thing into motion unless God himself, by his own proper influence, give motion to the thing so moved: 2. That no thing whatever can put any other into motion, without God's being the immediate mover of it: Yea, 3. That whatsoever is put in motion by any thing else, is more immediately moved by God himself, than by the instrument which sets it in motion, be that instrument what it will."(*y*) This is winding up matters to a very high standard. And yet, perhaps, the standard is no higher than Philosophy itself can justify. But my readers will observe, that I am neither dictating to them, nor so much as giving my own express opinion. My present business is, to quote Bradwardin, simply as his judgment stands. "God," says he, "maketh all things, and moveth all things. In every formation, and in every motion, there must be some unoriginal former and some immoveable mover; else the process would be endless."(*z*) His meaning is, that unless we trace up all being, and all philosophic motion (whether active motion, or passive,) to God himself, we can find no first cause, whereia to rest: we can have no central point to stop at, but shall be lost amid the immense circumference of boundless, wild uncertainty.

What he delivers concerning the knowledge of God, is worthy of our utmost attention. "It is certain, that God hath a knowledge of all things present, of all things past, and of all things to come: which knowledge is supremely actual, particular, distinct, and (*a*)

(*t*) De Causâ Dei, lib. i. cap. i. corol. vi. p. 5.

(*u*) "Voluntas quoque divina est universaliter efficax modo dicto. Hoc enim est perfectius, quam quòd esset impedibilis, frustrabilis, aut perfectibilis ullo modo. Si etiam Deus quicquam vellet, et illud non haberet, nec fieret; non esset summè beatus et felix, sed miser." *Ibid.* Corol. viii.

(*x*) "Et nonne liberalius est, dare, quam vendere? gratis dare quàm pro aliquo merito, veluti quodam præmio, præcedenti, aut etiam consequenti? Nonne homo liberalis multa sic donat? Cur ergo non Deus, liberalior infinite?" *Ibid.* Corollar xxix. p. 23.

(*y*) "1. Quòd nihil potest quicquam movere, sine Deo idem, per se, et proprie, movente. 2. Quòd nihil potest quicquam movere, sine Deo immediate idem movente. 3. Quòd nihil potest quicquam movere, sine Deo idem movente immediatius alio motore quocunque." *Ibid.* lib. i. cap. iv. p. 174.

(*z*) "Constat si quidem, secundùm præmissa tertio hujus et quarto, quòd Deus omnia facit et movet: et in omni factione a motione est aliquis factor et motor infactibilis et immobilis. Alioquin esset processus infinitus." *Ibid.* cap. v. p. 175.

(*a*) The certainty and necessity of every future event follow as strongly on the principle of God's fore-knowledge, or omniscience, as they can possibly do on the hypothesis of the most adamantine decree. Moreover, the very same arguments, by which the divine knowledge of future events is proved, are no less conclusive against that false species of capricious free-will which the Arminians so lavishly ascribe to mankind. That God's omniscience and the Arminian free agency, cannot possibly stand together, is acknowledged by the eminent and penetrating Mr. Montesquieu; who, accordingly, puts the following arguments into the mouth of his supposed Persian. "It is not possible, that God can foresee what depends on the determination of free-agents. Because, what hath not existed, is not in being; and, consequently, cannot be known: which, having no properties, cannot be perceived. God cannot read in the will what is not in it; or see in the soul a thing which is not yet existing in it: for, till she hath determined, the action which she determines upon is not in her. The soul is the maker of her own determination: but there are some circumstances, in which she is so irresolute, that she knows not on which side to determine. Sometimes she may even do it, only to make use of her liberty; in such manner that God cannot see this determination beforehand, neither in the action of the soul, nor in the actions which the objects make upon her. How then

infallible. (*b*) We may consider it as either simple, or approbative. His simple or absolute knowledge extends to every thing. His knowledge of approbation includes (over and above the former) the liking, the good pleasure, and complacency of will, which he graciously bears to some persons."(*c*) This distinction of the divine knowledge into absolute and approbatory, is founded on clear scripture evidence. Of the first, see John xxi. 17. 2 Tim. ii. 19. Of the latter, John x. 14. 1 John iii. 20.

He employs a whole (*d*) chapter in proving, *Quod res scitæ non sunt causæ divinæ scientiæ:* or, that "the things known are not the foundation of God's knowing them." This to some, may seem a question of unnecessary speculation: but, on a nearer view it must appear to be a point of the utmost importance, in which the perfection (and consequently, the very being) of God are deeply involved. A summary of Bradwardin's reasoning on this subject deserves to be laid before the reader. "Knowledge is a principal perfection in God. If, therefore, his knowledge is derived from the objects with which it is conversant, it would follow, that God is indebted, for part of his perfection, to some other source than himself: in which case, he must cease to be self-perfect. He would, moreover, cease to be all-sufficient of himself: for he would stand in need of created help, to render his knowledge complete. His omniscience would be forced to ask assistance from the very things it comprehends. And how could his essential glory be matchless and unrivalled, if any portion of it was suspended on assistance borrowed from without? Add to this, that if the things, which God knows, are themselves the producing cause of his knowing them; they must be antecedent to his knowledge, either in commencement of existence, or in order of nature. But they are not prior to his knowledge in either of these respects: for they are all created in time: whereas God and his knowledge are eternal. Besides, if the Deity received any degree of his intelligence from the beings he has made, he would cease to be a pure actor: he would be passive, in that reception. Whence it would also follow, that he must be susceptible of change. Nay, he would degenerate into a sort of inferiority to the things known, and (being dependent on them for his knowledge) would, so far, be considered as less noble than they. The divine understanding would, like ours, be, occasionally, in a state of suspense and fluctuation. God might rather be said to possess a power or capability of knowing, than knowledge itself. He would only stand disposed to know either this or that, indifferently, according as the event may turn: and would be actuated and determined by agency and casuality extraneous to himself. And thus he would neither be the highest nor the first." (*e*) Swayed by such reasons as these, the archbishop concludes, that Averroes was right in affirming, that "the knowledge of God is a cause of the things known, and not *vice versâ*. Human knowledge is founded on its respective objects; but all objects of the divine knowledge are founded on the divine knowledge itself." (*f*) He adds: "God himself is the first and the last, the beginning and the end. (*g*) But were the things which he knows the basis of his knowledge, it would follow, that his creatures contribute to improve their Maker's wisdom. And thus, foolish man, or even the meanest beast of the field, would be exalted into a necessary assistant, councellor, and teacher of the all-wise God. Well, therefore, may we say, with Austin, God knew all his creatures, both corporeal and incorporeal, not because they exist; but they therefore exist, because he knew them: for he was not ignorant of what

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can God forsee those things which depend upon the determination of free agents? He could foresee them but in two ways: by conjecture; which is irreconcilable with infinite foreknowledge: or, otherwise, he must see them as necessary effects, which infallibly follow a cause which produces them as infallibly." This consummate genius, presently after, observes, that, "supposing God to foresee in the latter respect the act of absolute free-agency vanishes that instant: since the soul in her act of determining, would no more be free, than one billiard ball is free to lie still when it is pushed by another." See Montesquieu's Persian Letters, vol. i. let. lxix. Edit. 1762.

The matter, then, is reduced to this issue: either God must be stripped of his omniscience; or men must be divested of independent and uncertain free-will. If one stands, the other must fall. Query: which had we best give up? Shall we commence Atheists? or shall we confess ourselves dependent beings? What the Apostle says, on another occasion, I, for my own part, make no scruple to say here: Let God be true, and every man a liar. Let the knowledge of God be infinite, though it shrivel human freedom to a span. Better is it, not to rob God of an essential attribute, than to crown ourselves with an ideal plume, or rather a diadem of straw, and trample on real deity by supposing ourselves kings and gods.

(*b*) *Ibid.* cap. 6, page 181.

(*c*) "Scientia Dei est duplex: scil simplicis cognitionis, seu notitiæ, et approbationis et complacentiæ, quæ, ultra simplicem cognitionem, seu notitiam, addit approbationem, beneplacitum, et complacentiam voluntatis." *Ibid.* cap. vii. p. 188, ubi plura videsis.

(*d*) Lib. i. cap. xv.

(*e*) "Scire namque est magnæ perfectionis in Deo. Si ergò scientia Dei causetur à scitis, ipse recipit perfectionem ab alio. Ergò, non est, ex se, summè perfectus. Item, tunc non esset per se sufficientissimus: indigeret enim scitis, à quibus posset suffragia suæ scientiæ mendicare. Quomodo ergo erit incomparabiliter gloriosus, qui mendicetis suffragiis gloriatur?—Item, si scita essent causæ effectivæ divinæ scientiæ, præcederent illa. Tempore, vel natura. Sed quomodo, cùm ista sint temporalia, hæc æterna? Si etiam ita esset, Deus aliquo modo pateretur ab eis:—quare et, aliquo modo, similiter mutaretur. Quapropter et esses quoquo modo inferior et ignobilior rebus scitis. Item, tunc intellectus divinus de se esset in potentiâ et indifferentiâ ad scendum hoc, vel suum oppositum; et sic non esset actus summus, nec primus." *Ibid.* lib i. cap. xv. p. 214, 215.

(*f*) "Sua [*i. e.* Dei] enim scientia est causa entis: ens autem nostræ scientæ. Sententia Aristotelis et Averrois est, Deum non intelligere aliud à se, à quo perficiatur, vel quod sit causa intellectionis divinæ." *Ibid.* p. 215. *E.*

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 217. D.

he intended to create. Amidst all the innumerable revolutions of advancing and departing ages, the knowledge of God is neither lessened nor improved. No incident can possibly arise which thou didst not expect and foresee, who knowest all things: and every created nature is what it is, in consequence of thy knowing it as such." (*k*)

We are not to suppose, that Bradwardin contended for what may be called the mere knowledge of God, nakedly and abstractedly considered. He asserted the infinity, the independency, and the efficacy of the divine knowledge as founded on, and resulting from the eternal sovereignty, and irresistibility, of the divine will. "The will of God," says he, "is universally efficacious and invincible, and necessitates as a cause. It cannot be impeded, much less can it be defeated and made void, by any means whatever." (*i*) What follows is extremely conclusive: "If you allow, 1. That God is able to do a thing: and, 2. That he is willing to do a thing; then, 3. I affirm, that thing will not, cannot, go unaccomplished. God either does it now, or will certainly do it at the destined season. Otherwise, he must either lose his power, or change his mind. He is in want of nothing that is requisite to carry his purposes into execution. Whence that remark of the philosopher: He, that hath both will and power to do a thing, certainly doth that thing." (*k*) Again: If the will of God could be frustrated and vanquished, its defeat would arise from the created wills, either of angels, or of men. But, could any created will whatever, whether angelic or human, counter-act and baffle the will of God; the will of the creature must be superior, [either] in strength, [or in wisdom,]to the will of the creator: which can by no means be allowed." (*l*) The absolute immutability of God effectually secures the infallible accomplishment of his will: whence our great English **Austin** justly observes, that "both the divine knowledge, and the divine will, are altogether unchangeable: since, was either one or the other to undergo any alteration, a change must fall on God himself. (*m*)

Pursuant to these maxims, he affirms, that, "whatever things come to pass, they are brought to pass by the providence of God" (*n*) Nor could he suppose, that the great and blessed God is, in point of wisdom, fore-cast, and attention, inferior even to a prudent master of a family, who takes care of every thing that belongs to him; and makes provision beforehand, according to the best of his knowledge and power; and leaves nothing unregulated in his house, but exactly appoints the due time and place for every thing." (*o*)

The sentiments of this learned writer, relative to the doctrine of fate, are too judicious and important, to be wholly passed over. "We must," says he, "beyond all doubt, admit, there is such a thing as a divine fate." (*p*) By a divine fate, he means, the decree which God hath irrevocably pronounced, or spoken: for he seems to agree with those who derive the word *Fatum*, either à *fando*, or from *fiat*; *i. e.* from God's speaking or commanding things to be. Whence he adds: "Is it not written, that in the beginning of the creation, God said, *Fiat lux*, let there be light, and there was light? Is it not written again, He spake and it was done? Now, that divine fate is chiefly a branch of the divine will, which is the efficacious cause of things." (*q*) This seems to have been the real sense, in which the doctrine of (*r*) fate was maintained by those of the ancients who were truly wise and considerate. And, in this sense, fate is a Christian doctrine in the strictest import of the word Christian. Nay, set aside fate, in this meaning of it, and I cannot see how either natural or revealed

(*h*) "Dicitque Petrus Lumbardus. Si scita essent causæ divinæ scientiæ, ipsa multa adjuvarent eum in sciendo et darent sibi consilium et ostenderent illi agenda: et sic fatuus homo, vel asinus, esset adjutor necessar us, consiliarius et doctor sapientissimi Dei nostri. Item Augustinus: nuiversas autem creaturas suas, spirituales et corporales, non, quia sunt, ideò novit; sed ideò sunt, quia novit: non enim nescivit, quæ suerat creaturus. Cùm decedent et succedant tempora; non decedit aliquid, vel succedit, scientiæ Dei. Quid improvisum tibi, qui nosti omnia? Et nulla natura est, nisi quia nosti eam." *Ibid.* p. 217, 218.

(*i*) "Nunc autem restat ostendere consequenter quod divina voluntas est universaliter efficax, insuperabilis, et necessaria in causando: non impedibile, nec frustrabilus, allo modo." Lib. i. cap. x. p. 105.

(*k*) "Quis ergò nesciat, optimè consequi, si Deus potest aliquid facere, et vult aliquid facere, facit illud; aut faciet pro tempore destinato, potentia, et voluntate manente: nihil enim ei deest ad facere requisitum. Dicitque philosophus.—Si potuit, et voluit, egit: omnes enim, cùm potentes velint, agunt." *Ibid.*

(*l*) "Item, si voluntas divina frustraretur ab aliquo, vel etiam vinceretur; hoc maximè videretur voluntate creati, angelica vel humana. Ergò hoc illam excederate in virtute: Quod 1. suppositio non concedit." *Ibid.*

(*m*) "Post hæc autem reputo demonstrandum, quòd tam scientia Dei, quàm ejus voluntas, immutabilis sit omnino: si enim hæc mutaretur, vel illa, commutaretur necessario ipse Deus." Lib. i. cap. xxiii. p. 237.

(*n*) "Voluntio Dei est efficax, nec potest frustrari: patent ergò omnia quæ eveniunt à Divinâ Providentiâ evenire." Lib. i. cap. 27. p. 261

(*o*) "Item, bonus pater familias omnia eum concernentia curat, et providet, quantùm scit et potest; nec quicquam relinquit inordinatum in domo, sed omnia suis locis et temporibus ordinat curiosè." *Ibid.* p. 262. A.

(*p*) "Fatum verò divinum est procul dubio concedendum." Lib. i. cap. 28. p. 265.

(*q*) *Ibid.*

(*r*) "Virgil, in the beginning of his Æneid, says, every thing that happened to this hero was Vi Superum; and Homer says, The quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon, with all its direful consequences, was by the will of Jove. When Cicero says, reason obliges us to own that every thing is done by fate; he means just the same by that word [*viz.* fate,] as Homer does by Διος βουλη, and Virgil by his Vi superum: Fatum est quod Dii fantur, vel quod Jupiter fatur. Cic. de div. l. 52."

Tindal's Abridgment of Spence's Polymetis, p. 29.

religion can stand. St. Austin was of the very same mind. "All that connection," says he, "and that train of causes, whereby every thing is what it is, are by the stoics called fate: the whole of which fate they ascribe to the will and power of the supreme God, whom they most justly believe to fore-know all things, and to leave nothing unordained. But it is the will itself of the supreme God, which they are chiefly found to call by the name of fate; because the energy of his will is unconquerably extended through all things." (*s*) Another passage of St. Austin's, quoted also by Bradwardin, is no less pertinent and judicious: "We are far from denying that train of causes wherein the will of God has the grand sway. We avoid, however, giving it the name of fate; that is to say, unless you derive the word from *fando*. For we cannot but acknowledge, that it is written in the Scriptures, God hath once spoken, and these two things have I heard, that power belongeth unto God; and that mercy is with thee, for thou wilt render to every man according to his works. Now, whereas it is here said, that God hath spoken once; the meaning is, that he hath spoken unchangeably and irreversibly: even as he foreknew all things that should come to pass, and the things which he himself would do. The kingdoms of men are absolutely appointed by Divine Providence. Which if any one is desirous, for that reason, to attribute to fate, meaning by that word, the will and power of God, let him hold fast the sentiment, and only correct the phrase." (*t*)

Bradwardin observes, that fate may be distinguished into active and passive. "Active fate is no other than the declaratory decree, or pronounced determination, of the will of God, considered as the disposer of all things. Passive fate may be taken, as the term itself imports, for that subjective effect and inherent tendency, with which things themselves are imbued, in consequence and by virtue of the afore-said pronounced determination." (*u*) He adds, from Aristotle and Isidore, that the fable of the Three Fates is not without its reality. Atropos denoted what is past; Lachesis, the future; Clotho, the present. But all the three names were only designed to shadow forth God himself, as Plato strenuously affirms." (*x*)

The speculations of the celebrated Boëthius (*y*) as cited by Bradwardin, on the articles of Providence and Fate, are not unworthy of perusal. Though far from unexpectionable, they are subtle and ingenious. "Providence is but another name for the Divine Wisdom itself, which stands at the helm of all things, and by which all things are regulated.—On the other hand, fate is that inherent disposition in things themselves, by which Divine Providence concatenates all things in their proper successions and dependencies. Providence comprehends all things, together and at once, however those things may differ from each other, and however infinite their number may seem. But fate reduces each particular thing into actual order, by a proper distribution as to motion, pace, form, and season: insomuch that, this actual evolution of the series of causes (which evolution is temporary, or brought to pass in time,) may be termed Providence, if considered as united and gathered to a point in the divine view. This simple connected view of all futurities, which is a perfection essential to the uncreated mind, may also be called fate; if you consider that view as gradually opened and unfolded in the several successions of time; for, though fate and Providence are not strictly the same, yet the former is dependent on the latter. That series of causes and effects, which is ordered by fate, takes its rise from the simplicity of Providence. As some curious artificer first forms, in his own mind, a design or plan of the piece of workmanship he intends to make, and then begins to take the work it-

(*s*) Stoici omnem connexionem seriemque causarum, quâ sit omne quod sit, fatum appellant: quod totum Dei summi tribunit voluntati et potestati, qui veracissimè creditur cuncta præscire, et nihil inordinatum relinquere. Sed ipsam præcipuè Dei summi voluntatem, cujus potestas insuperabilitèr per cuncta porrigitur, fatum appellare probantur." Augustin, apud Bradwardin, u. s.

(*t*) "Ordinum autem causarum, ubi voluntas Dei plurimum potest, neque negamus, neque fati vocabulo nuncupamus, nisi forte ut fatuus à fando dictum intelligamus, id est, à loquendo. Non enim abnuere possumus esse scriptum in literis sanctis, semel locutus est Deus, duo hæc audivi, quoniam potestas Dei est; et tibi, domine, misericordia, quia tu reddes uni cuique secundùm opera ejus. Quod enim dictum est, semel locutus; intelligitur, immobilitèr: hoc est, incommutabilitèr est locutus. Sicut novit incommutabilitèr omnia quæ futura sunt, et quæ ipse facturus est.—Prorsùs Divinâ Providentiâ reget constituuntar: quæ si propterea quisquam fato tribuat, quia ipsam Dei voluntatem vel protestatem fati nomine appellat; sententiam teneat, linguam corrigat." Idem, apud Eundem, u. s.

(*u*) "Adhuc autem est alia distinctio a fato bimembris. Uno enim modo accipitur fatum activè, pro famine, seu fatione, voluntatis divinæ, seu Dei omnia disponentis. Alio modo passivè, sicut et nomend magis sonat, pro effectu et dispositione passivâ hujus fati, ipsis rebus dispositis inhærente." Lib. et cap. u. s. p. 266.

(*x*) *Ibid.*

(*y*) Boethius was descended from one of the most noble families in Rome. He studied, eighteen years, at Athens; where, says Dr. Cave, "Omnium artium, omnium disciplinarum, non modò elementa, sed et reconditiora mysteria, penitùs imbibit:" insomuch that he was deemed the prince of scholars. In the year 487, he was sole consul of Rome. After a life strangely variegated with prosperity and affliction, this great man fell a sacrifice to the tyranny of Theodric, and was beheaded in prison, at Pavia, A. D. 524. During his exile to this place, he wrote his book on the Trinity; and during his imprisonment, he composed his Treatise on the Consolation of Philosophy; which latter was so admired by our matchless king Alfred, that he used constantly to carry it about him.— This illustrious linguist, philosopher and poet, was interred at Pavia, in the Church of St. Austin, under the following epitaph:

Mœniâ et latiâ linguâ clarissimus, et qui
Consul eram, hic perii, missus in exilium.
Et quid mors rapuit? Probitas me vexit ad auras
Et nunc fama viget maxima, vivit opus.

See Cave, Dupin, &c.

self in hand, carrying into execution, through a regular and successive progress, the idea which he had, before, simply and readily modeled: so God, by his providence, orders and settles, particularly and firmly, the things that are to be accomplished; and, by fate, manages, in all their multiplicity and temporary successions, the things so ordered and settled. Whether, therefore, fate be rendered actually operative by the ministry of those unembodied spirits who are the servants and executors of Divine Providence; or by the human mind; or by the whole concurrence of subservient nature; or by the motions of the celestial orbs; or by the power of the good angels; or by the manifold subtlety of dæmons; whether the chain of fate be complicated by any or all of these; thus much is certainly evident, that God's providence is the pure, immoveable model, according to which, matters are conducted; and that fate is the moveable connection, and temporary train, or series, of those things which the Divine Providence hath appointed to be accomplished. And from hence it is, that all things, which are subjected to fate, are likewise subjected to Providence; for Providence is the supreme regulatress, to which fate itself acts in subserviency."(z)

Thus far Boethius. The reader, perhaps, will be inclinable, with me, to ask, what need of labouring the point so nicely? To what end, is the thread so finely spun? one thing, however, is plain: viz. that, by Providence, he understood God's eternal foresight; and, by fate, that temporary disposure of events, which we now call Providence. (a) To the former, he might be induced by the literal import of the word providence. If I rightly remember, Cicero, somewhere, shews himself of the same mind, and assigns that very reason for it. It should also be noticed, that, according to Boethius's doctrine, the divine fore-knowledge is not a naked, idle speculation of what barely would come to pass; but is tantamount to an operative, effective determination of what certainly shall come to pass. For he supposes absolute fate itself to be no more than a subordinate adminstrator, whose business it is to see that all events exactly correspond to that active knowledge of them which God had from everlasting. He expresses this, very clearly, in another subsequent passage, quoted by Bradwardin, wherein he reciprocates the terms providence and fate: "this series of fate, or providence, tightly binds down the actions and circumstances of men, by an indissoluble concatenation of causes." (b) To this Bradwardin himself heartily accedes, in a remarkable paragraph adopted from St. Austin: "Our wills have just so much ability, as God willed and foreknew they should have. Consequently, they cannot avoid being indued with whatever ability they possess; and what they are to do, they absolutely shall do: for, both their ability and their works were foreknown of God, whose foreknowledge cannot be deceived (c)."

What Bradwardin professedly delivers, concerning the subjection of our most voluntary actions to the decrees and providence of God; what he adds, concerning the co-incidence of permission, and design; with several other correlative points of religious metaphysics; I purposely omit: not for want of inclination but of room. I shall, therefore, for the present, conclude my extract from his testimony, with a short sample, or two, of what he hath advanced, concerning predestination itself, the powers of free-will, and the perseverance of the saints.

Predestination is the only ground on which the divine fore-knowledge and providence can stand. Abstracted from the will and purpose of God, neither persons, nor things, nor events, could have any certain futurition: consequently, they could not be certainly fore-knowable. And providence must regulate every

(z) Providentia est ipsa divina ratio, in summo omnium principe constituta, quæ cuncta disponit: fatum verò inhærens rebus mobilibus dispositio, per quam Providentia suis quæque nectit ordinibus. Providentia namque cuncta pariter, quamvis diversa, quamvis infinita, complectitur: fatum verò singula digerit, in motu, loco, formis, ac temporibus distributa: ut hæc temporalis ordinis explicatio, in divinæ mentis aduatu prospectu, providentia sit: eadem verò adunatio digesta atque explicata temporibus, fatum vocetur; quæ, licèt diversa sint, alterum tamen pendit exaltero. Ordo namque fatalis ex providentiæ simplicitate procedit. Sicut enim artifex, faciendæ rei formam mente percipiens, movet operis effectum: et quod simpliciter, præsentaríque prospexerat, per temporales ordinis ducit; ità Deus Providentiâ quidem singulariter, stabiliterque, disponit facienda: fato verò hæc ipsa, quæ disposuit, multiplicitèr ac temporaliter administrat. Sive igitur, famulantibus quibusdam providentiæ Divinæ Spiritibis, fatum exercetur; seu animâ; seu totâ inserviente naturâ; seu cœlestibus siderum motibus; seu angelicâ virtute; seu dæmonum varâ solertiâ; seu aliquibus horum, seu omnibus, fatalis series texitur; illud certè manifestum, est immobilem simplicemque gerendarum formam rerum esse providentiam; fatum verò earum, quæ divina simplicitas gerenda disposuit, mobilem nexum, atque ordinem temporalem. Quo sit, ut omnia, quæ fato subsunt, Providentiæ que subjecta sunt: cui etiam ipsum quoque subjacet fatum." Boethius, apud Bradward. L. & C. u. s.

(a) The folio edition of Bailey's Dictionary has a paragraph (under the word fate), in which it is observed, that "fate primarily implies the same with *effatum*, a word, or decree pronounced by God: or a fixed sentence, whereby the Deity has prescribed the order of things, and allotted every person what shall befal him. The Greeks call it εἱμαρμενη, as though a chain, or necessary series of things, indissolubly linked together; and the moderns call it providence." The folio editors of the above work endeavour to explain away this judicious passage. But it is no wonder that a set of men, who are for excluding the Son and Spirit of God from the divine essence, should be for expunging predestination and its correlative articles from the Christian Creed.

(b) "Hæc fati series, seu providentia, actus fortunasque hominum indissolubili causarum connexione constringit." Boeth. apud Eund. p. 267.

(c) "Quapropter at voluntatis nostræ tantum valent, quantum Deus eas valere voluit atque præscivit. Et ideò, quicquid valent, certissimè valent: et quod facturæ sunt, ipsæ omninò facturæ sunt: quia valituras ac facturas ille præscivit, cujus prescientia falli non potest." Augustin. apud Eund. *ibid.*

punctilio of its dispensations, by the same preconstructed plan; or it would follow, that God is liable to unforeseen emergencies, and acts either ignorantly, or contrary to his own will. The great Bradwardin was so clearly and deeply convinced of this, that he defines predestination to be (what in reality it is) neither more nor less than "*Æterna prævolutio Dei, sive præ-ordinatio voluntatis divinæ, circa futurum*: God's eternal prevolition, or pre-determination of his will, respecting what shall come to pass."(*d*) He treats the mysterious articles of election and reprobation in particular, with such force and compass of argument, united with such modesty and judgment, as may, alone, suffice to class him among the ablest reasoners that ever wrote.

On the subject of liberty and necessity, he acknowledges that there is such a thing (*e*) as free-will in God's reasonable creatures: and, I believe, every Calvinist upon earth acknowledges the same. The point, in dispute between us and the Arminians, is, not concerning the existence of free-will; but concerning its powers. That man is naturally endued with a will, we never denied: and that man's will is naturally free to what is morally and spiritually evil, we always affirmed. The grand hinge, then, on which the debate turns, is, whether free-will be, or be not, a faculty of such sovereignty and power, as either to ratify, or to baffle, the saving grace of God, according to its [*i. e.* according to the will's] own independent pleasure and self-determination? I should imagine, that every man of sense, piety, and reflection, must, at once, determine this question in the negative. If some do not, who are nevertheless possessed of those qualifications, I can only stand amazed at the force of that prejudice, which can induce any reasonable and religious person to suppose that divine wisdom is frustrable, and the divine power defeatable, by creatures of yesterday, who are absolutely and constantly dependent on God for their very being (and, consequently, for the whole of their operations) from moment to moment.

Bradwardin believed, that the human will, however free in its actings, is not altogether exempt from necessity. He supposed, that what the understanding regards as good, the will must necessarily desire; and what the understanding represents as evil, the will must necessarily disapprove.(*f*) A remark this, not spun from the subtleties of metaphysics; but founded in fact, and demonstrable from every man's own hourly experience. The will, therefore, is no other than the practical echo of the understanding: and is so far from being endued with a self-determining power, or with a freedom of indifference to this or that; that it closes in with the dictates of the intellect, as naturally, as necessarily, and as implicitly, as an eastern slave accommodates his obedience to the commands of the grand seignor. As the understanding is, thus, the directress of the will; so, ten thousand different circumstances concur to influence and direct the understanding: which latter is altogether as passive, in her reception of impression from without, as she is sometimes active in her subsequent contemplation and combination of them. It follows, that if the understanding (from which the will receives its bias,) be thus liable to passive, subjective necessity; the will itself, which is absolutely governed by a faculty so subject to necessitation, cannot possibly be possessed of that kind of freedom, which the Arminian scheme supposes her to be: since, if she was, the hand-maid would be above her mistress; and uncontrollable sovereignty would be the immediate offspring of constringent necessity. Hence Bradwardin observes, that the human will cannot so much as conquer a single temptation, even after God's regenerating power has passed upon the soul, *sine alio Dei auxilio speciali*,(*g*) "without a fresh supply of God's particular assistance:" which particular assistance he defines to be, *voluntas Dei invicta* (*h*) the supernatural influence, resulting from the unconquerable will of God: "armed with which, his tempted children get the better of every temptation; but destitute of which, every temptation gets the better of them (*i*)."

And, indeed was not this the case, "The number of the elect and predestinate would," as Bradwardin nervously argues, "depend more on man than upon God Men, by antecedently and casually disposing their own wills to this or that, would leave God no more to do, than to regulate his after decrees in a subservient conformity to the prior determinations of his creatures, and in a way of subjection and subordination to their will and pleasure (*k*):" than which supposition, nothing can be more impious and irrational. Besides, as he presently adds, if free will was possessed of these enormous powers, "It would be vain and idle in a man to pray to God for victory over temptation, or to give him thanks for victory obtained (*l*)." When free-willers kneel down to petition God for

(*d*) Lib. i. cap xlv. p. 421.
(*e*) Lib. ii. cap. i.
(*f*) Lib. ii. cap. ii. per totum.
(*g*) Lib. ii. cap. v. per totum.
(*h*) Ibid. cap. vi.
(*i*) "Quo tentati omnia superant tentamenta; et sine quo in omnibus superantur." Cap. vi. p. 489.
(*k*) "Secundùm data [scil. Pelagiana] homines magis disponunt electos et prædestinatos in numero, quàm faciat Deus ipse; nam antecedentèr et causaliter quia homines disponunt voluntates suas, hoc modo, vel illo: ideò Deus, subservientèr et subexecutivè, disponit numerum electorum tantum vel tantum." P 480.
(*l*) "Vanum esset orare Deum, ut tentationem aliquam superaret: vanum esset, pro tentationis victoriâ, gratias agere Domino Deo nostro." *Ibid.*

any spiritual blessing, what is such conduct, but a virtual renunciation of their own distinguishing tenet? And, on the footing of that tenet, what an unmeaning service is the ascription of praise!

Quesitum meritus sume superbiam.

Away with prayer. Away with thanksgiving. Neither the one, nor the other, has any reasonable pretext to keep it in countenance, on the principles of Pelagius and Arminius. The whole lower creation cannot exhibit a more glaring example of human inconsistency, than a free-willer on his knees.

Bradwardin was not less clear on the important article of final perseverance. According to him, this crowning grace is the gift of God alone: "When David prayed thus for his devout subjects, O Lord God, preserve this will of their heart for ever, and grant that their inclination to thy fear may continue in them (*m*); what was this, but a prayer for their ultimate perseverance? and why did he ask it of God, if it is not the gift of God, but acquirable by every man's own powers (*n*)?" To which the evangelical prelate adds: "As David besought God, for the preserverance of his own religious subjects; so also the Lord Christ, our mystic David, besought God the Father in behalf of his own people, saying, Holy Father, preserve in thy own name those whom thou hast given unto me (*o*)." Quoting that passage, Jer. xxxii. 37—40. he thus descants: "Hence it is evident, that both a departure from evil, and a final continuance in good to the end of our days, by virtue of that everlasting covenant which secures us against revolting from the Lord, which is what we mean by the phrase of perseverance to the end; neither takes it rise from, nor is carried on by, man; but from and by God himself. For which reason, St. Austin, in his Treatise concerning the Blessing of Perseverance, observes, that, in the above passage of scripture, God promises perseverance to his people, saying, I will put my fear into their hearts, that they shall not depart from me. What is this (saith Austin), but to affirm, The fear which I will put into their hearts, shall be such, and so great, that they shall perseveringly adhere to me (*p*)?"

It is now time for me to take my unwilling leave of Bradwardin, and put an end to this long Section, by just dropping a word,

V. Concerning that illustrious nobleman and martyr, Sir John Oldcastle, the good lord Cobham. No one, who is at all acquainted with English History, need be informed, that this great and excellent person fell a sacrifice, in reality, to the rage of the Romish ecclesiastics; whose hatred he had incurred by the purity of his religious principles, and by the honest boldness with which he asserted them. King Henry V. notwithstanding his political maxim, of keeping fair with the Church, at all events, would, probably, never have gratified her with a victim of such high rank, and for whom he had a great personal regard, if some churchmen of that age had not trumped up a charge of treason against lord Cobham: when all the while, his real crime, in their eye, was, heresy. The Princes of the House of Lancaster could not but be perfectly conscious that their possession of the throne was founded on manifest usurpation. This rendered them extremely suspicious of their subjects; and induced them to avenge, with severity, every measure that seemed to threaten the smallest approaches of a revolution. The Papists availed themselves of this circumstance, in the case of lord Cobham. The King, though displeased at this nobleman's abhorrence of Popery, was not, perhaps, sorry to hear of his escape form the Tower: as that incident extricated his Majesty from the painful alternative of either offending the Church, by pardoning Cobham in form; or of resigning a victorious general and faithful subject to the flames, in order to satisfy a set of men who were, in reality, but so many dead weights on the wheel of civil government. But the ecclesiastics would not quit their prey so easily. Some time after lord Cobham's escape from the Tower, about 100 Wickliffites (or, as they were then called, Lollards) were assembled, for the purposes of devotion, in St. Giles's Fields, at that time, an uncultivated tract of ground, overgrown with bushes and trees (*q*). The good people were then obliged by persecution either entirely to forego all religious meetings, or to hold them in such sequestered places as those.

This innocent assembly was not conducted with the intended secrecy. The Papists gained

(*m*) 1 Chron, xxix. 18. Our English translation renders it thus: O Lord God,—keep this for ever in the imagination of the thoughts of the heart of thy people and prepare [the margin reads, establish] their hearts unto thee.

(*n*) "Sanctus quoque David, i paralip. ult. sic. orans Dominum pro populo sibi devoto, Domine Deus custodi in æternum hanc voluntatem cordis eorum, et semper in veneracionem tui mens ista permaneat; quid aliud petit, quàm perseverantiam consummatam? Et cur eam petebat à Deo, si non daretur ab eo, sed unusquisque propriis viribus illam posset habere?" Lib. ii. cap. viii. p. 492.

(*o*) "Sicut ille David, pro perseverantiâ populi sui, Deum oravit; sic et David noster Dominus Christus pro populo suo Deum Patrem oravit: Pater, inquiens serva eos in nomine tuo, quos dedisti mihi." *Ibid.*

(*p*) "Unde claret, quòd tàm reditio à malo, quàm permanse in bono similiter, scilicèt, universis Diebus; pacto sempiterno ut nunquam recedatur à Domino, quæ est perseverantia usque in sinem; non est sufficienter nec antecedenter ab homine, sed à Deo. Unde et Augustinus, de bono perseverantia, 2. eandem conclusionem per eandem autoritatem ostendit: hanc enim, inquiens, scilicèt, perseverantiam promisit Deus dicens, timorem meum dabo in cor eorum, ut a me non recedant. Quod quid est aliud, quàm quod talis ac tantus erit timor meus, quem dabo in cor eorum, ut mihi perseveranter adhæreant?" *Ibid.* p. 493.

(*q*) Complete Hist. of Engl. vol. i. p. 511.

intelligence of it, and alarmed the King (who was keeping Christmas at Eltham) with information, that a number of Lollards, to the amount of at least 20,000, with lord Cobham at their head, were rendezvoused in St. Giles's Fields, with a view to exterminate the reigning family. The jealous King gave implicit credit to the false representation: and, repairing, at midnight, to the place, with such forces as he could hastily collect found about 80 persons met together. Some were immediately slaughtered by the soldiers. About 60 were taken prisoners; of whom, 34 were afterwards hanged, and seven hanged and burned.

I mention this pretended conspiracy, because it sealed the doom of lord Cobham. Though he was not so much as present at the above meeting, "A Bill of Attainder passed against him, a reward of a thousand marks was set on his head, and a perpetual exemption from taxes promised to any town that should secure him (*r*)." After a concealment of nigh four years, the attainted Peer was apprehended in Montgomeryshire, and conveyed to London; where he received sentence of death. He was executed in St. Giles's Fields, on Christmas-day, December 25, 1417. Nothing could be more cruel than the mode of his sufferings. All historians agree, that he was burned hanging. Echard says, that he was suspended over the fire, by an iron chain, fastened round his middle (*s*). The plate, in Mr. Fox, represents him as hanging with his back downward, by three chains: the first fastened to his middle, by an iron hoop; the second, to his right thigh; the other to his neck (*t*).

We have very little remaining of what was written by the noble martyr. His two confessions of faith, which occur in Fox, were evidently so worded, as to give no more offence to the times, than was absolutely necessary: a precaution, which, however, did not save the life of their author. I therefore rest the evidence of his probable Calvinism, on the known Calvinism of Wickliff. I have already proved, that Wickliff carried the doctrines of predestination and grace to a very great length: nor is it likely, that Lord Cobham should have been so devoted an admirer of Wickliff, as he certainly was; nor have put himself to the labour, expense, and danger, of transcribing and dispersing the writings of that reformer, with such zeal and industry as he certainly did; had he differed from Wickliff on points which so materially affect the whole system of Protestantism. A very judicious writer affirms that lord Cobham "caused all the works of Wickliff to be wrote out and dispersed in Bohemia, France, Spain, Portugal, and other parts of Europe." (*u*) Which, I should imagine, he would no more have done, had he not adopted Wickliff's plan of doctrine, than the vicar of Broad Hembury would be at the pains and cost of re-printing and dispersing the lucubrations of Mr. John Wesley.

Indeed, the principles of all Wickliff's disciples appear, so far as I have been able to find, highly Calvinistical. Take one specimen in lieu of many.

About the year 1391, during the reign of Richard II. a letter of expostulation, written, by a Lollard, to one Nicholas Hereford (who had apostatized from Wickliffism to popery,) has he two following paragraphs "No perversion of any reprobate," says the pious expostulator, "is able to turn the congregation of the elect from the faith: because all things that shall come to pass, are eternally, in God, devised and ordained for the best unto the elect Christians. Like as the mystical body of Christ is the congregation of all the elect; so Antichrist, mystically, is the Church of the wicked and of all the reprobates." (*x*) So true is it, that the doctrine of absolute predestination was held and maintained by the very first Protestants, long before the actual establishment of that doctrine at the Reformation.

(*r*) Biograph. Dict. vol. xii. p. 278.
(*s*) Echard's Hist. of Engl. vol. i. p. 455.
(*t*) Acts and Mon. vol. i. p. 731.
(*u*) Rolt's Lives of the Reformers, p. 15.
(*x*) Fox's Acts and Mon. vol. i. p. 574.
(*y*) A book was published under this title at Antwerp, in the year 1559, and again at Cologne, in 1603. It was the joint-work of two English Papists (Wilham Reynolds and William Gifford), who had fled their country. Its drift was to prove the conformity of Calvinism and Mahometanism. Gifford, who finished and published it, was a priest; and had several times

SECTION XI.

The Charge of Mahometanism *refuted.*

THE reader may, if he pleases, consider himself as entered, at present, on a kind of historical voyage. Mr. Sellon pretends to think, that we are in full sail for Constantinople; and that Calvinism is at once the compass by which we steer, and the breeze by which we are carried, plump into the Grand Seignor's harbour. Predestination and the *ineluctabilis ordo rerum*, are, according to this sage Arminian geographer, situate only in the latitude of Mahomet: and every man, who believes, with scripture, that God worketh all things after the council of his own will; and, with our Church, that all things, both in heaven and earth, are ordered by a never-failing providence; every man, who thus believes, is, in my redoubtable adversary's estimation, a Mahometan.

I must acknowledge, that such a contemptible cavil as this, is too low and ridiculous to merit a single moment's attention. However, as it has been urged, formerly, by the wretched authors of *Calvino-Turcismus*; (*y*) and now repeated, with an air

of seeming seriousness, by Mr John Wesley's advocate; I beg permission of my readers to touch at Constantinople in earnest; not with a view to stay there for good, but just to look about us, and determine, for ourselves, whether Calvinism and Mahometanism are the same, or not.

Dean Prideaux shall set us on shore. This learned historian observes, that the religion of Mahomet is "made up of three parts: whereof one was borrowed from the Jews, another from the Christians, and the third from the Heathen Arabs." (*z*) A whole third, then, of the Mahometan system, is neither more nor less than Christianity at second hand. But shall we therefore disclaim a dozen or twenty articles of our Christain Creed, because those articles were adopted by Mahomet? What a prodigious gap such absurd conduct would make in our Confession of Faith, may be easily judged of, from the ensuing specimen.

"The first doctrine that Mahomet propagated among them [*i. e.* among his followers at Mecca,] was, That there is but one God, and that he only is to be worshipped; and that all idols were to be taken away, and their worship utterly abolished. (*a*)

"He allowed both the Old and the New Testament; and that Moses and Jesus Christ were prophets sent from God. (*b*)

"They [*i. e.* the Mahometans] own that there are angels, executioners of God's commands, designed for certain offices both in heaven and earth. (*c*)

"They believe a general resurrection of the dead. (*d*)

"They hold both a general judgment, and a particular one [at death (*e*)].

"If a person ask, Why God hath created the infidels and wicked? Their answer is, That we ought not to be over-curious to search into the secrets of God (*f*).

"The morals of the Mahometans consist in doing good, and shunning evil (*g*).

"Their casuists hold, that actions done without faith in God are sins (*h*).

"They forbid to judge of uncertain things; because it doth not belong to us to judge of the things which God hath concealed from us (*i*).

"Their devotion extends even to the sacred names. When they pronounce the name of God, they make a bow; and add, most high, most blessed, most strong, most excellent, or some such epithet (*k*).

"The Mahometans tolerate all religions (*l*).

"They are commanded to pray, at the appointed times:

"And to give alms (*m*).

"They hold a heaven and hell (*n*).

"Mahomet forbad adultery to his followers (*o*).

"They assert the immortality of the soul (*p*)."

Among the maxims of the Alcoran, are; "Forgive those who have offended thee. Do good to all (*q*)."

Now, would any reasonable Christian strike out these articles from his Creed, only because Mahomet has inserted them in his? And does it follow, that the most respectable persons in the world, who are influenced by these excellent principles of faith and practice, are, for that reason, to be dubbed Mahometans? But the plain truth is, Mr. Sellon knows no more of Constantinople, than he does of Geneva. He is equally unacquainted with the real systems both of Turcism and Christianity. Even a superficial survey of his subject would have sufficed to inform him, that "The questions, relating to predestination and free-grace, have been agitated, among the Mahometan doctors, with as much heat and vehemence, as ever they were in Christendom (*r*)." The Mahometans have their sort of Arminians, no less than we. If Mr. Sellon asks, "How goes the stream of doctrines at Constantinople?" I also can ask, in my turn, How goes the stream at Ispahan? If the Mahometan Turks, of the sect of Omar, believe an absolute predestination and providence; it is no less certain, that the Mahometan Persians, of the sect of Halis, deny predestination, and assert free-will, with as much outrageous fervour, as Mr. John Wesley himself. But shall I hence infer, that Mr. Wesley is a Mahometan? I cannot, in justice, pay the Mahometans so bad a compliment. I rather say to Mr. Wesley, what the excellent Mr. Hervey said to him long ago, "Before you turn Turk, or Deist, or Atheist, see that you first become an honest man. They will all disown you, if you go over to their party, destitute of common honesty. Out of zeal to demolish the doctrine of election, you scruple not to overleap the bounds of integrity and truth (*s*)."

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encouraged some assassins to murder Queen Elizabeth. To the above book, the learned Dr. Sutcliffe, dean of Exeter, published an answer: the title to which ran thus; *De Turco-Papismo*, &c. *i. e.* "Of the Mahometan Popery: or a Treatise of the Conspiracy of Turks and Papists against the Church and Faith of Christ; of their agreement and resemblance in religion and morals. To which are added, four books concerning the slanders and calumnies of the Mahometan-Papists; in answer to that most defamatory libel, entitled Mahometan Calvinism, written by William Gifford, a notorious and vile flatterer of the Popes and Jesuits." See Bayle, vol. v. art. Sutcliff.

(*z*) Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 49. Edit. 1713.

(*a*) Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 87.
(*b*) Prideaux, *ibid.* p. 19.
(*c*) Great Hist. Dict. under the word Mahometanism.
(*d*) *Ibid.* (*e*) *Ibid.* (*f*) *Ibid.* (*g*) *Ibid.*
(*h*) *Ibid.* (*i*) *Ibid.* (*k*) *Ibid.*
(*l*) Salmon's Geogr. Gram, p. 431.
(*m*) Salmon, *ibid.* p. 437.
(*n*) Martin's Philolog. Library, p. 85.
(*o*) Martin, *Ibid.* p. 86. (*p*) Martin, *Ibid.*
(*q*) Voltaire's Essay on Universal Hist. vol. i. p. 44. Dr. Nugent's edition, 1761.
(*r*) Brown's Travels, p 361.
(*s*) Hervey's Eleven Letters to Wesley, p. 285.

After all, there is not that conformity between the Christian and the Turkish doctrine of predestination, which Mr. Wesley and his consistory would have us believe. Do Mahometans assert an election in Christ to grace and glory? Do they maintain, that, in the preordination of events, the means are no less preordained, than the end? Do they consider the Son of God, as joint agent with his Father, in the providential disposure of all things below? Do they hold the eternal covenant of grace, which obtained among the persons of the godhead, in behalf, and for the salvation, of a peculiar people, who shall, by the regenerating efficacy of the Holy Ghost, be made zealous of good works? Do the Mahometans believe any thing about final perseverance, and the inamissibility of saving grace? No such thing. I can easily prove their denial of these gospel doctrines, whenever that proof shall be necessary. And even as to the predestination of temporal events, the disciples of Omar (so far as I can hitherto find, and unless their doctrine be greatly mis-represented) seem to have exceeding gross and confused ideas. They appear to consider predestination as a sort of blind, rapid, over-bearing impetus, which, right or wrong, with means or without, carries all things violently before it, with little or no attention to the peculiar and respective nature of second causes. Whereas, according to the Christian scheme, predestination forms a wise, regular, connected plan? and Providence conducts the execution of it in such a mannet as to assign their due share of importance to the correlative means; and secure the certainty both of means and end, without violating or forcing the intellectual powers of any one rational agent.

I have already scrupled to enrol Mr. Wesley himself on the list of mussulmen. Some of his tenets, however, are so nearly related to the worst branches of the Mahometan system, that he might very readily be mistaken, at first sight, for a disciple of Hali. Survey the dark side of Mahometism; and you will almost aver, that the portrait was intended for the mufti of Moorfields.

"The Mahometans would have us believe, that he [*viz.* Mahomet] was a saint, from the fourth year of his age: for then, say they, the angel Gabriel took him from among his fellows, while at play with them; and carrying him aside, cut open his breast, and took out his heart, and wrung out of it that black drop of blood, in which (say they) was contained the *fomes peccati*: so that he had none of it ever after (*t*)." —So much for Mahomet's sinless perfection.

"They hold it unlawful to drink wine; and to play at chess, tables, cards, or such-like recreations (*u*).

"They esteem good works meritorious of heaven (*x*).

"Some will be honoured for their abstinence, in eating and drinking sparingly and seldom. Some profess poverty, and will enjoy no earthly things. Others brag of revelations, visions, and enthusiasms. Some are for traditions, and merits, by which [they suppose] salvation is obtained, and not by grace (*y*)." How easy would it be, to run the parallel between Mahometans and some other folks! I must, however, partly acquit Mr. Wesley of Mahometism, on the head of recreations; for, in a certain two-penny extract from somebody else, published in the year 1767, Mr. Wesley recommends the recreating exercise of battledoor and shuttlecock, together with that of the wooden horse.

Beside the above articles, the Mahometans hold, that there is a third, or middle place, for the reception of some departed souls (*z*).

They deny the perpetuity of faith: believeing, that whosoever renounceth it, loseth the merit of all his good works; and that, during all that time, he can do nothing acceptable to God, until he hath repented: and then he becomes a mussulman, or faithful, again (*a*)." Their dervises "live a very retierd and austere life; going bare-foot, with a leathern girdle round their bodies, full of sharp points, to mortify the flesh (*b*)."

The Mahometan bigotry is so excessive, that "they esteem themselves only to be wise, valiant, and holy. The rest of the world they look upon to be fools and reprobates; and use them accordingly (*c*)."

Among the followers of Mahomet, "Any person may be a priest, that pleases to take the habit and perform the functions; and may lay down his office when he will: there being nothing like ordination amongst them (*d*)." By this time, the reader may judge, whether the Church of England, or Mr. Wesley and his friend Sellon, make the nearest approaches to Mahometism. As to myself in particular, I can give a decisive proof that I am not a Mahometan. It might be better for Mr. Sellon, if I was. For, it is one of the essential commands, enjoined by the Alcoran, that Mahomet's disciples must "never dispute with the ignorant (*e*)." Consequently, were Mahomet and I master and scholar, the Yorkshire Arminian would have escaped the whole of his present chastisement.

(*t*) Prideaux's Life of Mahom. p. 141.
(*u*) Ross's View of all Religions, p. 164. edit. 1683.
(*x*) Ross, *Ibid.* (*y*) Ross, *Ibid.* p. 169.
(*z*) Great His. Dic. Article, Mahometism. (*a*) *Ibid.*
(*b*) *Ibid.* Article, Turks.
(*c*) Salmon's Geogr. Gram. p. 4. 8.
(*d*) Salmon's Geogr. Gramm. 1. 430.
(*e*) Voltaire's Essay on Univ. His. vol. i. p. 44.

SECTION XII.

The Judgment of the most eminent English Martyrs, who suffered for the Gospel, prior to the Settlement of the Reformation.

HAVING seen "how the stream goes at Constantinople," let us weigh anchor, and return to our own more enlightened clime.

When it pleased God to visit this kingdom

with a revival of gospel truth, the persons, whose interest it was to keep mankind involved in religious darkness, strained every sinew of secular and ecclesiastical power, to obstruct the progress of a doctrine, which, if not seasonably smothered, would inevitably prove fatal to that golden idol which the churchmen of those times worshipped. They well knew, that the scheme of free salvation, as it stands simply revealed in Scripture, lays the axe, not only to the tree, but to the very root, of Popery: which, like Dagon before the ark, cannot but fall, in proportion as the doctrines of gratuitous election and unconditional justification prevail and extend. Hence, the sword of persecution was unsheathed; and they, whose eyes God had opened, could sing, with those of old, For thy sake, we are killed all the day long; we are counted as sheep appointed to be slain.

While the sword was brandished, and while the fires were flaming, Protestants went cheerfully to death for the doctrines of Christ. But, now the sword is laid asleep, and the fires are extinguished, the doctrines of Christ are too generally forgot: nay, what is still more shocking, the very mention of those doctrines seems to frighten some nominal Protestants out of their wits. If we have lost the persecutions, we have also (in a manner) lost the spirit and faith of our Christian predecessors. This will too plainly appear, so far as the articles now in question are concerned, even from the few following examples.

I. William Sawtree, an early and eminent disciple of Wickliff, was rector or vicar of St. Scithe's parish in London, and the first who had the honour of being burnt for Protestantism in England. That this worthy proto-martyr held the doctrine of election, appears, from part of a paper which he wrote and delivered to Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury. In the fullness of his zeal against angel-worshiping, he gave the prelate to understand, that, was he bound to worship one or the other, he would, of the two, "rather worship a man, whom he knew to be predestinated, than worship an angel:" assigning for reason, because "the one is a man of the same nature with the humanity of Christ, which an angel is not (*f*)." He suffered death, A. D. 1400.

II. Mr. John Claydon, a devout tradesman of London, was burned in Smithfield, A. D. 1415. An English book had been found in his custody, from whence fteen articles of heresy were extracted, which served as the groundwork of his prosecution and condemnation. Among these articles, was one, concerning election and perseverance, which ran thus: "5. That no reprobate is a member of the Church, but only such as be elected and predestinate to salvation: seeing the Church is no other thing but the congregation of faithful souls, who do, and will keep their faith constantly, as well in deed, as in word (*g*)." This book, it seems, was entitled, "The Lanthorn of Light" (*h*): and Mr. Claydon confessed, that he "had got that copy of it transcribed and bound at his own expense." On which, he was consigned to the flames, as incorrigible.

III. Mr. Thomas Bilney, who had been the instrument of bishop Latimer's conversion, was burned in 1531. Among the articles of his examination before Tonstal, bishop of London, were the following: "Whether he believed the Catholic Church may err in the faith, or no? And whether he thought the Catholic Church is only a spiritual Church, intelligible and known only to God?" To this double interrogatory, Bilney answered in these words "The Catholic Church" [*i. e.* the universal Church of God's predestinated people,] "can by no means err in faith: for it is the whole congregation of the elect; and so known only unto God, who knoweth who are his (*i*)." Two other ensnaring questions were put to this holy man: "Whether he believed all things, pertaining to salvation and damnation, to come of necessity, and nothing to be in our own wills? And, whether he believed God to be the author of all evil (*k*)?" He discreetly answered, "God is the author of the punishment only, but not of the offence (*l*)." He would never have been put to the test of such queries as these, if he had not been considered as a known predestinarian.

IV. James Bainham, a gentleman of birth and learning, by profession a lawyer, of the Middle Temple, suffered at the stake in 1532. His judgment concerning the evangelical doctrines, sufficiently appears from one of his answers, on his first trial before Stokesley, bishop of London. "All godliness," said the martyr, "is given of God by his abundant grace: the which no man of himself can keep, but it" [*i. e.* the retaining, as well as the reception, of grace] "must be given him of God (*m*)." So highly was this chosen vessel favoured in his last moments, that, when his legs and arms were half consumed by the flames, he addressed the spectators in these memorable words: "O ye Papists, ye looked for miracles. Here you may see a miracle; for, in this fire, I feel no more pain, than if I were on a bed of down. It is to me a bed of roses."

V. William Tyndal, though put to death in Flanders, must yet, as a native of this kingdom, be numbered among the English martyrs. He was a person of seraphic piety, indefatigable study, and extraordinary learning. His modesty, zeal, and disinterestedness, were so great, that he declared, he should be content to live

(*f*) Fox's Acts and Mon. vol i. p. 587.
(*g*) Fox, i. 727.
(*h*) Its author was one Mr. John Grime, a Wickliffist. The short extract from it, cited above, may stand as a general specimen of the doctrines with which the writings of the earliest Protestants were fraught.
(*i*) Fox, ii. 213. (*k*) Ibid. (*l*) *Ibid.*
(*m*) Fox, ii. 216.

in any country of England, on an allowance of ten pounds per annum, and bind himself to receive no more, if he might only have authority to instruct children and preach the gospel.

Heylin himself confesses, that Tyndal has a "flying-out against free-will (*n*)." It will presently be seen, that that early and eminent Protestant "flew out," not only against free-will, but also against other corrupt branches of the Popish and Pelagian system.

His translation of the New Testament into English (for he did not live to finish the Old) made the cloud of persecution, which had been long hovering over him, burst into a storm. He was apprehended at Antwerp (through the treachery of an ungrateful Englishman, whom he had liberally relieved and hospitably entertained), and carried prisoner to Filford, eighteen miles from that city; where he was strangled and burned, in 1536.

During his residence at Antwerp, he sent over a letter to Mr. Frith, (then a prisoner in the Tower, and afterwards a martyr) exhorting him to fortitude under his sufferings for the name of Christ. "The will of God," says Tyndal, in his letter, "be fulfilled! and what he hath ordained to be, ere the world was made, that come, and his glory reign over all (*o*)!" He adds: "There falleth not an hair, till God's hour be come: and when his hour is come, necessity carrieth us hence, though we be not willing.—Be cheerful; and remember, that, among the hard-hearted in England, there is a number reserved by grace; for whose sakes, if need be, you must be ready to suffer." Nothing, on this side Heaven is so sublime and animating as the Christian philosophy. And what is the Christian philosophy, but another name for Calvinism?

From several treatises, written by Mr. Tyndal, a great number of propositions were extracted by the Papists, and branded for "heretical and erroneous." Of these propositions, the following are some: (*p*)

"Faith only justifieth.

"The spirit of God turneth us and our nature, that we do good as naturally" [*i. e.* as necessarily] "as a tree brings forth fruit.

"Faith rooteth herself in the hearts of the elect.

"Works do only declare to thee that thou art justified.

"If thou wouldest obtain Heaven by the merits and deservings of thine own works, thou wrongest and shamest the blood of Christ.

"The true believer is heir of God, by Christ's deservings: yea, and in Christ was predestinate, and ordained unto eternal life, before the world began.

"In believing, we receive the spirit of God, which is the earnest of eternal life; and we are in eternal life already, and already feel in our hearts the sweetness thereof, and are overcome with the kindness of God and Christ: and therefore we love the will of God; and, of love, are ready to work freely, and not to obtain that which is given us freely, and whereof we are heirs already.

"The longing and consent of the heart to the law of God, is the working of the Spirit; which God hath poured into thy heart, in earnest that thou mightest be sure that God will fulfil all the promises he hath made to thee. It is also the seal and mark, which God putteth on all men whom he chooseth to everlasting life.

"Yea, and by thy good deeds shalt thou be saved: not which thou hast done, but which Christ hath done for thee. For Christ is thine, and all his deeds are thy deeds. Christ is in thee and thou in him; knit together inseparably; neither canst thou be damned, except Christ be damned with thee; neither can Christ be saved, except thou be saved with him." The two last clauses of this paragraph are, certainly, very strongly expressed. Yet they contain a truth, which our Lord himself affirmed, though in terms less harsh: Where I am, there shall also my servant come.—Because I live, ye shall live also. Christ mystical can no more perish than Christ personal. Tyndal goes on.

"Hark what St. Paul saith: If I preach, I have nought to rejoice in, for necessity is put unto me.— If I do it willingly," saith he, "then have I my reward; that is, then am I sure that God's spirit is in me, and that I am elect to eternal life.

"We deserve not everlasting life, by our good works; for God hath promised it unto us, before we began to do good (*q*)." Yet Mr. Tyndal zealously asserted the necessity of good works, as fruits and proofs of faith; though, with Scripture, he utterly denied their being meritorious in the sight of God: witness the following excellent passage: "If thy faith induce thee not to do good works, thou hast not the right faith: thou only thinkest that thou hast it. For St. James saith, that faith, without works, is dead in itself. He saith not, that it is little, or feeble: but that it is dead: and that which is dead, is not. Therefore, when thou art not moved by faith to the love of God, and, by the love of God, to good works, thou hast no faith (*r*)." So true is it, on one hand, that real grace cannot but produce good works; and, on the other, that (as Tyndal observes) "if God had promised Heaven to us because of our works, we could then never be sure of our salvation: for we should never know how much, nor how long, we should labour, to be saved; and should always be in fear that we had done too little, and so we could never die joyfully (*s*)."

Dr. Heylin shall contribute his mite towards demonstating the Calvinism of Tyndal: premising, first, that, in the judgment of the

(*n*) Miscel. Tracts, p. 544.
(*o*) Fox, ii. 307. (*p*) Fox, ii. 497—499.
(*q*) Fox, *ibid.* 507. (*r*) *Ibid.*
(*s*) *Ibid.* 500.

said doctor, "There were so many heterodoxies in the most of Tyndal's writings, as render them no fit rule for a reformation, any more than those of Wickliff before remembered." Some of these "many heterodoxies," Peter Heylin thus enumerates: "Grace," saith Tyndal, "is properly God's favour, benevolence, or kind mind; which, of his own self, without our deservings, he reached to us: whereby [*i. e.* by which undeserved favour and benevolence] he was moved and inclined to give Christ unto us, with all other gifts of grace. Which having told us, in his Preface to St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans; he telleth us, not long after, that, in the 9th, 10th, and 11th chapters of the Epistle, the apostle teacheth us of God's predestination: from whence [*i. e.* from and out of God's predestination] it springeth altogether; whether we shall believe, or not believe; be loosed from sin, or not be loosed. By which predestination, our justifying and salvation are clear taken out of our hands, and put into the hands of God only: which thing is most necessary of all. For we are so weak, and so uncertain, that, if it stood in us, there would of truth no man be saved: the devil, no doubt, would deceive him. But now God is sure of his predestination; nei ·er can any man withstand or lett him."

Discoursing, in another place, of the act the will hath on the understanding, [a blunder of Heylin's; who meant to say, of the act which the understanding hath on the will,] "He [Tyndal] telleth us, that the will of man followeth the wit [*i. e.* followeth the understanding:] that, as the wit erreth, so doth the will: and as the wit [the understanding] is in captivity, so is the will: neither is it possible that the will should be free, when the wit is in bondage [through original sin].

"Finally, in the heats of his disputation with Sir Thomas More, who had said, that 'Men were to endeavour themselves, and captivate their understandings, if they would believe,' Tyndal first cries out, how beetle-blind is fleshly reason! and then subjoins, that the will hath no operation at all in the working of within my soul, no more than the child hath in begetting his father: for, saith Paul, It [i. e. faith] is the gift of God, and not of us (*t*)." Oh rare William Tyndal! "heterodox" with a witness!—The reader need not be told, that the Sir Thomas More, whose tenet of free-will was thus combated by Tyndal, was the same Sir Thomas who was afterwards beheaded by Henry VIII. for exalting the pope's supremacy above the king's.

Arminianism will, beyond all question, join hands with Popery, in condemning the above extracts: though nothing can be more certain than this great truth, that the principles, which they assert, are the very essence of the gospel; and, if the Scriptures are true, must be reckoned in the number of its brightest and most valuable doctrines. I agree with the learned and pious Mr. Fox, that, "If these articles be made heresies, which refer the benefit of our inheritance of life and salvation to God's gift, and not to our labours; to grace, and not to merits; to faith, and not to the law of works; then let us clean shut up the New Testament, and away with God's word." We have nothing to do, but to "leave Christ and his heretical gospel; and, in his stead, set up the bishop of Rome with his Talmud, and become the disciples of his decretals (*u*)."

VI. Mr. John Lambert received the academical part of his education in the University of Cambrige: where it pleased God to convert him by means of Mr. Bilney. His true name was Nicholson: but his subsequent dangers on a religious account induced him to assume that of Lambert, for his greater security against the storm that threatened (*x*). He was, however, burned in Smithfield, A. D. 1538; but with a fire so ill made (purposely to increase his pains), that his legs were consumed, and he still remained alive. Whereupon, two, who stood on each side of him, lifted him, on the points of their halberts, as high as the chain (which fastened him to the stake) would reach: and he, lifting up such hands as he had, his fingers' ends flaming with fire, cried to the people, with an audible voice, "None but Christ, none but Christ!" And so, being set down again from their halberts, he fell again into the fire, and breathed out his faithful soul into the arms of his Redeemer (*y*)."

He had been chaplain to the English merchants at Antwerp. On an accusation of heresy, he was seized and conveyed to London. In the course of his examination before Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, he was asked, "Dost thou believe that whatsoever is done of man, whether it be good or ill, cometh of necessity (*z*)?" Mr. Lambert easily perceived, that his being so closely questioned on the article of predestination, was no other than a trap laid for his life. His reply did equal honour to his prudence and faithfulness: "Unto the first part of your riddle, I neither can nor will give any definitive answer. Concerning the second part, whether man hath free-will or no, to deserve joy or pain? as for our deserving of joy, in particular, I think it very little or none; even when we do the very commandments and law of God. When you have done all things that are commanded you, saith our Saviour, say that ye be unprofitable servants. When we have done his bidding, we ought not so to magnify neither our self, nor our own free-will: but laud him with a meek heart, through whose benefit we have done (if at any time we do it) his liking and pleasure. Hence Austin prayeth

(*t*) Heylin's Misc. Tracts, p. 545.
(*u*) *Ibid* p. 507.

(*x*) Hist. of Popery, vol. ii. p. 417.
(*y*) *Ibid*, p. 419. (*z*) Fox, ii. 501

Domine, da quod jubes, et jube quod vis: Lord, give what thou commandest, and command what thou wilt. Concerning free-will, I mean altogether as doth St. Austin: that, of ourselves, we have no liberty nor ability to do the will of God; but are shut up and sold under sin, as both Isaiah and Paul bear witness: but by the grace of God we are rid and set at liberty, according to the portion which every man "[*i. e.* every regenerate man] "hath received of the same; some more, some less (*a*)."

Lambert was also asked, "Whether faith alone, without good works, may suffice to the salvation and justification of a man who has fallen into sin after baptism (*b*)?" The martyr answered in the words of St. Austin, "*Opera bona non faciunt justum sed justificatus facit bona opera:* The performance of good works does not justify a man, but the man who is justified performs good works (*c*)."

Lambert was (*d*) not sentenced on his first examination. But, in a short time, he was apprehended again, and appealed from the judgment of the bishops, to the king. Henry VIII. gave him the hearing in person. The stern overbearing roughness with which that sour unfeeling tyrant treated the evangelical prisoner; and the decent firmness with which the latter acquitted himself, amidst such insults as would either have quite intimidated, or violently exasperated the generality of men; may be read in almost any of our historians. The result was, that Mr. Lambert received sentence of death, and was executed in the manner above related (*e*).

VII. Mrs. Anne Ascough, (commonly called Askew,) a most pious and accomplished young lady, of whom the world was not worthy, adorns the Protestant calendar. Her understanding only was masculine, not her manners. The diamond was set in gold. The virtues of her heart added value to a genius originally bright, and solidly improved. Both were sanctified and ennobled by the grace of God. Hence, her piety was angelic; her meekness, invincible; her fortitude, supernatural. "She might have lived," says Mr Fox, "in great wealth and prosperity, if she would have followed the world rather than Christ (*f*)." Her family and connections were of considerable rank (*g*): and, unless I am much mistaken, she herself seemed to have possessed at one time, some post of honour in the court of queen Catharine Parr. For the wit, delicacy, and good sense, with which she embarrassed the lord mayor of London, bishop Bonner, bishop Gardiner, and others, in the course of her examinations, the reader may consult Strype, Fox, and Burnet. She had been so inhumanly racked, during her imprisonment, that she lost the use of her limbs, and was forced to be conveyed to Smithfield in a chair. Three persons of the other sex suffered martyrdom at the same time; and were not a little strengthened in the last stage of their warfare, by the example, prayers, and exhortations of this excellent woman: who, notwithstanding, was so weakened and disabled by the brutal hardships of her confinement, that two serjeants were obliged to support her at the stake, till the fagots were kindled. Amidst all these outward infirmities, her heaven-born soul continued triumphant and alert. She was filled with joy unspeakable and full of glory. Her faculties were so entire, and her presence of mind so extraordinary, that, as she stood at the stake, she frequently corrected Shaxton, while he was preaching the execution-sermon, when he advanced any thing contrary to the doctrines of Scripture. Sermon being ended, (which was preached in the open air,) the lord chancellor Wriothesley offered the King's pardon to the four martyrs, as they stood at their respective stakes, on condition of recantation. They all nobly refused. Not one of them would so much as look at the papers when held out to them. Mrs. Ascough, in particular, answered "I did not come hither to deny my Lord and Master." The lord mayor then gave the word of command, *fiat justitia*: and the flames were immediately kindled. Thus these blessed martyrs ascended in chariots of fire to Heaven. The spot whereon they were executed was that open part of Smithfield, which lies over against the gate that leads to St. Bartholomew's church. Mrs. Ascough was not 25 years of age (*h*).

That she believed the doctrines of grace,

(*a*) Fox, *Ibid.* 335. (*b*) Fox, *ibid.* 332. (*c*) *Ibid.* 350.

(*d*) Bishop Burnet attributes Lambert's escape at this time, to the death of archbishop Warham, and to the change of counsels which that event, for a while, occasioned.—Hist. of the Reform. vol. i. p. 241.

(*e*) In the year 1541, one Alexander Seton, preacher at St Antholin's, brought himself into great danger for asserting the doctrines of grace. He was, at length, unhappily prevailed with to recant: and my reason for making any mention of him, is, because the doctrines, for which he had like to have lost his life, demonstrate, among a multiplicity of other instances, how high the Protestant tide ever ran in favour of Calvinism. Mr. Fox observes, iii. 432. "that "the greatest matter alledged against Seton, was, for preaching free justification by faith in Christ, and against man's free-will, and against false confidence in good works." The substance of his principles may be read in Fox, iii. s. p. 431.) and are well worthy of perusal, notwithstanding the man himself made afterwards a verbal retraction of them. Gold is gold, let who will fling it away.

(*f*) Acts and Mon. ii. 489.

(*g*) See Strype's Eccles. Memorials, vol. i. p. 387.

(*h*) In the History of Popery, vol. ii. p. 464, a piece of spiritual Poetry is preserved, which was written and sung by Mrs. Ascough, while she lay under sentence of death in Newgate. Considering it as the production of a Lady, whose constitution was quite broken with sufferings; and not forgetting, that it was composed above two hundred and twenty years ago, (*viz.* A. D. 1546.) it will reflect the reverse of dishonour on the amiable authoress, to insert it here.

Like as the armed knight
appointed to the field,
with this world will I fight,
and faith shall be my shield
Faith is that weapon strong,
which will not fail at need:
My foes therefore among
therewith I will proceed.
As it had in strength
and force of Christ his way

and experienced their power in her own heart, is evident, from the drift, both of the few writings she left behind her, and of her religious behaviour in general. I shall, particularly, instance this, in the article of final perseverance. In an account of her sufferings, written by herself, after observing that the lord chancellor Wriothesley assisted in torturing her on the rack, with his own hands, till she was almost dead; and that, after she was taken off from the rack, she sat for near two hours on the bare floor, disputing with the lord chancellor, who vehemently importuned her to renounce the faith: she adds, "But my Lord God, I thank his everlasting goodness, gave me grace to perservere, and will do, I hope, to the very end."* What, under the pressure of those languishing circumstances, she only expressed an hope of, she shortly after expressed her full assurance of: "I doubt not," said she, "but God will perform his work in me, like as he hath begun."† I desire no stronger proof of her Calvinism. Whosoever "doubts not," that the work of grace is of God's beginning, and shall be of God's completing, must either adopt such incoherencies, as would disgrace the meanest understanding, or be clear in those other articles of the gospel with which these are so intimately and necessarily connected.

VIII. I must not forget the eminently learned Doctor Robert Barnes; of whose conversion, pious Mr. Bilney had been the instrument. Lord Cromwell's fall (who was beheaded July 28, 1540.) seems to have involved in it the doom of this illustrious Protestant, who was barned for the gospel on the 30th of the same month.

Heylin's Arminian pen shall, for the present, suffice to prove the Calvinism of Dr. Barnes.

"It is no marvel," says that virulent Polemist, "if we find somewhat in his [*i. e.* in Barnes's] writings, agreeable to the palate of the Calvinists and rigid Lutherans. From whence it is, that, laying down the doctrine, of predestination, he [*i. e.* Dr. Barnes] discourseth thus: But yet, sayest thou, that he [God] giveth to the one mercy; and, to the other, none. I answer, what is that to thee? Is not his mercy his own? Is it not lawful for him to give it to whom he will? Is thine eye evil, because his is good? Take that which is thine, and go thy way. For, if he will shew his wrath, and make his power known, over the vessels of wrath ordained to damnation; and to declare the riches of his glory, unto the vessels of mercy, which he hath prepared and elected unto glory; what hast thou therewith to do?—But here will subtle blindness say, 'God saw before, that Jacob should do good: he saw also that Esau should do evil; therefore did he condemn him.' Alas, for blindness! what? will you judge of that which God foresaw? These children being yet unborn, they had done neither good nor bad: and yet one of them is chosen, and the other of them is refused. St. Paul knoweth no other cause, but the will of God; and will you needs discuss another? He saith not, I will have mercy on him who I see shall do good; but, I will shew mercy to whom I will.

"God, of his infinite power, lets nothing be exempted from him, but all things to be subject unto his action: and nothing can be done by them, but by his principal motion. So that he worketh in all manner of things, that be either good or bad: not changing their nature," [*i. e.* God is not the author of sin, as though he changed any thing to bad from good,] "but only moving them to work after their natures, so that good worketh good, and evil worketh evil: and God useth them both as instruments. And yet doth he nothing evil, but evil is done alone through the will of man; God working by him, but not evil, as by an instrument (*i*)." Old father Heylin, who cties these judicious passages, is not very well pleased with them. He is particulary disgusted with, what he calls, the subtlety in the close thereof: and, because he cannot distil the least drop of Arminianism from these flowers of paraaise, he sagely concludes, that Barnes draws nearer to

It will prevail at length,
  tho' all the Devils say nay.
Faith in the fathers old
  obtained righteousness:
which maketh me so bold
  to fear no world's distress.
I now rejoice in heart,
  and hope bids me do so:
for Christ will take my part,
  and ease me of my woe.
Thou sayest, Lord, whoso knock,
  to them will thou attend:
Undo therefore the lock,
  and thy strong pow'r down send.
More enemies I have,
  than hairs to crown my head,
Let them not me deprave,
  but fight thou in my stead.
On thee my care I cast,
  for all their cruel spight:
I set not by their haste,
  for thou art my delight.
I am not she that list
  my anchor to let fall

[Fox, ii. 488.

for every drizzling mist:
  my ship's substantial.
Not oft use I to write,
  in prose, nor yet in rhyme:
Yet will I shew one sight,
  which I saw in my time:
I saw a royal throne,
  where justice should have sit;
but in her stead was one
  of moody cruel wit.
Absorb'd was righteousness,
  as by a raging flood;
Satan in fierce excess
  Suck'd up the guiltless blood.
Then thought I—Jesu, Lord,
  when thou shalt judge us all,
hard is it to record
  on these men what will fall.
Yet, Lord, I thee desire,
  for what they do to mee
Let them not taste the hire
  Of their iniquitee.

(*i*) Barns, as quoted by Heylin in his Miscel. Tr. p. 544, 545.

† [*Ibid.*]

"the Zuinglians, touching God's working on the will, than possible may be capable of a good [*i. e.* of an Arminian] construction."

Will the reader permit me to subjoin the testimony of two worthy persons, who suffered for the gospel in Scotland, prior to the Reformation? I am sensible, that their suffrage does not strictly pertain to the argument of the present Section. It is not, however, entirely foreign to it; as martyrs, of all nations, are brethren; and as it will conduce to demonstrate, that the first Protestants of that country, no less than of our own, were companions in faith as well as in patience.

1. Mr. Patrick Hamelton was a person of very illustrious descent; nearly related, both by father's and mother's side, to James V. the then reigning king of Scotland (*k*). Early in life, he was made Abbot of Ferne; and his subsequent preferments would have been very great, had not God opened his eyes, to see the Antichristianism of Popery. Making the tour of Germany, he became acquainted with Luther and other learned Protestants; whose conversation was blessed to the conversion of this excellent man. On his return to his own country, he was very assiduous in communicating to others the spiritual light he had received. His sermons were animated with great zeal against the doctrinal corruptions which then prevailed; and his labours were crowned with such success, as alarmed the ruling ecclesiastics; who, from that time forward, marked him for the shambles. Being cited to answer before James Beton, archbishop of St. Andrew's; such was the martyr's courageous zeal, that he made his appearance early in the morning, some hours before the time appointed. The prelate, and his consistory of bishops and abbots, being totally unable to resist the wisdom and spirit with which he asserted the doctrines of Christ, realized the old Popish argument, "you have the word, but we have the sword" by condemning him on the spot: and, in such haste were they to dispatch him, that he was burned the same afternoon, which was either the last day of February, or the first of March, 1527. "Learned men," says Mr. Fox, "who communed and reasoned with him, do testify, that the following are the very articles for which he suffered:

"1. Man hath no free-will.

"2. A man is only justified by faith in Christ.

"3. A man, so long as he liveth, is not without sin.

"4. He is not worthy to be called a Christian, who doth not believe that he is in grace.

"5. A good man doth good works: good works do not make a good man.

"6. An evil man bringeth forth evil works: evil works, being faithfully repented, do not make an evil man.

"7. Faith, hope, and charity, be so linked together, that one of them cannot be without another, in one man, in this life (*l*)."

In exact conformity with the above articles, part of the sentence of condemnation, pronounced on him immediately after his trial, ran thus: "We, James, by the mercy of God, archbishop of St. Andrew's, primate of Scotland;—have found Master Patrick Hamelton many ways infamed with heresy; disputing, holding, and maintaining divers heresies of Martin Luther and his followers, repugnant to our faith:—that man hath no free-will: that man is in sin so long as he liveth; that children, incontinent after baptism, are sinners; that all Christians, who be worthy to be called Christians, do know that they are in grace; that no man is justified by works, but by faith only; that good works make not a good man, but a good man doth make good works; that faith, hope, and charity, are so knit, that he, who hath one, hath the rest.—With divers other heresies and detestable opinions; and hath persisted so obstinate in the same, that, by no counsel nor persuasion, he may be drawn therefrom to the way of our right faith.—All these premises being considered, We—do pronounce, &c. (*m*)."

This great and holy martyr, who was executed in the 23d year of his age, drew up a short sketch of Evangelical Divinity, which was afterwards published, with a recommendatory preface, by an eminent martyr of our own country, the learned and pious Mr. John Frith (*n*), who suffered death, at London, in 1533. The whole of this concise treatise is inserted into Mr. Fox's inestimable Martyrology. An extract from it will, I hope, both please and profit the reader.

Mr. Hamelton well knew, that half of our religious mistakes arise from not clearly ascertaining the difference between the law and the gospel, and from not exactly distinguishing the true nature of each. This he does, with great judgment and accuracy in the following remarks.

"The law saith, Pay thy debt. (*Viz.* the debt of perfect obedience to God). The gospel saith, Christ hath paid it.

(*k*) Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. vol. i. p. 291.

(*l*) Fox's Acts and Mon. ii. 183.

(*m*) Fox, *ibid.*

(*n*) This Mr. Frith merits a distinct article to himself, in the present essay. But I am forced to omit both him and a multitude of others: else, my Octavo would swell to a Folio. I find myself obliged to be superficial, in order to be tolerably concise. Yet let me just observe, that Mr. Frith might vie with Calvin, or with Zuinglius, or even with Luther himself, as a predestinarian. Heylin affirms, that, in this respect, Frith soared higher than even Mr. Tyndal's penetrating sight could follow: and yet, as I have shewn in this very Section, Tyndal looked as far into predestination, as most men ever did. But, it seems, Frith could contemplate the glorious lustre of that Sun, with a still more acute and less dazzled eye. No wonder, therefore that Heylin should stare with affrightment, at what he terms "Frith's high-flying conceits of predestination." See Heylin' Misc. Tr. p. 544 and 547.

"The law saith, thou art a sinner; despair, and thou shalt be damned. The gospel saith, thy sins are forgiven thee, be of comfort, for thou shalt be saved.

"The law saith, make amends for thy sins. The gospel saith, Christ hath made it for thee.

"The law saith, the Father of Heaven is angry with thee. The gospel saith, Christ hath pacified him with his blood.

"The law saith, where is thy righteousness, goodness, satisfaction? The gospel saith, Christ is thy righteousness, goodness, and satisfaction.

"The law saith, thou art bound [over] to me, to the Devil, and to Hell. The gospel saith, Christ hath delivered thee from them all."

On the subject of faith, he observes, that this important term signifies, "To believe in Christ, and to believe his word, and to believe that he will help thee in all thy need, and deliver thee from all evil." He affirms, that "Faith is the gift of God," which he thus proves:

"Every good thing is the gift of God.

"Faith is good.

"*Ergò*, faith is the gift of God."

Nor does he stop here; but immediately adds this consecutory proposition: "Faith is not in our power." Which he likewise argues syllogistically:

"The gift of God is not in our power.

"Faith is the gift of God.

"Therefore, faith is not in our power."

On the doctrine of works, he expresses himself with great perspicuity and strength of reason. "No man," says he, "is justified by the deeds of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ. Moreover, since Christ, the Maker of Heaven and Earth and all that is therein, behoved to die for us; we are compelled to grant, that we were so far drowned and sunk in sin, that neither our deeds, nor all the treasures that ever God made or might make, could have holpen us out of it. Therefore, no deeds or works [of our own performing] may make us righteous." He then obviates an objection which, he foresaw, either the ignorance or the perverseness of some might possibly allege: "If works make us neither righteous nor unrighteous, then (thou wilt say) it is no matter what we do. I answer: If thou do evil, it is a sure argument that thou art evil, and wantest faith. If thou do good, it is an argument that thou art good, and hast faith; for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. Yet good fruit makes not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil. A man is good, ere he do good deeds; and evil, ere he do evil deeds.

"Whosoever believeth or thinketh to be saved by his works, denieth that Christ is his Saviour. For how is he thy Saviour, if thou mightest save thyself by thy works? or whereto should he die for thee, if any works [of thine] might have saved thee?—What is this, to say Christ died for thee? Verily, that thou shouldest [else] have died perpetually; and that Christ, to deliver thee from death, died for thee, and changed thy perpetual death into his own death. For thou madest the fault, and he suffered the pain: and that for the love he had to thee before thou wast born, when thou hadst done neither good nor evil. Now, seeing he hath paid thy debt, thou needest not, neither canst thou pay it; but shouldest be damned, if his blood were not [shed]. But, since he was punished for thee, thou shalt not be punished.

"I do not say, that we ought to do no good deeds: but I say, we should do no good works to the intent to get the inheritance of Heaven, or remission of sin. For if we believe to get the inheritance of Heaven through good works, then we believe not to get it through the promise of God. Or if we think to get remission of our sins by our deeds, then we believe not that they are forgiven us; and so we count God a liar. For God saith, Thou shalt have the inheritance of Heaven, for my Son's sake; thy sins are forgiven thee, for my Son's sake: and you say, it is not so, but I will win it through my works.

"Thus, you see, I condemn not good deeds, but I condemn the false trust in any works: for, all the works, wherein a man putteth any confidence, are therewith poisoned, and become evil.

"Wherefore, thou must do good works; but beware that thou do them not [with a view] to deserve any good through them; for, if thou do, thou receivest the good, not as gifts of God, but as debt to thee, and makest thyself fellow with God, because thou wilt take nothing of him for naught. And so shalt thou fall, as Lucifer fell for his pride."

Is it not astonishing, that so young a man, a native and inhabitant of Scotland, should write with such precision, and in so masterly a style, almost two hundred and fifty years ago?

II. No person, who knows any thing of the Scottish history, can be entirely unacquainted with the character and sufferings of the famous and venerable Mr. George Wishart, who was burned at St. Andrew's, A. D. 1545. His remarkable history, and the spirit of prophecy with which he more than once proved himself to be endued, are so well known, that I shall enter (*o*) directly on the evidence of his Calvinism.

On his examination, before the cardinal archbishop of St. Andrew's, he was accused of representing God as the author of sin. "Thou,

(*o*) The description of Mr. Wishart's person, dress, and demeanour, drawn by one who had been his pupil, at Cambridge (for Mr Wishart received his education, and spent some years in that university), present us with an artless, but lively, picture of antique simplicity, too singular to be overlooked. "He was a man of tall

false heretic, saidest, that man hath no free-will, but is like to the Stoics, who say, that it is not in man's will to do any thing; but that all concupiscence and desire cometh by God, whatsoever kind it be of (*p*)." Mr. Wishart in his answer, utterly denied that the doctrine of salvation by grace is pregnant with so blasphemous a consequence: "My lords, I said not so. I say, that as many as believe in Christ firmly, unto them is given liberty; conformably to the saying in St. John, If the Son make you free, then shall ye verily be free. On the contrary, as many as believe not in Christ Jesus, they are bond-servants of sin. He that sinneth is bound to sin (*q*)." What is this, but to say? 1. That man's will is not free to good, until after he is converted to the faith of Christ. 2. That, prior to conversion, and in a state of nature, man cannot but offend God. 3. That man can only be made free indeed, by the grace of Christ breathing faith into his heart.—If this be not Calvinism, I am at a loss to know what is.

A clause, occurring in one of Mr. Wishart's ast supplications to God, shall conclude this Section:

"We desire thee heartily, that thou conserve, defend, and help thy congregation which thou hast chosen before the beginning of the world; and give them thy grace, to hear thy word, and to be thy true servants in this present life (*r*)."

SECTION XIII.

The Judgment of our English Reformers.

VERY little need be said, to prove the Calvinism of those illuminated divines, who were made, by Providence, the instruments of extending and fixing the English Reformation. The whole series of our public service, the uniform tenor of our articles, and the chain of doctrine asserted in each Book of Homilies, are a standing demonstration, that the original framers and compilers believed in, and worshipped, the God of their fathers, after that way which Papists and Arminians term heresy.

Even Mr. Sellon does not, in his 7th page, so much as attempt to call in question the Calvinism of our reformers. Finding himself hard drove, he fairly gives up the point: exclaiming, however, at the same time, that the reformers brought their Calvinism with them from the church of Rome. "Let me tell you," says the angry conceder, "that our first reformers, in the point of predestination, did say over those lessons which they had learned in the Roman schools." I agree with my adversary, in acknowledging, that the reformers were predestinarians; but I pity his weakness in venturing to assert, on the lame authority of Christopher Potter, that those excellent men imported their doctrine of predestination frome Rome. I have already shewn, that it has, for ages and ages back, been the ruling endeavour of Popery to stifle, demolish, and exterminate, the whole system of Calvinism, both root and branch. You might as reasonably affirm, that the glory which beamed from the face of Moses was kindled at Hell-fire; as insinuate, that we are indebted to Rome for any of our Thirty-nine Articles. Mr. Sellon's concession, however, induces me to offer him a plain query. To what end have you scribbled a libel, with a professed view to Arminianize the Liturgy, Articles, and Homilies, which you yourself acknowledge to have been composed by Calvinistic divines? Can any man in his senses, really believe, that a set of predestinarians would draw up a plan of national faith and worship on the Arminian model? Impossible. Your quotation, therefore, from Christopher Potter, which you have adopted for your own, has stabbed the whole hypothesis of your pamphlet to the very heart.

In vain do Messieurs Wesley and Sellon disconsolately walk arm in arm, round about our established Zion, surveying her walls, and shaking their heads at her bulwarks; but unable either to find or to make a breach, whereat to enter. Happy would they deem themselves, could they prove that the reformers were Arminians. But, alas! the church of England was settled under King Edward VI. long before Arminius himself was born: and afterwards re-settled by Elizabeth, when the same Arminius was an infant in his cradle. Pelagians were (if I may so phrase it) the Arminians of those times; and Pelagians are, expressly and by name, branded for "vain talkers," in the

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stature, bald-headed, and on the same a round French cap of the best; judged to be of a melancholy complexion, by his physiognomy. Black-haired, long-bearded, comely of personage, well spoken, after his country of Scotland, courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learn, and was well travelled. Having on him, for his habit, or clothing, never but a mantle, or frieze gown to the shoes; a black Milan fustian doublet; plain black hosen; coarse new canvass for his shirts; and white falling bands, and cuffs at his hands. All the which apparel he gave to the poor; some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly, as he liked: saving his French cap, which he kept the whole year of my being with him. He was modest, temperate, fearing God, and hating covetousness: for his charity had never end, night, noon, nor day. He forebore one meal in three, one day in four, for the most part; except something to comfort nature. He lay hard, upon a puff of straw; and coarse new canvass sheets which, when he changed, he gave away. He had commonly by his bed-side, a tub of water; in the which (his people being in bed, the candle put out, and all quiet), as I being very young, being assured, often heard him; and, in one light night discerned him. He taught with great modesty and gravity; so that some of his people thought him severe, and would have slain him: but the Lord was his defence. And he, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them, and went his way. His learning was no less sufficient than his desire: always prest and ready to do good in that he was able, both in the house privately and in the school publickly; professing and reading divers authors." See Fox, vol. ii. p. 521.

(*p*) *Ibid.* 524. (*q*) *Ibid.* 521.
(*r*) *Ibid*, 525.

ninth article. It clearly follows, I. That the original compilers of the articles were not Pelagians. And, 2. That they could not be Arminians: for Arminius was then unborn and unbegotten (*s*).

Bishop Burnet himself, as I have elsewhere observed, was compelled to grant, That "In England, the first Reformers were generally Sub-lapsarians (*t*):" tacitly admitting, that the rest of those apostolic men were (dreadful news to Mr. Sellon!) Supra-lapsarians (*u*). I could corroborate this assertion, if need required, from other very plain and conclusive passages, scattered through Burnet's historic writings. Waving, however, at present, the farther testimonies of that prelate, I shall adduce the attestations of two more modern historians: neither of whom can incur the remotest suspicion of leaning toward Calvinism. These are, Mr. Tindal, the reverend continuator of Rapine; and David Hume, Esq; whose history, considered merely as a composition, does honour to the author and the age. I begin with the former.

"In England, a middle course was steered:" [*i. e.* we admitted the doctrines, but rejected the discipline, of Geneva]. "Though the articles of religion are a plain transcript of St. Austin's doctrine, in the controverted points of original sin, predestination, justification by faith alone, efficacy of grace, and good works; yet are they composed with such a latitude." No quibbling, good Mr. Tindal. If the articles of the Church of England, respecting those tenets, are "a plain transcript of St. Austin's doctrine;" it irresistibly follows, that they only, who believe as St. Austin did, can honestly subscribe to Austin's articles. For, of what value is a fence, whose chasms and apertures are of "such a latitude," as to admit the very persons, whom it was professedly planted to exclude? To imagine, that the reformers, who had, themselves, gone so heartily and strongly into the doctrines above mentioned; and who, moreover, digested those doctrines into a national creed, to continue as the standing test of ministerial orthodoxy; to imagine that these identical reformers would leave such loop-holes of evasion, as would counteract the very design of that test, and render the test itself null and void; is equivalent to supposing that a man would first fortify the door of his house with as many bolts and bars as he can, and then purposely leave his door on the latch, that every intruder who pleases may enter in.

Mr. Tindal proceeds. "The most rigid Calvinist can give his assent to all the thirty-nine articles, except three, which relate to the discipline of the Church." Thirty-six, then, out of the thirty-nine, are most rigidly Calvinistic: else, the most rigid Calvinist could not "give his assent to all the articles except three." And even those three may be both assented, and subscribed to, with full purpose of heart, by every man who is a Calvinist in matters of doctrine only.—"For though the doctrine of the Church of England, as it stands in the articles and homilies, agrees with that of the Calvinists; yet the discipline is entirely different." I grant that the discipline of our Church is "entirely different" from that mode of discipline embraced by some Calvinists: and may it ever continue so! In nothing did the wisdom of our reformers more strikingly appear, than in connecting the purest doctrines with the best form of ecclesiastical government and discipline. A species of discretion, in which the foreign leaders of the reformation were not so happy. —Now, on weighing the collected amount of Mr. Tindal's (*x*) testimony, I would submit

(*s*) He was born at Oudewater, 1560.

(*t*) Expos. of the 17th Article.

(*u*) The Supra-lapsarians suppose, that, in the decree of election and preterition, God did not consider mankind either as fallen or unfallen; but chose some, and rejected others, considered merely as beings that should infallibly exist.—The Sub-lapsarians suppose, that the elect were chosen, and the reprobate passed by, not merely as creatures; but, complexly, as sinners. Each hypothesis has been adopted by some of the best and greatest men that ever lived. Calvinism is the general name under which the partizans of both are comprehended. The church of England system, as I shall shew hereafter, is, strictly speaking, formed on the Sub-lapsarian principle: though with such moderation as not to exclude the former.

(*x*) The passages, here cited from that writer, occur in the third volume of his Continuation (octavo 1758) p. 20.—I cannot pass over, without a moment's animadversion, what this historian imprudently advances, respecting the liturgy of the Church of England. "The liturgy," says he, p. 276, "or Common Prayers, were chiefly taken from the offices of the Church of Rome."—This, I well know, is a pretty general opinion. But I cannot help believing it to be unjustly founded. The agreement between some parts of our public service, and some parts of the Romish missals, falls extremely short of proving the main point. We use the Lord's Prayer (for example) in common with the Papists: yet we receive it, not from Rome, but from the New Testament. A pen, not altogether contemptible, affirms, that the compilers of the liturgy examined not only the Popish forms, but likewise "all other service books then in use. These they compared with the primitive liturgies: and whatever they found in them consonant to the Holy Scriptures, and the doctrine and worship of the primitive Church, they retained and improved; but the modern corruptions and superstitious innovations of latter ages, they entirely discharged and rejected." See Downe's Lives of the Compilers, p. 150. What I shall further add, I give from an authority incomparably more decisive and respectable. "Our Church of England," says bishop Stillingfleet, "hath omitted none of those offices wherein all the ancient Churches were agreed: and where the [primitive] British or Gallican [Church] differed from the Roman, our [present] Church hath not followed the Roman, but the other. And therefore our Dissenters do unreasonably charge us with taking our offices from the Church of Rome." Stillingfleet's *Origines Britannicæ*, chap. 4. p. 237.—The Gallican liturgy (extremely different from the Roman) was introduced, it seems, into England, in the beginning of the fifth century: and is said to have been originally framed by Polycarp and Irenæus. The learned bishop gives a large account of this ancient form of worship; proves it to have been the basis of that now established; and points out a great variety of particulars, in which it differed from the form imposed by the Roman bishops. See *ibid.* 216.

this natural question to the reader: Would the English reformers have established a summary of doctrines "agreeable to that of the Calvinists," if the said reformers had not been Calvinists themselves? To solve this enquiry, we need only propose another: would such men (for instance) as Pelagius and Arminius, have drawn up such articles, in particular, as the 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th?

Let us next attend to the florid and ingenious Mr. Hume. "The first reformers in England, as in other European countries, had embraced the most rigid tenets of predestination and absolute decrees: and had composed, upon that system, all the articles of their religious creed. But these principles having met with opposition, [*viz.* about sixty years after,] from Arminius and his sectaries, the controversy was soon [*i. e.* soon after the rise of Arminianism in the Dutch provinces, at the period aforesaid] brought into this island, and began here to diffuse itself (*y*)." Again: "all the first reformers adopted these principles." *viz.* the principles of "Absolute decrees (*z*)." No wonder, therefore, when the Arminians started up to oppose the ancient faith, that, "Throughout the nation, they laid under the reproach of innovation and heresy. Their protectors were stigmatized; their tenets canvassed; their views represented as dangerous and pernicious (*a*)."

Hitherto, we have dealt in generals. We shall now (though so plain a case is far from requiring it) descend, briefly to particulars,

Those divines, to whom, under God, this kingdom is chiefly indebted for its reformation from Popery, were Wickliff, who laid the basis; and Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Martin, Bucer, and Peter Martyr. Though the two latter were foreigners, yet, as they greatly assisted in that important work, they deservedly stand high on the list of English reformers, Wickliff's Calvinism has been already proved. I proceed, therefore, to the rest.

I. Dr. Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, went as far as he could, or at least as far as he dared, in promoting the Protestant cause, during the last boisterous years of Henry VIII. For some time after his elevation to the primacy, he was far from possessing that strong evangelical light, which he afterwards attained. God led him from step to step. He advanced rather slowly, but solidly and surely. He was not (for instance) clear, even as to the manner of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, until after the year 1538 (*b*). But the path of the just is a light that shines more and more to the perfect day. His knowledge of divine things was abundantly brighter, when Edward VI. ascended the throne in 1547. The famous catechism, ascribed to bishop Ponet, and of which I have elsewhere (*c*) given an account, received the sanction of Cranmer's own subscription. We must, therefore, admit, either that Cranmer was as absolute a predestinarian as Calvin himself; or charge the venerable archbishop with such extreme dissimulation and hypocrisy, as are utterly incompatible with common honesty. For, this catechism (as I have shewn in my tract referred to below) asserted the doctrines of predestination, efficacious grace, free justification, and final perseverance, in the fullest, strongest, and most explicit terms: and, if solemn subscription to so strict a test be not a sufficient proof of a man's real belief, all integrity and social confidence are at an end. That Cranmer actually did set his hand to it, appears from the unexceptionable testimony of his brother-bishop and brother martyr, Dr. Rid ey.

"A catechism," says Mr. Strype, "for the instruction of children in the fundamentals of true religion, passed the same synod [*viz* the synod of 1552]: but who was the author, was not known in those days. Bishop Ridley was charged to be the author and publisher thereof, by Ward and Weston, in the disputation with him [held, in the succeeding reign of Mary, prior to his martyrdom] at Oxford. Ridley declared he was not: but confessed, that he saw the book, perused it after it was made, and noted many things for it; and so consented to the book. Weston then told Ridley, that he [*viz.* Ridley], being then a bishop in his ruff, had made him [*i. e.* had made Weston] subscribe it. But Ridley replied, he [had] compelled no man to subscribe: indeed, he [himself] had set his hand to it, and so did Cranmer; and that then it [*i. e.* the catechism] was given to others of the con-

(*y*) Hume's Hist. of Engl. vol. vi. p. 211.—octavo edit. 1767.

(*z*) *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 572.

(*a*) *Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 211.

(*b*) "The archbishop was not yet convinced of the falsehood of transubstantiation, but continued a stiff maintainer of the corporal presence; as appears from his being unhappily concerned in the prosecution of Lambert, who was burnt, Nov. 20, 1538." Downes, *ubi supra*, p. 13.

(*c*) In my pamphlet, entitled, The Church of England Vindicated, &c.—Dr. John Ponet was translated, from Rochester to Winchester, in 1550. According to Godwin, he was one of the most learned persons of the age. Graecam linguam calluit ad amussim, mathematicarum porrò scientiarum ad miraculum usque peritus:" *i. e.* a most masterly Grecian, and a prodigy for his skill in mathematics. He excelled also in the mechanic part of Philosophy: witness the curious clock, which he constructed for the use of Henry VIII. It not only pointed to the hours, and to the day of the month; but shewed the lunar variations, together with the ebbing and flowing of the sea. While Edward VI. lived (who had loved him from his earliest childhood, and had reaped much benefit from his sermons) the good bishop enjoyed an uninterrupted series of honours and repose. But on the accession of Mary, he retired to Germany, where he died at Strasburgh, August 11, 1556, aged only 40 years. Vide Godwin. De Præsul. Angl. p. 237. 238.

vocation to set their hands, but without compulsion (*d*)." This passage merits a remark or two.

I. The catechism abovementioned (by some called King Edward's Catechism; by some, oishop (*e*) Ponet's; by others, Dr. Alexander Nowel's, because afterwards enlarged and republished by that learned dean, in the reign of Elizabeth) was approved and passed by a public synod, held at London, under the express warrant of king Edward himself. 2. The synod which approved, passed, and subscribed this catechism, was the self-same synod, or convocation, which proved, passed, and subscribed the book of articles (*f*): though the latter were not published until the summer following. Consequently, 3. The Church of England is indebted for those articles which at this day are subscribed by her clergy, to the care and piety of that very synod, who publicly and solemnly set their seal to that catechism. 4. The catechism being fraught with the highest Calvinism, they who subscribed it (and Cranmer among the rest,) were either temporizing hypocrites, or sincere Calvinists. 5. Bishop Ridley evidently had a hand in compiling it: witness his own words, already quoted, testifying that he had "noted many things for it" *i. e.* in modern language, he had furnished some hints towards the materials out of which it had been framed. 6. He owned and assented to the contents of it, in the face of the Popish court at Oxford, by whom he was tried and condemned to the flames. 7. From what passed on that occasion, it is conspicuous, that nothing gives the Church of Rome so much offence as the Calvinistic doctrines asserted in that Protestant catechism: Mr. Sellon, therefore, is prodigiously mistaken, in affirming, that, as Predestinarians, "Our reformers did only say over again those lessons which they had learned in the Romish schools." 8. The use of this catechism was enjoined by the united authority of Church and State. Both the synod and the king's privy council concurred in giving it their sanction. "In May, the next year," says Strype, "*viz.* 1553, the council sent their letters abroad in behalf of this catechism, enjoining it to be taught to scholars, as the ground and foundation of their [religious] learning; as it is expressed in the Warrant Book (*g*)." Whence it is evident 9. That the reformers and Protestant clergy of England considered the belief of predestination, and its relative doctrines, as essential and fundamental to the very existence of Christianity itself. 10. The injunctions of the council respecting this catechism were issued at the same time that the articles themselves were published, *viz.* in May, 1553. The catechism, therefore, was designed as a larger display of those evangelical principles, which were virtually, but more briefly, contained in the articles. The reason is evident. The articles were intended for the clergy, who were supposed not to need so extended and minute a detail of doctrine: a compendious summary would, to them, answer the end, full as well. But the case was judged to be different with the laity of that time. It seemed necessary, that the Church articles should be explained to them in a more particular and expanded manner; especially, to young persons: and therefore the catechism was enjoined, as a kind of familiar and copious elucidation of the articles comprized in a narrower compass. The articles were (if I may so speak) the text: the catechism was the commentary.

Peter Heylin's concession, in favour of this catechism, is very observable. "For my part," says that Arminian, "I can see no possible inconvenience which can follow on it, in yielding so far as to admit the passages befor recited," [*viz.* the passages cited by Prynne from the said catchism, which happened to be the very same passages which I too shall presently cite from it in this Section] "to be fully consonant to the true, genuine sense and proper

(*d*) Strype's Eccles. Memorials, vol. ii. p. 368.

(*e*) Mr. Strype believed, that Dr. Alexander Nowel had the chief hand in framing this catechism. I suppose it is on the authority of bishop Bale, that it is sometimes singly attributed to Dr. Ponet. Possibly Ponet might digest and throw it into form. But its rough materials were, most probably, furnished by the joint care of the reformers in general, and of Cranmer in particular, who was one of the prime agents, in every thing that related to religion during this whole reign.

(*f*) "While the parliament was sitting this winter, a synod also was held, wherein was framed and concluded a book of articles of religion, purified and reformed from the errors of Popery and other sects;—for the avoiding of controversy in opinions, and the establishment of a godly concord in certain matters of religion. A catechism, for the instruction of children in the foundamentals of true religion, passed the said synod." Strype; *ut supra.*

Dr. Fuller also ascribes the catechism to the same person who drew up the articles: *i. e.* to the reformers themselves. "With these" [*i. e.* with the articles of religion agreed upon in convocation,] "was bound a catechism, younger in age (as bearing date of the next year,) but of the same extraction, [relating to this convocation,] as author thereof." Where let it be observed, that the reformers resided personally in this convocation, and were the very life and movers of all that was acted in it.—Fuller goes on: "indeed it [*viz.* the catechism] was first compiled (as appears by the King's patent prefixed) by a single divine, charactered 'pious and learned:' but afterwards perused and allowed by the bishops, and other learned men, &c. and by royal authority commanded to all subjects, [and] commanded to all schoolmasters to teach it their scholars." Fuller's Church-Hist. book 7. p. 421.—The "single divine," charactered, in the King's patent, as "pious and learned;" was probably, bishop Ponet: to whom the care of revising and methodizing the catechism seems to have been committed: and whom Heylin himself characterizes as "an excellent Græcian, well-studied with the ancient fathers, and one of the ablest mathematicians which those times produced." Heylin also observes, concerning the catechism itself, that it was "bound up with the book of articles, countenanced by the King's letters patent prefixed before it, approved by many bishops and learned men, and generally voiced to be another of the products of this convocation:' though himself, for reasons sufficiently obvious, affects to doubt of the latter circumstance. Misc. Tracts, p. 551. 553.

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 369.

meaning of all, but more especially of our 9th, 10th, 13th, 16th and 17th articles, then newly composed. So that whatsoever is positively and clearly affirmed in this catechism, of any of the points now controverted, may be safely implied as the undoubted doctrine of our Church and articles (*h*)."

The sum of all, so far as concerns Cranmer, is; that, if he was an honest man (which I see no reason to suspect), he must have been, what Arminians would now call, a rigid predestinarian. Nor is this alternative limited to that good archbishop. It holds equally true of all and every divine, who had any hand in our excellent reformation.

As my former Vindication of the Church of England, from the Charge of Arminianism, has been long out of print; an extract from the above celebrated catechism, though already given in that pamphlet, seems due to the readers of this; and the rather, as Mr. Sellon has been so indecently rash as to affirm (p. 53) that this valuable monument of good old Church-doctrine "does not contain much more sound divinity than the old Koran of Mahomet." Whether Cranmer, and those other excellent men, who were the fathers of our English reformation, deserve the name of Mahometans, with which this ignorant, foul-mouthed writer dares to brand their venerable memories, will best appear, from the following passages which occur in the catechism itself. The speakers are supposed to be master and scholar.

"As many as are in this faith stedfast, were fore-chosen, predestinated, and appointed to everlasting life, before the world was made.

"Witness hereof, they have within their hearts the spirit of Christ, the author, earnest, and unfailable pledge of their faith. Which faith only is able to perceive the mysteries of God; only brings peace unto the heart; only taketh hold on the righteousness which is in Christ Jesus.

"*Master.* Doth then the spirit alone, and faith (sleepe we never so securely, or stand we never so rechless or slouthful), so worke all things for us, as without any helpe of our owne, to carry us idle up to Heaven?

"*Schol.* I use, Master, as you have taught me, to make a difference between the cause and the effect. The first, principal, and most proper cause of our justification and salvation, is the goodness and love of God, whereby he chose us for his, before he made the world. After that, God granteth us to be called, by the preaching of the gospel of Jesus Christ, when the Spirit of the Lord is poured into us: by whose guiding and governance we be led to settle our trust in God, and hope for the performance of his promise.—From the same Spirit also cometh our sanctification; the love of God and of our neighbour; justice, and uprightnesse of life. Finally, to say all in summe: Whatever is in us, or may be done of us, honest, pure true, and good; it altogether springeth out of this most pleasant rocke, from this most plentiful fountain, the goodness, love, choice, and unchangeable purpose of God. He is the cause: the rest are the fruits and effects.

"Yet are also the goodnesse, choice, and Spirit of God, and Christ himselfe, causes, conjoinde and coupled each with other; whiche may be reckoned among the principal causes of salvation. As oft, therefore, as we use to say, that we are made righteous, and saved, by faith only; it is meant thereby, that faith, or rather trust, alone, doth lay hand upon, understand, and perceive our righteous-making to be given us of God freely, that is to say, by no deserts of our own, but by the free grace of the Almighty Father. Moreover, faith doth ingender in us love of our neighbour, and such workes as God is pleased withall; for, if it be a lively and true faith, quickened by the Holy Ghost, she is the mother of all good saying and doing.

"By this short tale it is evident, whence, and by what means we attained to be righteous. For, not by the worthiness of our deservings, were we either heretofore chosen, or long agoe saved; but by the only mercy of God, and pure grace of Christ our Lord: whereby we were, in him, made to doe these good workes, that God had appointed for us to walke in. And although good works cannot deserve to make us righteous before God, yet do they so cleave unto faith, that neither faith can be found without them, nor good workes be any where found without faith.

"Immortality and blessed life God hath provided for his chosen, before the foundations of the world were laid.

"As for the sacrifices, cleansings, washings, and other ceremonies of the law; they were shadows, types, images, and figures, of the true and eternal sacrifice that Jesus Christ made upon the crosse; by whose benefit alone, all the sinnes of all beleevers, from the beginning of the world, are pardoned by the sole mercy of God, and not by any merits of their owne.

"As soon as ever Adam and Eve had eaten of the forbidden fruit, they both dyed: that is, they were not only liable to the death of the body, but they likewise lost the life of the soule, which is righteousnesse. And forthwith the divine image is obscured in them, and those lineaments of righteousnesse, holinesse, truth, and knowledge of God, which were exceeding comely, were disordered, and almost obliterated. The terrene image only remained; coupled with unrighteousnesse, fraud, carnal affections, and grosse ignorance of divine and heavenly things. From thence, also, proceeded the infirmity of our flesh. From thence, that corruption and confusion of the

(*h*) Heylin's Misc. Tracts, p. 585.

affections and desires. Hence, that plague, hence that seminary and nutriment of all sinne, with which mankinde is infected which is called original sinne. Moreover, nature is so depraved and cast downe, that unlesse the goodness and mercy of Almighty God had helped us by the medicine of grace, as in body we are thrust downe into all the miserys of death, so it was [*i. e.* it would have been] necessary that all men of all sorts should be cast into eternal torments, and fire which cannot bee quenched.

"The Holy Ghost is called holy, not onely for his owne holinesse, but because the elect of God are made holy by him. The Church, is the company of those who are called to eternal life by the Holy Ghost, by whom she is guided and governed: which, since she cannot be understood by the light of sense or nature, is justly placed among the number of those things which are to be beleeved. And it [*i. e.* the church] is therefore called the Catholicke, that is, the universal assembly of the faithful; because it is not tied to any certaine place."

From the above extracts, an idea may be formed of the doctrines, which Cranmer, and his fellow-reformers, and the members of the church of England, maintained in those days of Protestant purity. In such high estimation was this evangelical catechism held, that king Edward himself honoured it with a prefatory epistle (dated at Greenwich, May 20.) "Commanding and charging all schoolmasters whatsoever, within his dominions, as they did reverence his authority, and as they would avoid his royal displeasure, to teach this catechism, diligently and carefully, in all and every their schools: that so, the youth of the kingdome might be settled in the grounds of true religion, and furthered in God's worship." Add to this, that it was not only published in English, and annexed to the church-articles, for the instruction of the King's own subjects; but also in Latin, that foreigners might, with the more certainty, judge for themselves, and see, with their own eyes, what were the genuine and authentic doctrines of our reformed church.

Archbishop Cranmer's Calvinism did not expire with the reign of king Edward. The great and good prelate had, it seems, soon after the accession of Mary, been falsely accused of temporizing in some religious matters, with a view to ingratiate himself with the new Popish Queen. This he courageously disproved, in a printed paper, to which he set his name; and wherein, among others, is the following remarkable paragraph: "And although many, either unlearned or malicious, do report that Mr. Peter Martyr is unlearned; yet, if the Queen's highness will grant thereunto, I, with the said Mr. Peter Martyr, and other four or five, which I shall chuse, will, by God's grace, take upon us to defend, not only the common prayers of the church, the ministration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, but also all the doctrine and religion set out by our sovereign lord, king Edward VI., to be more pure and according to God's word than any other that hath been used in England these thousand years (*i*)."—Now, the catechism, already cited, was a part, and a very distinguished part, of "the doctrine and religion set forth by king Edward VI." Consequently in the above challenge, that catechism was one of those Protestant regulations, which Cranmer publicly offered to defend against the whole army of Popish disputants.—Surely, if ever there was a Calvinist on earth, Cranmer (*k*) was one! And so was,

II. Dr. Nicholas Ridley, that illustrious reformer, prelate, and martyr. He became bishop of Rochester in 1547; and was translated to London in 1550, on the deprivation of Bonner. Every body knows that he was finally burned at Oxford, A. D. 1555, at one stake with bishop Latimer. As the two episcopal martyrs were led out to the place of execution (which was before Balliol College), they looked up to Cranmer's prison-window, in hopes of seeing him at it, that they might bid the last farewell to their beloved metropolitan. But, at that instant, the archbishop was "Engaged in disputation with some friars: so that he was not then at his window. But he looked after them, with great tenderness: and kneeling down, prayed earnestly, that God would strengthen their faith and patience, in that their last, but painful passage (*l*)." Being arrived at the stake, Ridley embraced Latimer with surprising cheerfulness, and testified his assurance of divine support, in these remarkable words: "Be of good heart, brother; for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it." Nor was Latimer less filled with joy in the Holy Ghost: for, when the fire was kindled a Ridley's feet, the former thus encouraged his blessed fellow-victim, "Be of good comfort, Mr. Ridley, and play the man! We shall, this day, by God's grace light such a candle in England, as, I trust shall never be put out (*m*)."

In producing a specimen of bishop Ridley's rooted attachment to the Calvinian doctrines,

(*i*) Fox, vol. iii. p.77.

(*k*) Dr. Edwards cites a passage from this renowned archbishop which may serve to confirm the general tenor of the evidences already produced. In Cranmer's second treatise against Gardiner, these words, it seems, occur: "Our Saviour Christ, according to the will of his eternal Father, when the time thereof was fully accomplished, taking our nature upon him, came into the world, from the high throne of his Father; to give light to them that were in darkeness and the shadow of death, and to preach, and give pardon and full remission of sins to all his elected."—See Edward's Veritas Redux, p. 526.

(*l*) Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. vol. ii, p. 296.

(*m*) Fox, iii. p. 430.

I shall begin with a general, but a very decisive proof of it; I mean the extreme veneration, in which, to the end of his life, he held that excellent catechism of the church of England, published in 1553. The abstracts from it, which have been already laid before the reader, demonstrate that it was drawn up in the highest strains of Calvinism. The two following passages, written by bishop Ridley, during his imprisonment, and just before his martyrdom, will, consequently, demonstrate him to have been a very high Calvinist. "Finally, I hear say, that the catechism, which was lately set forth in the English tongue, is now [*viz.* after the restoration of Popery, by queen Mary] in every pulpit condemned. Oh, devilish malice! and most spitefully injurious to the redemption of mankind purchased by Jesus Christ! Indeed, Satan could not long suffer that so great light should be spread abroad in the world *(n)*." In his admirable farewell-letter to his relations, he observes, that, while Protestantism flourished under pious king Edward, "the church of England had, through the infinite goodness and abundant grace of Almighty God, great riches of heavenly treasure; great plenty of God's true, sincere word; the true and wholesome administration of Christ's holy sacraments; the whole profession of Christ's religion, truly and plainly set forth in baptism; the plain declaration and understanding of the same, taught in the holy catechism, to have been learned of all true christians *(o)*."

Another general proof of Ridley's soundness in the faith may be taken from the pathetic anguish with which he lamented the abolition of the Homilies and Articles. The church of England, says he, "had also holy and wholesome Homilies, in commendation of the principal virtues. She had, in matters of controversy, articles so penned and framed after the holy Scriptures, and grounded upon the true understanding of God's word, that, in short time, if they had been universally received, they would have been able to have set in Christ's true religion, and to have expelled many false errors and heresies. But alas! I may well cry out, O God, the heathens are come into thy heritage: they have defiled thy holy temple and made Jerusalem a heap of stones. These thieves [meaning the Papists, superinduced by queen Mary] be of Samaria. These Sabeans and Chaldeans, these robbers *(p)* have rushed out of their dens, and robbed the church of England of all the foresaid holy treasure of God *(q)*," *viz.* of her catechism, liturgy, homilies and articles. Thus did this plaintive nightingale warble forth his woes. Thus did he hang his harp upon the willows, and mourn over the ruins of Zion.—Blessed be God, there were mercies in reserve for this kingdom, which the weeping martyr little imagined, and which soon reversed the face of things. Ridley was executed, October 16, 1555. On the 17th of November, 1558 queen Mary went to give an account of her butcheries to God; and Elizabeth mounted the throne.

The above general evidences of bishop Ridley's principles are extremely strong and conclusive. I shall, however, lay before the reader some farther proofs still more explicit and particular.

The doctrine of election, or predestination to life, appears to have been a favourite article with this eminent servant of God. Making mention of bishop Farrar, bishop Hooper, Mr. Rogers, and others, who had lately poured out their souls unto death for the testimony of Christ; he observes, these "were burned at Smithfield in London, with many others in Essex and Kent: whose names are written in the book of life *(r)*." Again: "I doubt not in the infinite goodness of my Lord God, nor in the faithful fellowship of his elect and chosen people *(s)*." His definition of the true invisible church is not a little remarkable: by the church of England, says Ridley, "I mean, the congregation of the true chosen children of God in this realm of England: whom I acknowledge, not only to be my neighbours, but rather the congregation of my spiritual brethren and sisters in Christ; yea, members of one body, wherein, by God's grace, I am and have been grafted in Christ *(t)*." In his pathetic "farewell to all afflicted for the gospel," he thus concludes: "farewell, farewell, O ye, the whole and universal congregation of the chosen of God, here living upon earth; the true Church Militant of Christ; the true mystical body of Christ; the very household and family of God, and the sacred temple of the Holy Ghost; farewell! Farewell, O thou little flock of the high, heavenly pastors of Christ: For to thee it hath pleased the heavenly Father to give an everlasting and eternal kingdom.—Farewell, thou spiritual house of God, thou holy and royal priesthood, thou chosen generation, thou holy nation, thou won spouse; farewell farewell *(u)*."

God's election of his people is founded on

(*n*) Fox, *ibid.* p. 372. (*o*) Fox, *ibid.* p. 432.

(*p*) Would to God, that the present age afforded none of these! No Protestant Sabeans, no Samaritans in crape! who even while they deprive their maintenance from the breasts of the church seek to rob her of her choicest "Holy treasure," the doctrines which are her crown of glory.—The doctrines which the robbers themselves kneeling at G-d's altar have solemnly vowed to maintain—The doctrines to which they have also deliberately affixed the subscription of the hand—The doctrines, to which they have not only subscribed and vowed at the time of their ordination, but ratified both vow and subscription by immediately receiving the symbols of Christ's precious body and blood as a seal to the whole!—If incontestable fact did not compel us to the contrary, we could hardly believe it possible for the utmost depravity of human nature to aim at the subversion of a Church which the intentional subverters are tied by such a chain of engagements to support.

(*q*) Fox, *ibid.* p. 432.

(*r*) See Fox, vii. p. 374. (*s*) *Ibid.* p. 432.

(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 433. (*u*) *Ibid.* p. 439,

his free love to them from everlasting. This love is unalterable and perpetual. Whence the following just observation of Ridley: "In all ages, God hath had his own manner, after his secret and unsearchable wisdom, to use his elect, sometimes to deliver them, and to keep them safe; and sometimes to suffer them to drink of Christ's cup, *i. e.* to feel the smart and to feel the whip. And though the flesh smarteth at the one, and feeleth ease at the other; is glad of the one, and sore vexed in the other; yet the Lord is all one toward them, in both: and loveth them no less when he suffereth them to be beaten: yea, and to be put to bodily death, then when he worketh wonders for their marvellous delivery.—This his love toward them, howsoever the world doth judge of it, is all one. He loved as well Peter and Paul, when (after they had, according to his blessed will, pleasure, and providence, finished their courses, and done their services appointed them by him, here, in preaching of his gospel) the one was beheaded, and the other was hanged or crucified by the cruel tyrant Nero; as when he sent his angel to bring Peter out of prison, and [as when] for Paul's delivery he made all the doors of the prison to fly wide open (*x*)."

As Ridley thus believed the love, with which God embraces his people, to be unchangeably and for ever the same, amidst all the varying dispensations of Providence; he must, by virtue of that principle, have likewise believed the final perseverance of those who are thus loved and chosen. According to him, perseverance is the special gift of God: "I wish you grace in God," says he, "and love of the truth: without which, truly established in mens' hearts by the mighty hand of the Almighty God, it is no more possible to stand by the truth in time of trouble, than it is for wax to abide the heat of the fire (*z*)." Omnipotent grace being the only root of perseverance, the martyr cannot help breaking out, elsewhere, into this pious exclamation! "Well is he, that ever he was born, for whom thus graciously God hath provided! having grace of God, and strength of the Holy Ghost, to stand stedfastly in the height of the storm! happy is he, that ever he was born, whom God, his heavenly Father, has vouchsafed to appoint to glorify him, and to edify his church, by the effusion of his blood (*a*)!"

It was an essential branch of Ridley's Theology, that this great gift of perseverance is vouchsafed to all the elect. "The Father," says he, "who guides them that be Christ's to Christ, is more mighty than all they, [*i. e.* than all the persecutors of his people] and no man is able to pull them [*i. e.* to pull those who belong to Christ] out of the Father's hands (*b*)."—What a strong affiance in this grand article, do his following words display! "Blessed be God, who has given you a manly courage, and hath so strengthened you in the inward man, by the power of his spirit, that you can contemn, as well all the terrors, as also the vain flatteries and allurements, of the world: esteeming them as vanities, mere trifles, and things of nought. Who hath also wrought, planted, and surely established, in your hearts, so stedfast a faith and love of the Lord Jesus Christ; joined with such constancy, that, by no engines of antichrist, be they never so terrible or plausible, ye will suffer any other Jesus, or any other Christ, to be forced upon you, besides him, whom the Prophets have spoken of (*c*)."—He that is in us is stronger than he that is in the world: and the Lord promiseth unto us, that, for the elects' sake, the days of wickedness shall be shortened (*d*)." "Ye, therefore, my brethren, who pertain unto Christ, and have the seal of God marked in your foreheads; that is, to wit, who are sealed with the earnest of the spirit to be a peculiar people of God; quit yourselves like men, and be strong. Ye know, that all that is born of God, overcometh the world: and this is our victory that overcometh the world, even our faith. Let the world fret, let it rage never so much, no man can take us out of the Father's hands, for he is greater than all.—Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect! It is God that justifieth; who then shall condemn?—Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?—We are certainly persuaded, with St. Paul, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that no kind of thing shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord (*e*)." I shall cite him but once more on the head of perseverance: "I consider the subtleties of Satan, and how he is able, by his false persuasions, to deceive, if it were possible, even the chosen of God (*f*)."

Ridley's view of Providence was equally Calvinistic. "Know ye, that the heavenly Father hath even a gracious eye and respect toward you, and a fatherly provision for you: so that, without his knowledge and permission,

(*x*) *Ibid.* 446. (*z*) *Ibid.* 372.

(*a*) *Ibid.* 446.—To the same effect he speaks in his conference with Latimer: "The number," says Ridley, "of the criers under the altar must needs be fulfilled; if we be secrecated thereto, happy be we. It is the greatest promotion that God giveth in this world, to be such Philippians, to whom it is given not only to believe, but also to suffer. But who his able to do these things" [*viz.* to believe in Christ, and to suffer for his sake?] "Surely, all our ability, all our sufficiency is of God. He requireth, and promiseth" [*i. e.* he promises to work in us the duties and graces he requires of us]—"Pray for me; pray for me; I say, pray for me. For I am sometimes so fearful, that I would creep into a mouse-hole. Sometimes, God doth visit me again with his comfort. So he cometh and goeth, to teach me to feel and to know my infirmity; to the intent to give thanks to him that is worthy; lest I should rob him of his due, as many do, and almost all the world." Fox, Ibid. p. 368.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 370. (*c*) *Ibid.* 371. (*d*) *Ibid.*
(*e*) *Ibid.* 372. (*f*) *Ibid.* 442.

nothing can do you harm. Let us therefore cast all our care upon him, and he shall provide that which shall be best for us. For if, of two small sparrows, which both are sold for a mite, one of them lighteth not on the ground without your Father, and all the hairs of our heads are numbered; fear not, saith our master Christ, for ye are of more value than many small sparrows (*g*)."

His doctrine, concerning the necessity and efficacy of divine influence, may be learned from that striking prayer of his: "The Lord vouchsafe to open the eyes of the blind, with the light of grace; that they may see, and perceive, and understand the words of God, after the mind of his spirit (*h*)." And that he supposed redemption to be limited to a certain number, the following passage clearly evinces: "The death and passion of Christ our Saviour was, and is, the one, only, sufficient, and everlasting available sacrifice, satisfactory for all the elect of God, from Adam, the first, to the last that shall be born in the end of the world (*i*)."

So much for the doctrine of this great man. A word or two, concerning his general character, and usual manner of living, may not be unacceptable to the reader.

He was born in that part of Northumberland, called Tynedale, near the borders of Scotland; and received the finishings of his education, partly at Paris, and partly at Cambridge. "His behaviour," say the compilers of his article in the Biographical Dictionary, "was very obliging, and very pious; without hypocrisy, or monkish austerity: for, very often, he would shoot in the bow, and play at tennis; and was eminent for the great charities he bestowed (*k*)." While he resided on his vicarage of Herne, in Kent, Providence directed him to the perusal of Bertram's celebrated Treatise on the Lord's Supper, written about seven hundred years before (*l*): which effectually convinced him of the falsehood and absurdity of transubstantiation. By his acquaintance with Cranmer, and other excellent men of that time; and, above all, by his unwearied application to the Holy Scriptures; his eyes were farther and farther opened: and he settled by degrees into a consistent, evangelical Protestant. After his appointment to the see of London, his exaltation only served to render him more humble, affable, and useful. Nothing could exceed the tenderness and respect with which he treated Mrs. Bonner, mother to his predecessor the superseded bishop of London. "Bishop Ridley, being at his manor of Fulham, always sent for this Mrs. Bonner (who lived in a house adjoining) to dinner and supper; with one Mrs. Mungey, bishop Bonner's sister: saying, Go for my mother Bonner. He always placed her at the head of his table, even though any of the king's council were present (*m*)."

"His mode of life was, as soon as he had risen and dressed, to continue in private prayer for half an hour. He then retired to his study, till ten: at which time he went, with his family, to common prayer: and, every day, read a lecture to them. After prayers, he adjourned to dinner; where his conversation was, always, wise and discreet; sometimes, merry and cheerful. This conversation he would indulge for an hour after dinner, or else, in playing at chess. The hour for unbending being expired, he returned to his study, where he continued till five; except suitors, or business abroad, otherwise required. Then he went to common prayers in the evening: and, after supper, having diverted himself another hour as before, he returned to his study, where he continued till eleven at night. From thence, going apart to private prayer, he retired to bed: where he, and his household (made virtuous by his example and instruction) enjoyed the sweet repose of a day well spent. A little before king Edward died, he was nominated to the bishopric of Durham. But, great as the honours were, which he received, and were intended him; the highest were reserved for him under queen Mary: which were, to be a prisoner for the gospel, a confessor of Christ in bonds, and a martyr for his truth (*n*)."

He was esteemed the most learned of all the English reformers: and was inferior to none of them in piety, sanctity, and clearness of evangelical light (*o*). His doctrinal system was, as I have already shewn, formed entirely on the plan of Scripture; to which sacred volume his love and attachment were inexpressible. "In a walk in the orchard at Pembroke Hall (Cambridge), which is to this day called Ridley's Walk, he got by heart almost all the epistles in Greek (*p*)." To this circumstance, himself alludes, in the following passage, written a little before his martyrdom: "Farewell, Pembroke Hall, of late my own college, my cure and my charge. What case thou art in now, God knoweth: I know not well. Thou wast ever named, since I knew thee, which is not thirty years ago, to be studious, well learned, and a great setter forth of Christ's gospel,

(*g*) *Ibid.* 437. (*h*) *Ibid.* 445. (*i*) *Ibid.* 440.

(*k*) Biog. Dict. vol. xii. p. 304.

(*l*) Bertram, or Ratramus, was contemporary with Cotteschalc.

(*m*) See Fox, iii. 360.

(*n*) Biogr. Dict. vol. xii. p. 306.

(*o*) He was a person small in stature, but great in earning: and profoundly read in divinity. His fine tarts, and his great improvements in all the branches of literature necessary to a divine, gave him the first rank in his profession; and his life was answerable to his knowledge. He had a hand in compiling the Common-Prayer Book; and of all, who served at the altar of the Church of England, he bore, perhaps, the most useful testimony, both in life and death to her doctrine." Rolt's Lives of the Reformers, p. 172.

(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 305.

and of God's true word. So I found thee, and blessed be God, so I left thee, indeed. Woe is me for thee, my own dear college, if ever thou suffer thyself by any means to be brought from that trade. In thy orchard (the walls, butts, and trees, if they could speak, would bear me witness) I learned without book almost all St. Paul's Epistles: yea, and, I ween, all the canonical epistles, save only the Apocalypse. Of which study, though in time a great part did depart from me, yet the sweet scent thereof, I trust, I shall carry with me into Heaven. The profit thereof, I think, I have felt in all my life-time ever after (*q*)." Were more of our modern divines thus intimately versed in the book of God, the Church of England would not be in such danger from the Arminianism of some who call themselves her sons.

III. Mr. Hugh Latimer, some time bishop of Worcester, was another of our reformers and martyrs. Though he did by no means shine as a scholar, but appears to have been rather deficient in human learning; he was, nevertheless, conspicuous for his piety, zeal, and undisguised simplicity. His talents, as a preacher, were plain; and not unpopular. His sermons, more practical than speculative (*r*) were chiefly calculated to expose the reigning immoralities of that age, in a style (though he often preached at court) altogether suited to the capacities of the vulgar and the unlettered. But the coarse sounding of Latimer's ram's-horn was, perhaps, as useful to the common people, as the softer music of the silver trumpet modulated by Cranmer, Ridley, and the other reformers, was to the learned and polite.

Though we must not always expect to find in the discourses of Latimer, that exactness of logical accuracy, and that strictness of systematic harmony, which mark the performances of more accomplished divines; still we shall be sure to meet with genuine signatures of a gracious heart, and with lively vestiges of the knowledge that comes from above. And, notwithstanding the Arminians affect to claim this reformer for their own, the absolute want of truth, on which that claim is founded, will abundantly appear from the many striking and decisive passages, which I shall shortly lay before the reader.

Before I produce those passages themselves, permit me, as usual, to premise a general observation, in favour of our martyr's Calvinism. I mean the terms of respect and affection, in which he mentions the names of Austin, Luther, and Peter Martyr, who were all strenuous champions for absolute predestination. St. Austin, whom Mr. Sellon ignorantly and abusively styles "The great and giddy apostle of the Calvinists;" this same St. Austin is called, by Latimer, "A good Christian, and a defender of Christ's religion and of the faith (*s*)."—Mr. Sellon terms Luther "A weather-cock:" but Latimer terms him, "That wonderful instrument of God, through whom God hath opened the light of his holy word unto the world (*t*)."—Nor does Latimer speak less respectfully of Peter Martyr: "There are yet among us," said he, in a sermon preached before king Edward, "two great learned men, Peter Martyr, and Bernard Ochinus, which have an hundred marks apiece: I would the King would bestow a thousand pounds on that sort (*u*)."

The hand likewise, which Latimer had in drawing up the first part of our book of Homilies, must be considered as a loud and standing evidence of his Calvinism. He had resigned his bishopric (which he never afterwards resumed), about seven years before the death of Henry VIII. on the passing of the six articles (*w*): and, about a twelvemonth after, was committed prisoner to the tower; where he lay till the accession of Edward VI. On his release, "he accepted an invitation from his friend archbishop Cranmer, and took up his residence at Lambeth: where he assisted the archbishop in composing the Homilies, which were set forth by authority in the first year of king Edward (*x*)." These homilies are still a part of our ecclesiastical establishment. Let any man but read them; and then doubt if he can, whether the composers were not Calvinist: *i. e.* Anti-Pelagians; for, at that time, and long after, the very name of Arminians was utterly unknown.

Now for some particular proofs of Latimer's orthodoxy. In producing these, I shall begin,

(1) With what he advances concerning election, or predestination unto life. "Cursed be he that doth the work of God negligently, or guilefully. A sore word for them, [*i. e.* for those ministers] that are negligent in discharging their office, or have done it fraudulently: for that is the thing that maketh the people ill. But true it must be, that Christ saith; Many are called, but few are chosen (*y*)."

"Some will say, now, why need we preachers then? God can save his elect without preachers? A goodly reason! God can save my life, without meat and drink: need I none therefore? God can save me from burning, if I were in the fire: shall I run into it therefore? No, no. I must keep the way that God hath

(*q*) Fox, iii. 434.

(*r*) His zeal and sincerity inspired him with figures of speech, to which learning and study cannot rise. His discourses were directed, rather to the reformation of manners, than to the controversies of religion. In short, Latimer, with a moderate share of learning and abilities, was a much greater man, a much better Christian, and a much worthier bishop, than many of his order, who have shone with a more conspicuous figure." Rolt, p. 174.

(*s*) Latimer's Sermons, vol. i. p. 185.—Edit. 1758 octavo.

(*t*) *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 669. (*u*) *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 1?

(*w*) Parliamentary History, vol. iii. p. 156.

(*x*) Biogr. Dict. vol. vii. p. 393.

(*y*) Latimer's Sermons, vol. i. p. 44.

ordained, and use that ordinary means that God hath assigned (*z*)." According, therefore, to Latimer (and, indeed, according to the Scripture and right reason), the decree of predestination does not render the use of ordinary means unnecessary. On the contrary, the decree is that very root, from whence the means originally derive their efficacy.

Every Calvinist maintains, that good works are the consequence, and the evidence, of election: and, of those good works, restitution, to such persons as we may have wronged, is certainly one. Bishop Latimer was exactly of our mind. "Some examples have been, of open restitution: and glad may he be, that God was so friendly unto him, as to bring him unto it in this world. I am not afraid to name him: it was master Sherington; an honest gentleman and one that God loveth. He openly confessed, that he had deceived the king: and he made open restitution. O, what an argument may he have against the devil, when he shall move him to desperation! God brought this out, to his amendment. It is a token, that he is a chosen man of God, and one of his elected (*a*)."

The passage immediately following, though it may tend to prove the vanity of making any calculation respecting those times and seasons which the Father hath put in his own power; demonstrates, however, the undoubting firmness, with which Latimer held the doctrine of election. "The world was ordained to endure, as all learned men affirm, and prove it with Scripture, six thousand years. Now, of that number, there be passed 5552: so that there is no more left, but 448. And, furtheremore, those days shall be shortened. It shall not be full 6000 years. The days shall be shortened for the elects' sake (*b*)."

"St. Paul, that elect instrument of God, shewed a reason wherefore God layeth afflictions upon us (*c*). We cannot come to that unspeakable felicity, which God hath prepared for his, except we be clean in our hearts (*d*)."

The hypocrisy of too many religious professors, and the frequent deceitfulness of appearances, occasioned Latimer to make the following remark: "There is no great difference, here in this world, between the elect and the reprobate. For the very unfaithful give alms, &c. So that, I say, we cannot tell, as long as we be here in this world, which be elect, and which not. But at the last day, then it shall appear who is he that shall be saved; and, again, who shall be damned (*e*)." There were some, however, of whose election the good bishop could have no doubt: witness what he said, above, concerning "master Sherington."

He justly observes, that the certainty of our election is to be inferred from the truth of our conversion. No Calvinist says (nor, indeed, will the nature of the case permit any reasonable man to argue so perversely and absurdly), I am elected, and therefore I shall be saved, whether I am converted or not. On the contrary, this is our language: God would not have converted me, if he had not elected me. We are for beginning at the bottom of the ladder, and for taking the chain by the right end. Hence (as bishop Bancroft very properly observed at the Hampton-court conference), we argue, not *descendendo*, but *ascendendo*: *i. e.* we rise to the fountain, by following the stream; or arrive at the knowledge of our own particular election, by the solid marks of sanctification. We judge of God's objective purposes concerning us, by that subjective work of grace which he hath wrought within us. As election is the radical cause of regeneration; so regeneration, and its fruits, are the clue, by which we are guided to the sight and sense of election. This was the precise view in which Latimer considered the point: whence he says, and we say with him, "We need not go about to trouble ourselves with curious questions of the predestination of God: but let us rather endeavour ourselves that we may be in Christ. For, when we be in him, then are we well: and then we may be sure that we are ordained to everlasting life (*f*)." Again, "When you find these three things in your hearts, [*viz.* repentance, faith, and a desire to leave sin,] then you may be sure your names are written in the book, and you may be sure also, that you are elected and predestinated to everlasting life (*g*)."

Elsewhere, he comes more expressly to the point: "If thou art desirous to know, whether thou art chosen to everlasting life, thou mayest not begin with God; for God is too high: thou canst not comprehend him. Begin with Christ, and learn to know Christ, and wherefore he came: namely, that he came to save sinners, and made himself subject to the law, and a fulfiller of the law, to deliver us from the wrath and danger thereof. If thou knowest Christ, then thou mayest know further of thy election (*h*)."

Speaking of Joseph and his afflictions, he adds, "Here you see how God doth exercise those which appertain to everlasting life (*i*). Treating of the last day, he still keeps God's

(*z*) *Ibid.* p. 264. (*a*) *Ibid.* p. 294.
(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 365. (*c*) *Ibid.* vol. ii. p 484.
(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 509. (*e*) *Ibid.* p. 574.
(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 846. (*g*) *Ibid.* p. 848.
(*h*) *Ib.* p. 886, 887, so again, p. 889. "Here is now taught you, how to try out your election; namely, in Christ: for Christ is the accounting-book and register of God: even in the same book, that is, Christ, are written all the names of the elect. Therefore we cannot [*viz.* at first] find our election in ourselves neither yet in the high counsel of God. 'Where then shall I find my election?' In the counting-book of God which is Christ."

The sum of Latimer's reasoning is this: If I believe in Christ alone for salvation, I am certainly interested in Christ; and interested in Christ I could not be, if I was not chosen and elected of God. Which is ascending to election, by the right gradations.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 858.

election in view: "The trumpet shall blow, and the angels shall come and gather all those that offend, from among the elect of God. All the elect shall be gathered unto him, and there they shall see the judgment; but they themselves shall not be judged, but shall be like as judges with him. After that the elect are separated from the wicked, he shall give a most horrible and dreadful sentence unto the wicked (*k*). Then shall the elect shine as the sun in the kingdom of God (*l*)." Thus, says this worthy martyr, will Christ come, "in great honour and glory, and will make all his faithful like unto him, and will say, unto them that be chosen to everlasting life, Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess that kingdom which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world (*m*)." We shall find this valuable man no less clear and scriptural,

(2). In his sentiments concerning Providence. "Remember the hair how it falls not without God's providence. Remember the sparrows, how they build in every house, and God provideth for them. And are you not much more precious to me, saith Christ than sparrows, or other birds! God will defend you, that, before your time cometh, ye shall not die, nor miscarry. God hath appointed his times, as pleaseth him: and, before the time cometh that God hath appointed, they shall have no power against you. Till thy time come, thou shalt not die (*n*)."

According to Latimer, God's will is distinguishable into secret and revealed. His secret will is his will of decree, known only to himself: His revealed will is his will of command, discovered and made known in his written word. His secret, or decreeing will, is the rule of his own conduct: His revealed or preceptive will ought to be the rule of our conduct. Christ, says Latimer, "Teacheth us to pray, thy kingdom come——thy will be done. Here we must understand, that the will of God is to be considered after two sorts. First, as it is omnipotent, unsearchable, and that cannot be known to us. Now, we do not pray that his will, so considered, may be done: for his will, so considered, is, and ever shall be fulfilled, though we would say nay to it. For nothing either in Heaven or earth, is able to withstand his will. Wherefore it were but folly for us to pray to have it fulfilled, otherwise than to shew thereby that we give our consent to his will, which is to us unsearchable. But there is another consideration of God's holy will; and that consideration we, and all faithful Christians, desire may be done: and, so considered, it is called a revealed, a manifested, and declared will; and it is opened unto us in the Bible, in the New and Old Testament. There God hath revealed a certain will: therefore, we pray that it may be done, and fulfilled of us (*o*)."

Latimer has already pronounced God's secret, or "unsearchable" will, to be "omnipotent:" *i. e.* God's decrees must and shall be accomplished and brought to pass by his providence. No wonder, then, that our reformer, in exact harmony with that grand maxim, should assert as follows: "He [*i. e.* God] filleth the earth; "that is to say, he ruleth and governeth the same: ordering all things according to his will and pleasure (*p*)." From whence it is very naturally inferred, that "We ought to be at his pleasure: whensoever and whatsoever he will do with us, we ought to be content with all (*q*)." That is, in modern language, we ought to believe, whatever is, is right: seeing "all things" are "ordered according to God's will and pleasure." Does not Latimer speak the very quintessence of Calvinism?

One would imagine, that, if any of mankind might be supposed to be more exempt, than others, from the immediate and constant controul of absolute Providence, kings and sovereign princes would be the men. Yet even these, according to honest Latimer's, theology, are as much tied and bound from above, as the meanest of the human race. "God saith, Through me kings reign. Yea, they be so under God's rule, that they can think nothing, nor do any thing, without God's permission. For it is written, The heart of the king is in the hands of the Lord, and he turneth the same whithersoever it pleaseth him. All those great rulers, that have been from the beginning of the world till now, have been set up by the appointment of God; and he pulled them down, when it pleased him (*r*)."

Wealth and poverty are distributed by the hand of Providence. "It is written, The blessing of God maketh rich. Except God bless it, it [*i. e.* human labour] standeth to no effect: for it is written, They shall eat, but yet never be satisfied. Eat as much as you will, except God feed you, you shall never be full. So likewise, as rich as a man is, yet he cannot augment his riches, or keep that he hath, except God be with him, except he bless him. Therefore let us not be proud: for we be but beggars the best of us (*s*)."

To the same effect he speaks elsewhere: We must labour; for so we are commanded to do: but we must look for the increase at God's hands. For, though a man labour much, yet, for all that, he shall have no more than God hath appointed him to have: for even as it pleaseth God, so he shall have. For the earth is the Lord's, and all is therein (*t*)."

I have already shewn, that Latimer believ-

(*k*) *Ibid.* p 867.
(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 872.
(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 682.
(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 295, 296, 297.
(*o*) *Ibid.* . p. 369. 370.
(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 324
(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 345.
(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 354
(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 447.
(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 653.

ed that the duration of every man's life is fixed and predestinated by God. The good bishop inculcates the same great truth, again and again. "Every man hath a certain time appointed him of God; and God hideth the same from us: for some die in young age, some in old age, according as it pleaseth him (*u*)." Once more: "of that we may be sure, there shall not fall one hair from our head, without his will: and we shall not die, before the time that God hath appointed unto us. Which is a comfortable thing: especially in time of sickness, or wars (*w*)."

Latimer, very justly, maintained, that afflictions also are an effect of God's predestination and providence: from whence he drew this practical conclusion: "Let us learn not to be peevish, when God layeth his cross upon us. Let us not despair, but call upon him. Let us think we be ordained unto it (*x*)." Again, "Seeing that there is nothing done without his will, I ought to bear this cross which he layeth upon me, without murmering or grudging (*y*)."

Notwithstanding Latimer was thus so strenuous an assertor of God's decrees and providence; we yet find him making use of the word chance. But he evidently means, by that term, the occurrence of some event, unexpected and unforeseen by us ourselves. For, he takes care to let us know, that, by this word, he still intends no other than a providential dispensation. "Now," says he "when I come to poverty by chance, so that God sendeth poverty unto me; then I am blessed, when I take poverty well, and without grudging (*z*)."

Every Christian will allow, that the putting of Christ to death, was, in itself, infinitely the greatest crime ever perpetrated by man. And yet, so absolute a predestinarian was Latimer, that he represents this greatest of crimes as exactly corresponding to the predestination and providence of God concerning it. Nay, he even supposes, that Satan would have hindered the Messiah's crucifixion, but was not able to hinder it, because "God's council and purpose" were, that the Messiah should be crucified. Let us attend to Latimer's own words. "After that, when Christ was born into the world, he [*i. e.* Satan] did what he could to rid him [*viz.* Christ] out of the way: therefore he stirred up all the Jews against him. But, after he perceived that his death [*i. e.* the death of Christ] should be our deliverance from everlasting death; he [Satan] did what he could to hinder his death; and therefore he stirred up mistress Pilate, who took a nap in the morning, as such fine dames are wont to do, that she should not suffer her husband to give sentence against Christ. For, as I told you, when he [Satan] perceived that it was to be his [Satan's] destruction, he would hinder it, and did what he could, with hand and foot, to stop it. But yet he was not able to disannul the counsel and purpose of God (*a*)." Far be it from me to vindicate the whole of this remarkable paragraph. On the contrary, I think it very exceptionable, in more respects than one. But it certainly proves, that Latimer carried his idea of predestination to the highest pitch it is possible for man to do.

'Tis now time, that I should produce his judgment.

(3) Concerning original sin, or man's total fall from God: on which important article, no less than on the preceding ones, the doctrine of this reformer was essentially different from that embraced by the sect of of Arminius. "It was not for nought," says Latimer, that "Jeremiah describeth man's heart in its colours: the heart of man is naughty, and crooked, and a froward piece of work (*b*)." But, how came the human heart to be thus spiritually and morally depraved? Latimer traces it all to the sin of our first parent. "Our fore-father Adam wilfully ate of the apple forbidden. Wherefore he was cast out of the everlasting joy in Paradise, into this corrupt world, amongst all vileness: whereby of himself he was not worthy to do any thing laudable and pleasant to God; evermore bound to corrupt affections, and beastly appetites; transformed into the uncleanest and variablest nature that was made under Heaven: of whose seed and disposition, all the world is lineally descended. Insomuch that this evil nature is so diffused, and shed from one into another, that at this day there is no man or woman living, that can of themselves wash away their abominable vileness: and so we must needs grant of ourselves to be in like displeasure unto God, as our father Adam was. By reason hereof, as I said, we be, of ourselves, the very children of the indignation and vengeance of God: the true inheritors of Hell, and working all towards Hell. Which is the answer to this question, made to every man and woman by themselves, what art thou (*c*)?" I will add but one citation more: "This our nature David, the holy king and prophet, describeth with few words, saying, Lo, in iniquity am I born, and in sin hath my mother conceived me. He doth signify by his words, what he had inherited of his parent Adam; namely, sin and wickedness. And he speaketh not of himself only, but of all mankind. He painteth us out in our own colours: shewing, that we all are contaminate, from our birth, with sin; and so should justly be fire-brands in Hell, world without end. This the holy prophet shewed in these words to put us in remembrance of our own wretchedness:

(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 429. (*w*) *Ibid.* p. 430.
(*x*) *Ibid.* p. 456. (*y*) *Ibid.* p. 484.
(*z*) *Ibid.* p. 501. (*a*) *Ibid.* p. 774, 775.
(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 139. (*c*) *Ibid.* p. 907.

to teach us to despair of our own holiness and righteousness, and to seek our help and comfort by that Messias whom God hath promised to our fore-fathers. Another Scripture signifieth to us, farther, what we be of ourselves, of our own nature: for it is written, all men are liars. Therefore, man is not clean; but full of falsehood, and deceit, and all manner of sin and wickedness; poisoned and corrupt with all manner of uncleanness. What found he [*i. e.* God], when he made inquisition? marry, this: all men have declined from God; there was none that did good, no not one. Here, we may perceive what we be of ourselves, of our own nature (*d*)."

Such being Latimer's view of original sin, and its effects, no wonder, that,

(4.) He utterly denied those powers, which Arminians ascribe to what they term man's free-will.

The unceremonious prelate even goes so far as to suppose, that the will of Satan, and the will of man, are joint warriors against the will of God. "We desire," says Latimer, on those words, Thy will be done; "We desire, that he [*viz.* our heavenly Father] will fortify and strengthen us, so that we may withstand the Devil's will, and our own, which fight against God's will (*e*)." But in vain is the will of God fought against: for, as the martyr observes in another place, "No man's power is able to stand against God, or disappoint him of his purposes (*f*)."

He likewise pays a very rough compliment to free-will, in the subsequent passage: "I am, of myself, and by myself, coming from my natural father and mother, the child of the ire and indignation of God, and the true inheritor of Hell; a lump of sin, and working nothing of myself, but all towards Hell, except I have better help of another than I have of myself (*g*)."

What is the influence of this truth upon the hearts of those who are born again and converted to God? The bishop shall tell us. "Here we may see, how much we be bound and indebted to God, who has revived us from death to life, and saved us that were damned" [*i. e.* who were natually condemned by the divine law]: "which great benefit we cannot well consider, unless we do remember what we were of ourselves, before we meddled with him and his laws. And the more we know our feeble nature, and set less by it, the more we shall conceive and know in our hearts what God hath done for us: and, the more we know what God hath done for us, the less we shall set by ourselves, and the more we shall love and please God. So that, in no condition, we shall either know ourselves or God; except we do utterly confess ourselves to be mere vileness and corruption (*h*)."

Whoever has such an opinion of human nature and its powers, must likewise hold, that man is, in no respect, nor in any degree, the architect of his own salvation. Hence,

(5.) Latimer believed, that, in the whole business of conversion and sanctification, God's free and efficacious grace is all in all. With an eye to this point, we find him expressly declaring, that his ministry was nothing, unless God made it effectual: "Whether it be unfruitful, or no," says he, "I cannot tell. It lieth not in me to make it fruitful. If God work not in your hearts, my preaching can do but little good (*i*)."

Speaking of some, who reviled him for preaching the gospel, he acknowledged that the grace, by which alone those persons could be amended, was solely at the sovereign disposal of God himself: "As for me, I owe them no ill-will; but I pray God amend them, when it pleaseth him (*k*)." Again: "Preachers can do no more but call: God is he that must bring in. God must open the hearts, as it is in the Acts of the Apostles. When Paul preached to the women, there was a silk-woman, whose heart God opened. None could open it, but God. Paul could but only preach: God must work; God must do the thing inwardly (*l*)."

On those words of our Lord, If ye then being evil, &c.; he observes, that Christ here "Giveth us our own proper name: he painteth us out; he pincheth us; he cutteth off our combs; he plucketh down our stomachs. And here we learn to acknowledge ourselves to be wicked, and to know him to be the well-spring and fountain of all goodness, and that all good things come of him (*m*)." If this is not "pinching" and "cutting the comb" of free-will, I know not what is.

In his third sermon on the Lord's Prayer, he remarks, that, in the petition of hallowed be thy name, Christ would have us to confess our own imperfections, that we be not able to do any thing according to God's will, except we receive it first at his hands. Therefore he teacheth us to pray, that God will make us able to do all things according to his will and pleasure (*n*). Farther, by this petition, we be put in remembrance what we be, namely, captives of the Devil, his prisoners and bondmen; and not able to come at liberty through our own power (*o*). Wherefore, we may say, with St. Austin, Lord, do thou with me what thou commandest, and then command what thou wilt. For we, of our own strength and power, are not able to do his commandments (*p*)." Latimer, in another place, quotes

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 747. (*e*) *Ibid.* p. 372. (*f*) *Ibid.* p. 663. (*g*) *Ibid.* p. 903, 904. (*h*) *Ibid.* p. 903. (*i*) *Ibid.* p. 134. (*k*) *Ibid.* p. 135. (*l*) *Ibid.* p. 234. (*m*) *Ibid.* p. 329. (*n*) *Ibid.* p. 353. (*o*) *Ibid.* p. 357. (*p*) *Ibid.* p. 393.

St. Austin's word more exactly: "Like as St. Augustin saith, Lord give that thou commandest, and then command what thou wilt: as who would say, if thou wilt command only, and not give; then we shall be lost, we shall perish (*q*)." Which, by the way, is another proof of Latimer's agreement with Austin on the article of grace. One or two testimonies more shall conclude this head.

Except a man be born again from above, he cannot see the kingdom of God. He must have a regeneration. And what is this regeneration? It is not to be christened in water, as these fire-brands [*i. e.* the papists] would have it. How is it to be expounded then? St. Peter sheweth, that one place of Scripture declareth another. St. Peter saith, And we be born again. How? not by mortal seed, but by immortal. What is this immortal seed? By the word of the living God: by the word of God preached and opened. Thus cometh in our new birth (*r*). This is a great commendation of this office of preaching. It is God's instrument, whereby he worketh faith in our hearts (*s*)."

As Latimer thus believed that men are regenerated, not by themselves, nor by the mere water of baptism, nor simply by the word preached, but by the power of God himself "working faith in their hearts;" of which supernatural power the word preached is no more than the usual instrument and channel: so he taught, that, after the work of regeneration has passed upon the soul, man's own ability can no more preserve him in a state of grace, than it could at first bring him into it. "St. Paul saith, Be strong in the Lord. We must be strong by a borrowed strength: for we of ourselves, are too weak and feeble. Therefore let us learn where we shall fetch our strength from; namely from above. For we have it not of our own selves (*t*)."

"This is a good doctrine, which admonisheth us to give all praise unto God: and not to ascribe it to our own selves (*u*). It shall be necessary unto all men and women of this world, not to ascribe unto themselves any goodness of themselves; but all unto our Lord God (*w*)." Surely, if Latimer was a free-willer, there is no meaning in words!

(6.) Let us consult him, next, on the important doctrine of justification. According to this good old Churchman, justification in the sight of God is absolutely free and entirely unmerited by man; and accrues to us only by an interest in the active obedience, or personal righteousness, of Jesus Christ.

[1.] For the absolute freeness of justification. "We must believe that our Saviour Christ hath taken us again into his favour, that he hath delivered us by his own body and blood, and by the merit of his own passion, of his own mere liberality (*x*)."

"Do I now, in forgiving my neighbour his sins which he hath done against me; do I, I say, deserve, or merit, at God's hand, forgiveness of my own sins? No, no: God forbid. For, if this should be so, then farewell Christ. It taketh him clean away. It diminisheth his honour, and it is very treason wrought against Christ. Remission of sins wherein consisteth everlasting life, is such a treasure that passeth all men's doings. It must not be our merits that shall serve, but his. He is our comfort; he is the majesty of God; and his blood-shedding it is that cleanseth us from our sins. Therefore, whosoever is minded contrary unto this, he robbeth Christ of his majesty, and so casteth himself into everlasting danger. As touching our salvation, we must not go to work, to think to get everlasting life by our own doings. No. This were to deny Christ's salvation, and remission of sins, and his own and free gift (*y*). Thou must beware, as I said before, that thou think not to go to Heaven by such remitting of thy neighbour's ill doings. But, by such forgiving, or not forgiving, thou shalt know whether thou have faith or no (*z*)."

"There be many folk, which, when they be sick, say, O, that I might live but one year longer to make amends for my sins! which saying is very naught and ungodly: for we are not able to make amends for our sins. Only Christ, he is the Lamb of God which taketh away our sins. As for satisfaction, we cannot do the least piece of it (*a*)."

"Reward! This word soundeth as though we should merit somewhat by our own works. But we shall not think so: for ye must understand, that all our works are imperfect; we cannot do them so perfectly as the law requireth, because of our flesh which ever letteth us. Wherefore is the kingdom of God called, then, a reward? because it is merited by Christ. For as touching our salvation and eternal life, it must be merited: but not by our own works, but only by the merits of our Saviour Christ (*b*)."

"All the Papists in England, and especially the spiritual men [*i. e.* their priests], be the enemies of the cross of Christ, two manner of ways. First, when he is a right Papist, given unto monkery, I warrant you he is in this opinion. That with his own works he does merit remission of his sins, and satisfieth the law through and by his own works: and so thinks himself to be saved everlastingly. This is the opinion of all Papists: and this doctrine was taught, in times past [*i. e.* in the Popish times], in schools and in the pulpits. Now, all those,

(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 453.—Domine da quod jubes, et jube quod vis.
(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 185. (*s*) *Ibid.* p. 489
(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 317. (*u*) *Ibid.* p. 369.
(*w*) *Ibid.* p. 903. (*x*) *Ibid.* p. 228.
(*y*) *Ibid.* p. 435. (*z*) *Ibid.* p. 437.
(*a*) *Ibid.* p. 488. (*b*) *Ibid.* p. 513.

that be in such an opinion, are the enemies of the cross of Christ, of his passion and blood-shedding. For they think in themselves" [*i. e.* such an opinion is tantamount to thinking, that] "Christ needeth [needed] not to die: and so they despise his bitter passion. They do not consider our birth-sin, and the corruption of our nature: nor yet do they know the quantity of our actual sins, how many times we fall into sin; or how much our own power is diminished, or what might and power the Devil hath. They consider not these things: but think themselves able with their own works to enter into the kingdom of God. And, therefore, I tell you, this is the most perilous doctrine that can be devised (*c*). We must do good works: we must endeavour ourselves to live according to the commandments of God: yet, for all that, we must not trust in our doings. For, though we do to the uttermost, yet it is all imperfect, when ye examine them by the rigour of the law: which law serveth [not to justify us, but] to bring us to the knowledge of our sins, and so to Christ; and, by Christ, we shall come to the quietness of our conscience. Therefore, it is not more necessary to do good works, than it is to beware how to esteem them. Therefore take heed, good Christian people: deny not Christ; put not your hope in your own doings: for if ye do, ye shall repent (*d*)."

"He will reward our good works in everlasting life, but not with everlasting life; for our works are not so much worth, nor ought to be esteemed so, as to get us Heaven. For it is written, The kindom of Heaven is the gift of God. So likewise St. Paul saith, Ye are saved freely, without works. Therefore, when ye ask, Are ye saved? Say, yes. How? marry, gratis; freely. And here is all our comfort to stay our consciences (*e*)."

We read, in a book, which is entitled 'The Lives of the Fathers,' that there was once a great, holy man (as he seemed to all the world) worthy to be taken up into Heaven. Now, that man had many disciples, and, on a time, he fell into a great agony of conscience; insomuch that he could not tell what in the world to do. Now, his diciples standing about him, seeing him in this case, they said unto him, How chanceth it that ye are so troubled, father? for, certainly, there is no body so good a liver, or more holy than you have been: therefore you need not fear; for, no doubt, you shall come to Heaven. The old father made them answer again, saying, Though I have lived uprightly, yet for all that, it will not help me, I lack something yet. And so he did indeed. For, certainly, if he had followed the counsel of his disciples, and put his trust in godly conversation, no doubt he should have gone to the Devil (*f*)."

Bishop Latimer was immoveably radicated in that great scriptural and Protestant axiom, that good works do not go before justification, but justification goes before good works. Hence his following excellent remark: "I pray you note this: we must first be made good, before we can do good. We must first be made just, before our works please God. For, when we are justified by faith in Christ, and are made good by him; then cometh our duty, that is to do good works, to make a declaration of our thankfulness (*g*)." Now, if good works cannot possibly exist prior to justification, it invincibly follows, that justification cannot possibly be caused or conditionated by good works. On the contrary, justification is itself the cause of good works, instead of good works being the cause of justification.

Though Christ will, in the last day, condescend to make mention of the good works which he enabled his people to perform; and will appeal to those works, as evidences of his people's belonging to him; yet the works, so appealed to, will not be the ground even of that public and declarative justification, which will be predicated of the elect at that awful season. So at least good Latimer thought: witness his own testimony. "If we shall be judged after our own deservings, we shall be damned everlastingly. Therefore learn here, every good Christian, to abhor this most detestable and dangerous poison of the Papists, who go about to thrust Christ out of his seat. Learn here, I say, to leave all Papistry, and to stick only to the word of God; which teacheth thee, that Christ is not a judge, but a justifier, a giver of salvation, a taker-away of sin. For he purchased our salvation through his painful death; and we receive the same through believing in him: as St. Paul teacheth, saying, Freely ye are justified, through faith. In these words of St. Paul, all merits and estimation of works are clear taken away. For, if it were for our works' sake, then were it not freely. But St. Paul saith, freely. Whether will you now believe St. Paul, or the Papist (*h*)?"

Nor does this inestimable truth lead, in the least, to licentiousness. Let the apostolic reformer obviate the unreasonable surmise. "But you will say, seeing we can get nothing with good works, we will do nothing at all; or else do such works as shall best please us: seeing we shall have no rewards for our well-doings. I answer, we are commanded, by God's word, to apply ourselves to goodness, every one in his calling: but we must not do it to the end to deserve Heaven thereby. We must do good works, to shew ourselves thankful for all his benefits, which he hath poured upon us; and in respect of God's commandment; considering, that God willeth us to do well, not to make a merit of it; for this were a denying of Christ, to say, I will live well and deserve

(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 555. (*d*) *Ibid.* p. 557.
(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 796, 797. (*f*) *Ibid.* p. 709.
(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 798. (*h*) *Ibid.* p. 805, 806.

Heaven. This is a damnable opinion. Let us rather think thus: I will live well, to shew myself thankful towards my loving God, and Christ my redeemer (*i*)." What a double-dyed Antinomian must such a writer as bishop Latimer appear, in the eyes of such jaundiced theologs, as John Wesley and Walter Sellon! Especially when they consider,

[11.] That according to the bishop's scheme of divinity, the righteousness or personal obedience of Jesus Christ, is the sole meritorious cause of this free justification.

"Our sins lett us [*i. e.* they hinder us], and withdraw us from prayer. But our Saviour maketh them nothing. When we believe in him, it is like as if we had no sins. For he changeth with us; he taketh our sins and wickedness from us, and giveth us his holiness, righteousness, justice, fulfilling of the law; and so, consequently, everlasting life. So that we be like as if we had done no sin at all. For his righteousness standeth us in so good stead, as though we of ourselves had fulfilled the law to the uttermost (*k*)."

"All faithful and true Christians believe only in his death. They long to be saved, through his passion and blood-shedding. This is all their comfort. They must know, and steadfastly believe, that Christ fulfilled the law; and that his fulfilling is theirs. So that they attribute unto Christ the getting and meriting of everlasting life. And so it followeth, that they, who attribute the remission of sins, the getting of everlasting life, unto themselves, or their works, that they deny Christ, they blaspheme and despise him (*l*)."

He himself had no sin at all. He suffered, to deliver us from everlasting damnation. He took our sins, and gave us his righteousness (*m*). Our Saviour is clearly open unto us. He hath suffered for us already, and fulfilled the law to the utmost: and so, by his fulfilling, taken away the curse of the law (*n*). By his passion, which he hath suffered, he merited, that as many, as believe in him, shall be as well justified by him as though themselves had never done any sin, and as though they themselves had fulfilled the law to the uttermost (*o*). He was very man, and was bound to the law. To what end? That he might deliver us from the law, to which we were bound; and that we might receive the right of the children of God by adoption, through God's goodness, by his deserving: that we might have, through his fulfilling of the law, remission of sins and eternal life. These are the gifts, which he hath deserved with his keeping of the law (*p*)." Once more: "he was a lamb undefiled, fulfilling the law for us to the uttermost; giving us, freely as a gift, his fulfilling to be ours; so that we are now fulfillers of the law by his fulfilling. So that the law may not condemn us, for he hath fulfilled it: that we believing in him are fulfillers of the law, and just, before the face of God (*q*). Our unrighteousness is forgiven us through the righteousness of Christ: for, if we believe in him, then are we made righteous. When he [God the Father] gave us his only Son, he gave us also his righteousness and his fulfilling of the law. So that we are justified by God's free gift, and not of ourselves, nor by our merits; but the righteousness of Christ is accounted to be our righteousness (*r*)."

The justification of God's people, thus founded upon, resulting from, and secured by, the imputed righteousness of Christ; this justification, according to Latimer, and according to the Scriptures, is absolute and total. "Our Saviour hath taken away our sins, so that they cannot hurt us. For they be no sins, in the sight of God. For he hath taken away the guiltiness of sins, and the pains and punishments which follow sins. Christ hath deserved, that those, who believe in him, shall be quit from all their sins (*s*)."

No people are more crumbled into subdivisions among themselves, than the Arminians. That particular sort of them, whose shameless and fruitless efforts to blacken the Church of England have given rise to this present work, are Arminian-*Perfectionists*. I mean Mr. John Wesley, and his junto. For the sake of these people, and by way of demonstrating, still farther, the palpable falsehood with which they lay hold on Latimer's robe, and claim him for their kinsman; I will subjoin

[7.] Some part of what this reformer delivers, concerning the doctrine of sinless perfection.

By way of substratum, let us hear his testimony, respecting the spirituality, perfection, and extent of the moral law revealed in the Scriptures. "If he, [*i. e.* if Christ] had not kept the law, the law had such power, that it would have condemned us all. For so it is written: Cursed be he, who abideth not by all that which is written in the law. So that, the least cogitation that we have against the law of God, bringeth this curse upon our heads. So that there was never man, nor shall be one, that could remedy himself by this law; for it is spiritual. It may not be fulfilled, but by the spirit. It requireth us to be clean from all spot of sin; from all ill thoughts, words, and deeds. But we be carnal; and, as St. Paul saith, sold under sin and wickedness: therefore, he concludes thus: By the works of the law no man can be justified. As Christ did them, they merit: for he did them perfectly, as they ought to be done. But as we do them, they condemn. And yet the lack is not in the

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 814.
(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 321.
(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 525, 556.
(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 602.
(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 604.
(*o*) *Ibid* p. 777.
(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 792.
(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 808.
(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 870, 871.
(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 336.

law, but in us. The law, of itself, is holy and good. But we are not able to keep it; and therefore we must seek our righteousness, not in the law, but in Christ, who hath fulfilled the same, and given us freely his fulfilling. And this is the chiefest cause, why Christ would fulfil the law [namely, for our justification]. But all the Papists think themselves to be saved by the law: and I myself have been of that dangerous, perilous, and damnable opinion, till I was thirty years of age. So long I walked in darkness, and in the shadow of death. And, no doubt, he that departeth out of this world in that opinion, he shall never come to Heaven. For, when we will consider the works of the law, which the law requireth; and, again, how we do them; we shall find, that we may not be justified by our doings. For the flesh reigneth in us; it beareth rule, and hindereth the spirit: and so we never fulfil the law. Certain it is, that they that believe in Christ have the Holy Ghost, which ruleth and governeth them: yet, for all that, there be a great many lacks in them. So that if they would go about to be saved by their works, they should come too short: for their works are not able to answer the requests of the law. The law requireth a perfect righteousness and holiness. Now, all they that believe in Christ, they are holy and righteous: for he hath fulfilled the law for us which believe in him (*t*)."

Such being the unrelaxing perfection, which the law inflexibly requires: it necessarily follows, that the supposition of possible perfection on earth, is the most fanatic dream, and the most gigantic delusion, which can whirl the brain of a human being. So it appeared to Latimer. "No man born into this world," says he, "is without sin, save Christ only (*u*). Who is there, in this world, that hath not need to say, Lord, forgive me? No man living. Nor ever was, nor shall be, our Saviour only excepted (*w*). There is neither man, nor woman, that can say they have no sin: for we be all sinners (*x*). We be ever in that case, that we have ever need to say, Lord, forgive us: for we ever do amiss (*y*). St. Paul saith, Let not sin reign in your corruptible body. He doth not require us that we should have no sin, for that is impossible unto us: but he requireth, that we be not servants unto sin (*z*). There is no saint in Heaven, neither St. Peter, nor Paul, but, when they were here, their nature was corrupt, and given to wickedness (*a*). How doth he [*i. e.* Christ] save us from sin? In this manner: that sin shall not condemn us; sin shall not have the victory over us. He saved us, not so that we should be without sin, that no sin should be left in our hearts: No. He saved us not so. For all manner of imperfections remain in us: yea in the best of us: so that, if God should enter into judgment with us, we shall be damned. For there neither is, nor was, any man born into this world, who could say, I am clean from sin, except Jesus Christ. Therefore he saved us not so from sin in taking clean away the same from us, that we should no more be inclined to it; but rather the power and strength of the same sin he hath so vanquished, that it shall not be able to condemn those that believe in him: for sin is remitted, and not imputed, unto believers (*b*)."

They, who, after this, can set down bishop Latimer for a perfectionist may, with equal reason, set him down for a free-willer. I proceed,

(8). To take his vote on the subject of universal redemption.

His doctrine, concerning redemption itself, is, that the people for whom Christ died are, by his death, totally discharged from the punishment due to their sins. "It is," says he "much like as if I owed another man twenty thousand pounds, and should [*i. e.* must] pay it out of hand, or else go to the dungeon of Ludgate: and when I am going to prison, one of my friends should come, and ask, Whither goes this man? and, after he had heard the matter, should say, Let me answer for him: I will be surety for him; yea, I will pay all for him. Such a part played our Saviour Christ with us (*c*)." Elsewhere he repeats the same illustration; but in yet stronger terms: "In such distress cometh a good friend, and saith, Sir, be of good cheer; I will pay thy debts: and forthwith payeth the whole sum, and setteth me at liberty. Such a friend is our Saviour. He hath payed our debts, and set us at liberty (*d*)."

From these premises, it incontestibly follows, that not one of those for whom "Christ payed all," not one of those for whom he discharged "the whole sum," not one of those whom he died to "set at liberty" from punishment; can be finally condemned: since, if condemned and punished they were to be, either the justice of God the Father would fail, or it would not be true that Christ had discharged "all their debts," and payed off "the whole sum," and really "set them at liberty." Hence, it is evident, that, according to Latimer's argument, Christ was very far from dying for every individual of mankind; it being Latimer's avowed opinion, that very many will, in the last day, be sentenced to suffer the vengeance of eternal fire. He supposed, for instance, that unpreaching bishops only will fill up a gap in Hell, of seven leagues wide (*e*). Surely, the "debts" of these, at least, were not "all paid," nor the debtors set at liberty!" Consequently, if Latimer may

(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 792, 793, 794.
(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 388. (*w*) *Ibid.* p 428. (*x*) *Ibid.* p. 431.
(*y*) *Ibid.* p. 434. (*z*) *Ibid.* p. 453. (*a*) *Ibid.* p. 576.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 804.
(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 211. (*d*) *Ibid.* p. 321.
(*e*) "If," says Latimer, "one were admitted to

be credited, some of mankind must have been left unredeemed. Observe I am not here professedly delivering my own opinion. I am only deducing the opinion of Latimer from Latimer's premises.

But his judgment does not stand in need of deduction. It has the seal and sanction of his own express declaration. He peremptorily affirms, that Christ did not die for such as shall be eventually lost. "Mark here," says he, "Scripture speaketh not of (*f*) impenitent sinners: Christ died not for them; his death remedieth not their sins (*g*)." Now, if there be any, for whom Christ "died not," and whose sins his death "remedieth not;" it follows, that, in this reformer's idea, redemption is not universal.

His frequently affirming, that Christ expiated the sins of "the whole world," does by no means clash with his doctrine in the above passages. Indeed, it is saying no more than the Scripture has repeatedly said before him. The point of enquiry is, what does that phrase, the whole world, import? Surely, not every person, without exception, who did, does, or shall exist; for, in that sense of the phrase, it seems impossible that Christ could die for all. Some, for instance, in our Lord's time at least, were guilty of that sin which he himself has pronounced absolutely unpardonable: and would he die for the pardon of those, whose sin, he avers, shall never be pardoned? This would be like a man's paying down an inestimable ransom for such as, he knows at the very time of his paying it, neither will nor can ever be set at liberty. Besides, what shall we say of those many final impenitents, whose departed souls had been in the place of torment, ages and ages before Christ was crucified at all? Full four thousand years had elapsed from the creation, ere the Messiah was even manifested in the flesh. And Scripture will not permit us to believe, that the whole of mankind, who died within that extensive period, were glorified in Heaven. Now, it would both impeach the wisdom, and affront the dignity of Christ, as well as infinitely depreciate the value of his sacrifice, to suppose, that he could possibly shed his blood on the cross, for those very souls which were, at that very time, suffering for their own sins in Hell. The tenet, therefore, of a redemption absolutely universal, will not stand the test either of Scripture, reason, or the analogy of faith. Shall we, for example, affirm, that Christ died for the salvation of Judas? The fact seems to be impossible. 'Tis plain that Judas slew himself, subsequently to the apprehension, but antecedently to the actual crucifixion of Christ (*h*). The soul of Judas, therefore, went to its own place of punishment, before Christ had offered himself in sacrifice to God. And I cannot, for my own part, see, with what propriety Christ could die to save a person from going to Hell, who was actually there already

Whether these particular topics ever occurred to the mind of bishop Latimer, or not, I will not take upon me to decide. But one would imagine they had: or, at least, that his judgment, concerning the extent of redemption, was determined by considerations equally weighty. For, when he speaks of Christ's having redeemed the whole world, he takes care to apprize us, that he uses this large term in a very restricted sense. My proofs follow.

"God is not only a private Father, but a common Father unto the whole world, unto all the faithful, be they never so poor and miserable (*i*). We know that Christ is offered once for us, and that this one offering remedieth all the sins of the whole world; for he was the Lamb which was killed from the beginning of the world: that is to say, all they that believe in him, since Adam was created, they were saved by him (*k*)." 'Tis plain then, that, by the whole world, Latimer means no more than the whole world of the faithful, the whole world of them that believe. One more testimony shall stand for all. "He only hath merited, with his painful passion, to be a Saviour of the wholé world: that is, to deliver all them that believe in him, from their sins and wickedness (*l*)." So speaks Latimer. And Calvinism says the very same.

If Christ died only for them that (*m*) believe, or in whom faith is wrought; it follows, that faith is an exceeding great and precious gift. It may be worth our while to enquire into Latimer's definition of what faith is: and the rather, as his definition of faith will conduce, still farther, to demonstrate, that redemption is, in his juudgment, not strictly universal, but limited.

"We must," says this honest master in Israel, "have the right faith, the lively faith, the faith that bringeth salvation: which consisteth in believing that Christ died for my

view Hell thus, and, beholding it thoroughly, the Devil should say, On yonder side are punished unpreaching prelates; I think, a man should see as far as a Kenning, and perceive nothing but unpreaching prelates. He might look as far as Calais, I warrant you." P. 138.

(*f*) By "impenitent sinners," he necessarily means the finally impenitent: such as shall actually be banished from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power, when Christ comes to judge the world in righteousness.

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 322.

(*h*) This observation throws light on that passage of Latimer, where he says, that Christ shed as much blood for Judas, as for Peter. Not that Christ actually died for Judas (whose death was prior to that of Christ himself); but that the mediator's blood was as much sufficient (so infinite was its value) to have redeemed even Judas had it been shed for that purpose, as to have redeemed any other person. A sentiment, to which I subscribe, with heart and hand.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 332. (*k*) *Ibid.* p. 557, 558.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 775.

(*m*) No objection can hence arise against the sal-

sin's sake. I must not stand in generalities, as to believe that Christ suffered under Pontius Pilate: but I must believe that that was done for my sake, to redeem with his passion my sins, and all theirs which believe and trust in him. If I believe so, then I shall not be deceived (*n*) I must believe, for myself, that his blood was shed for me (*o*)." Such an account of true faith as this necessarily infers the actual limitation of redemption. For, where is the peculiar privilege of believing that 'Christ shed his blood for me," if it be true, that he actually shed his blood for every body? If he redeemed the entire race of mankind, without exempting so much as one (which the Arminian doctrine of universal redemption supposes), his blood must of course have been shed for me among the rest, whether I believe it or not. Where, then, is either the use, or the importance of this faith, on the hypothesis of an unlimited ransom (*p*)? I conclude, therefore, that the reformer, who has laid down such a definition of "the faith which bringeth salvation," could never, in the very nature of things, suppose the ransom to be unlimited. And, indeed, as we have already shewn, he himself has expressly declared that he did not suppose it.

But, though he believed redemption not to be absolutely universal, this belief of his did by no means arise (any more than ours) from a diminutive idea of the worth and value of Christ's atonement. He acknowledged its intrinsic sufficiency to redeem every individual of the human species, though he denied its actual universality. Thus he speaks. "Notwithstanding his death might be sufficient for (*q*) all the whole world, yet, for all that, no man shall enjoy that same benefit, but only they that believe in him (*r*)." And who are they that shall believe and be saved? Let Latimer answer the question. "Therefore he is called Jesus, because he shall save his people from their sins; as the angel of God himself witnesseth (*s*)."

All, that now remains, is,

(9). To enquire into what he has delivered concerning the doctrine of final perseverance.

There was a time, when Latimer seems to have rather symbolized with some of the Lutherans, on this article. Luther himself did not believe the being of a God, more firmly, than he believed the total and final perseverance of the regenerate elect. But soon after Luther's death, some of those Protestants, who called themselves by his name, began to deviate from the purity and strictness of that reformer's system. One of these deviations respected the degree of possible apostacy. A branch of nominal Lutherans begun to teach, that, though a truly sanctified person could not fall finally from grace, he might nevertheless fall totally: he might make utter shipwreck of faith, for the time being; though he should certainly (by virtue of God's immoveable covenant and election) be regenerated over again, and saved at last. Though this was rather a bungling idea of perseverance, equally illogical and unscriptural, yet it did not clash with that part of the Christian system which asserts the certainty of eventual salvation to all true believers: and so came infinitely short of the absurdity of Arminianism, which supposes, not only a total, but a final defectibility of grace; than which nothing can be more monstrous and profane.

That Latimer once imagined divine grace in the hearts of the regenerate to be totally (though not finally) defectible, appears from that passage, in one of his sermons, where he speaks of a person's being sometimes in, and sometimes out of, Christ and the book of life. The passage runs thus: "But you will say, How shall I know that I am in the book of life? how shall I try myself to be elected of God to everlasting life? I answer; first, we may know, that we may one time be in the book, and another time come out again: as it appeared by David, who was written in the book of life; but, when he sinned, he was out of the book of the favour of God, until he had repented, and was sorry for his faults. So we may be in the book one time; and, afterward, when we forget God and his word, come out of the book: that is, out of Christ, which is the book. And in that book are written all believers (*t*)." God forbid, that I should so much as wish to represent any thing differently from what it really is. I acknowledge, that, when Latimer delivered the above para-

vation of such as die in infancy (all of whom are undoubtedly saved): nor yet against the salvation of God's elect among the Heathens, Mahometans, and others. The Holy Spirit is able to inspire the grace of virtual faith into those hearts (especially at the moment of dissolution), which are incapable of exerting the exlicit act of faith.

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 436. (*o*) *Ibid.* p. 609.

(*p*) Add to this, that the tenet of universal redemption would, instead of inducing us to seek for an application of Christ's death to ourselves in particular, be the ready and effectual way to make us "stand in generalities:" which, as we have just heard, good Latimer so expressly cautions us against standing in.

(*q*) Observe how carefully Latimer varies his phraseology: he does not say, merely, for the whole world; but for all the whole world. When he affirmed, in the passage quoted above (See p. 298.), that Christ died for the whole world; he explains his meaning, by adding, all the faithful, all those that believe. But here, when he speaks of the dignity and sufficiency of Christ's propitiation; he enlarges the term, and says for all the whole world. Making it evident, that as, by the whole world, he meant only the world of believers, whom alone he supposed to be actually redeemed by Christ; so, by the still more extensive term of, for all the whole world, he designed, in this place, to signify all mankind at large: for whose redemption, the death of Christ was certainly, in itself, sufficient, and super-sufficient.

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 600. (*s*) *Ibid.* p. 609.

(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 846, 847.

graph, he seemed, on this head, to have coincided in judgment with the new Lutherans. And I likewise add, that he was the only one of all our English reformers who trod in this bye-path. Consequently, his private opinion, in which he was perfectly singular, and absolutely stood alone, affects not the public doctrine of the Church of England.

But if Latimer was, at one time, somewhat eccentric, in point of total defectibility; he was stedfast as a rock, and true as a needle to the magnet, in point of final perseverance. This I aver; and now proceed to prove.

"All they," says Latimer, "that believed in Christ, since Adam was created were saved by him (*u*)."

Speaking of the fear of death, from which many eminent saints are not entirely delivered, he thus goes on: "Yea, the elect people of God, the faithful, having the beholding of his face, though God hath always preserved them (such a good God is he to them that believe in him, that he will not suffer them to be tempted above that that they are able to bear); yet, for all that, there is nothing that they complain of more sore, than this horror of death (*x*)."

To that artful question, asked by the Papists, Do you think that all your Catholic fore-fathers are damned? Bishop Latimer judiciously answers, that, as many of them as went to Heaven were saved by virtue of God's electing-grace and were finally preserved by it to life eternal. "To the question, of our forefathers: God knoweth his elect, and diligently watcheth and keepeth them, so that all things serve to their salvation. The nature of fire is, to burn all that is laid in it: yet God kept the three young men in Babylon, that they burnt not. And Moses saw a bush on fire; but it burnt not. So false doctrine burneth as the fire: it corrupteth. But God kept his elect, that they were not corrupted with it; but always put their trust in one ever-living God, through the death of Jesus Christ our Lord. In Elias's time, idolatry and superstition reigned: so that Elias said, Lord, they have destroyed thy altars, and slain thy prophets and preachers, and I am left alone. But the Lord answered him, I have reserved to myself seven thousand men, who have not bowed their knees to Baal. So God, I trust, reserved our fore-fathers, in so perilous times, more graciously than we can think (*y*)."

According to this good man, Satan is an enemy whom every true believer is certain of overcoming. "The Devil hath no farther power than God will allow him. The Devil can go no farther than God permitteth him to do. Which thing shall strengthen our faith: insomuch that we shall be sure to overcome him (*z*)."

God, "is able to help us in our distress, and grant our requests. And though these be great things, yet we need not to despair; but consider that he is Lord over Heaven and earth, that he is able to do for us, and that he will do so, being our Father and our Lord, and King over all things (*a*)."

Latimer very rightly deduces the final perseverance of the saints from the love which God bears in Christ to his believing people. "In the prophets, every where, he setteth out his great love which he hath towards us, saying, Can a woman forget her own child, which she hath born into the world? yea, and though she do forget the same, yet I will not forget thee. It is a rare thing, when the Devil so much prevaileth in parents, that a mother should neglect or forget her own child. Yet, saith God, though it were so, that she could forget her child, yet will not I forget thee when thou believest in my Son Christ. For the Devil cannot prevail against me, though he prevail against [such] women, so that sometimes they forget their own children, or kill them: yet he shall not prevail against me, for I am mightier than he is (*b*)." This is hinging the question on the right point. While God perseveres in his love to the saints, the saints cannot but persevere in the grace of God. So that God himself must cease to persevere, ere they can.

Latimer justly observes, that the comfort of faith may be suspended, though the grace of faith is perpetual and inamissible. "It is said, in Scripture, that God leadeth [as it were] into Hell, and bringeth up again. And so it is with such fearful men: for God doth cast them into Hell, [*i. e.*] he hideth himself from them; but at length he bringeth them out again, and establisheth them with a constant faith, so that they may be sure of their salvation and everlasting life. I knew once a woman who was seventeen years in such an extacy and fear: but at length she recovered again, and God endued her with a strong and stedfast faith in the end (*c*)."

Nothing can be more comfortable to an awakened mind, than this blessed infallibility of perseverance. "This is now an exceeding comfort to all Christian people: for they may be assured, that when they believe in Christ, and Christ taketh their parts, there shall be nothing neither in Heaven nor on earth, that shall be able to hurt them or lett [*i. e.* hinder] them of their salvation (*d*)." Again: "By this text [*viz.* he that spared not his own Son, &c.] it appeareth, that he that hath Christ hath all things: he hath Christ's fulfilling of the law: he hath remission of his sins; and so, consequently, everlasting life. Is not this a comfort (*e*)?"

"Whoever thus believeth, mistrusting himself and his own doings, and trusting in the

(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 558. (*x*) *Ibid.* p. 298.
(*y*) *Ibid.* p. 261. (*z*) *Ibid.* . 463. (*a*) *Ibid.* p. 466.
(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 575. (*c*) *Ibid.* p. 679.
(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 692. (*e*) *Ibid.* p. 795.

merits of Christ: he shall get the victory death, the devil, and hell: so that they shall not hurt him, neither all their powers be able to stand against any of those who are in Christ Jesus (*f*). Who is a just man? He is just that believeth in our Saviour. For, as you have heard before, those, who believe in Christ, are justified before God: they are clean delivered from all sins, and therefore may be called just; for so they are in the sight of God. Such, saith the Prophet, he hath never seen forsaken of God (*g*)."

So far was Latimer from not holding the final perseverance of true believers, that he held it sinful in true believers to doubt of their own final perseverance. "We must always consider that God is able to save us, and believe undoubtedly that he will save us. So that, when I am sick, as is said before, I may doubt whether God will deliver me from my sickness, or no: but I may not doubt of everlasting life (*h*)."

He considered the doctrine of perseverance as a powerful support and consolation, under even the outward afflictions of the present life. Christ "Is every where: and will be with us unto the end of the world, as he promised to his apostles after his resurrection, saying, Lo, I will be with you unto the end of the world. Which is the greatest comfort that may be unto a Christian heart: for it is a stay to all trouble (*i*)."

Perseverance is but another name for retaining the grace of God. And, according to Latimer, grace is retained by all who are made truly good. "To retain is the property of the good seed. Therefore if thou canst find the keeping of God's most holy word in thy heart, then thou art in the good ground, and shalt bring forth much fruit: thou shalt keep the word of God with patience. For God hath ever a Church: and those that be of the church will keep his word with patience. (*k*)." Such, therefore, as do not keep it with patience, or perseverance, were never of God's church, but reprobates and hypocrites.

Were I to adduce all bishop Latimer's assertions in behalf of final perseverance, they would amount to a little volume. The three following shall close the subject.

"We may learn here [*viz.* from Matth. viii. 23, &c.], that the ship signified the congregation of Christ and his church. The disciples, being in the ship, are preserved, through Christ. So all those which are in the church of Christ, shall be saved and preserved by him. The others, which are without this church [*i. e.* the reprobate], shall be damned and perish (*l*)."

"If thou believest in him, then thou art written in the book of life, and shall be saved (*m*)."

"The Lord knoweth which are his. Also Christ himself saith, No man shall take those from me whom my father hath given to me that is to say, which are ordained to everlasting life (*n*)."

Thus have I laid before the reader some (and only some of those proofs, which are on record, of bishop Latimer's Calvinism. And I have done it, with much more amplitude, than I otherwise should, for this plain reason; *viz.* To show, that, though this worthy martyr was (as already observed) by far the most unlearned, and by much the least, guarded and accurate, among the whole choir of English reformers; still he was, in reality, a Calvinist, a strict Calvinist, a zealous Calvinist, and, in most respects, a consistent Calvinist.

I have produced upwards of a hundred passages from Latimer himself, in support of the above assertion: and, if need had required, could have augmented the list with a hundred more. But enough has been alledged, to turn the balance of Latimer's testimony on the side of our established doctrines. Though a million of Wesleys and Sellons, with their whole ragged regiment of coblers, tinkers, shoe-blacks, and old women, were to hang by the opposite scale; they would all mount and sprawl aloft in the air, till they tumbled off in clusters, not without execrating the insuperable gravity of Latimer and the Church of England.

Some readers, perhaps, may think, I have been too extensive and diffuse, in my quotations from this venerable bishop. If the reason, already assigned, will not avail for my apology, the only farther amends, I am able to make, is, to promise, that my extracts, from each of the remaining reformers, shall be less prolix.

SECTION XIV.

The Judgment of our English Reformers concluded.

IV. Doctor John Hooper, bishop of Gloucester and Worcester, comes next to be considered. He was born in Somersetshire, A. D. 1495; and received the academical part of his education at Merton College, Oxford. The exact time of his conversion to the Protestant faith, is unknown: but it certainly was previous to the year 1539. For, upon the passing of the six bloody articles into a statute, which happened in that year, we find Mr. Hooper quitting England for the sake of a good conscience, and wandering, like a partridge hunted on the mountains, first into France, Ireland, and Holland; and thence to Switzerland. in which latter, he lived partly at Basil, and partly at Zurich, where he became intimately

(*f*) *Ibid.* (*g*) *Ibid.* p. 818. (*h*) *Ibid.* p. 844.
(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 851. (*k*) *Ibid.* p. 900, 901.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 855. (*m*) *Ibid.* p. 846. (*n*) *Ibid.* p. 864.

acquainted with the learned Henry Bullinger.

On the death of Henry VIII. in 1547, our venerable exile returned to his native country. Prior to his setting out from Zurich, he dropt a very remarkable expression, in his parting interview with Bullinger. "In all probability," said Bullinger, "king Edward will raise you to a bishoprick. If so, don't suffer your elevation to make you forgetful of your old friend, in Switzerland. Let us, from time to time, have the satisfaction of hearing from you." Hooper answered, "No change of place, nor of station, no accession of new friends, shall ever render me unmindful of yourself and my other benefactors here. You may depend on my carefully corresponding with you. But it will not be in my power, to write you an account of the last news of all: for" [taking Bullinger by the hand] "others will inform you of my being burned to ashes in that very place where, in the mean while, I shall labour most for God and the gospel (*o*)." The holy man was not mistaken in his prediction. Gloucester was, afterwards, the principal seat of his religious labours; and, at Gloucester, he sealed those labours with his blood, Feb. 9, 1555, in the 60th year of his age: being, as Burnet (*p*) observes, the first of our Protestant bishops that suffered death for the gospel.

He is universally allowed to have been eminently pious, extensively learned, and of the most unimpeacable morals. A noble instance of the steadiness and impartiality with which he laboured to discountenance vice, occurs in the history last referred to. Being in his diocese of Gloucester, he denounced the censures of the church against some persons of inferior station, who had been convicted of open lewdness. One of them had the courage to say to him, We poor people must do penance for these things; while great and rich men, though as guilty as ourselves, are suffered to escape unpunished and unnoticed. The bishop answered, Name any person, how great soever, who can be convicted of adultery; and I will give you leave to use me as roughly as you please, if I do not proceed against him with all the severity of justice. The intrepid prelate was soon as good as his word: for, in a few days after, he cited Sir Anthony Kingston, a man of high consequence in that country, into the Ecclesiastical Court: and though, for some time, the knight behaved with great haughtiness and outrage, he was at last forced to do penance, and pay a fine of 500*l.* besides (*q*).

As Dr. Hooper was thus a resolute assertor of virtue, so he asserted, with no less resolution, those grand evangelical doctrines, from the experimental belief of which, all genuine virtue flows. He observes, that, in Heaven, the souls of the faithful are "for ever praising the Lord, in conjunction and society everlasting with the blessed company of God's elect, in perpetual joy (*r*)." And he mentions it as one capital instance of the patience of God's people on earth, that "They wait until the number of the elect be fulfilled (*s*)." With an eye to the same precious doctrine of election, he adds, in a letter, written a few weeks before his martyrdom, that the glorified spirits of them who had, in all ages, suffered death for the cause of Christ, were joyfully expecting the happy day, "When they shall receive their bodies again in immortality, and see the number of the elect associated with them in full and consummate joys (*t*)."

He is equally explicit, as to the necessity of grace. He justly observes, that true contentment under affliction is the fruit of supernatural regeneration. "It is not the nature of man that can be contented, until it be regenerated and possessed with God's spirit, to bear patiently the troubles of the mind, or of the body (*u*)." Again: "These things" [*viz.* the knowledge and love of heavenly objects]" are easy to be spoken of, but not so easy to be practised. Wherefore, seeing they be God's gifts, and none of ours to have of our own when we would, we must seek them at our Heavenly Father's hand (*x*) Howbeit, no man of himself can do this [*i. e.* can pray and ihope aright]; but the Spirit of God, that striketh the man's heart with fear, prayeth for the man stricken and feared, with unspeakable groanings (*y*)." Once more: "Christ saith to every one of his people, By your own patience ye shall continue your life: not that man hath patience in [*i. e.* of] himself, but that he must have it for himself of God, the only giver of it (*z*)."

On the great article of justification, also, Hooper was a thorough Calvinist. This appears from the confession of faith (an extract of which is preserved in Burnet), which was signed, not only by Hooper himself, but by two bishops besides, and seven eminent ministers; all, at that time, prisoners for the gospel: *viz.* Coverdale, bishop of Exeter; Farrar, bishop of St. David's; with Taylor, Philpot, Bradford, Crome, Sanders, Rogers, and Lawrence. In this excellent declaration, the heroic sufferers publicly certified, that they "held justification by faith; which faith," said they, "is not only an opinion, but a certain persuasion, wrought by the Holy Ghost, which doth illuminate the mind, and supple the heart to submit itself unfeignedly to God." They add, that they "acknowledged an inherent righteousness; yet they believed that justification, and pardon of sins, came only by Christ's righteousness imputed to them (*a*)."

(*o*) See Fox, vol. iii. p. 149. (*p*) Reform. vol. ii. p. 240
(*q*) Burnet, *Ibid.* p. 209, 210. (*r*) Fox iii. 132.
(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 133. (*t*) *Ibid.* p. 135.
(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 131. (*x*) *Ibid.* p. 132. (*y*) *Ibid.*
(*z*) *Ibid.* p. 183.
(*a*) Burnet's Hist. Reform. vol. ii. p. 265

Let me, next, subjoin a word or two, concerning Hooper's doctrine of providence. "God," says he, "hath such care and charge of us, that he will keep, in the midst of all troubles, the very hairs of our head: so that one of them shall not fall away without the will and pleasure of our Heavenly Father. Whether the hair, therefore, tarry on the head, or fall from the head, it is the will of the Father (*b*)." Again: "They [*i. e.* all afflictions] be servants of God, to go and come as he commandeth them (*c*)." Once more: "Of this I am assured, that the wicked world, with all its force and power, shall not touch one of the hairs of our heads, without leave and license of our heavenly Father (*d*)."

A specimen of what he advances, respecting final perseverance, shall, for the present, conclude his testimony. To a company of Protestants who had been surprised at a religious meeting, and committed to prison, he thus wrote: God will go in and out with you, and will be present in your hearts and in your mouths. He that hath begun that work in you, will surely strengthen you in the same (*e*)." In a letter to his own lady, he says; "Remember, that although your (*f*) life, as all Christian men's be, be hid, and appeareth not, what it is; yet it is safe, (as St. Paul saith) with God in Christ: and when Christ shall appear, then shall our lives be made open [*i. e.* be rendered conspicuous] with him in glory (*g*)." He adds, a little lower: we may be tempted of the Devil, the flesh, and the world; but yet, although these things pinch, they do not pierce: and though they work sin in us, yet in Christ no damnation to those that be grafted in him. Hereof may the Christian man learn both consolation and patience. Consolation, in that [notwithstanding] he is compelled, both in his body and goods, to feel pain and loss; and, in soul, heaviness and anguish of mind; howbeit, none of them both shall separate him from the love that God beareth him in Christ. He may learn patience, forasmuch as his enemies, both of body and soul, and the pains also they vex us withal for the time; if they tarry with us long as we live, yet, when death cometh, they shall avoid, and give place to such joys as be prepared for us in Christ (*h*)." To one Mrs. Anne Warcop, who was in danger on account of the gospel, the holy bishop wrote as follows: "I did rejoice, at the coming of this bearer, to understand of your constancy; and that you are fully resolved, by God's grace, rather to suffer extremity, than to go from the truth of God which you have professed. He that gave you grace to begin so infallible a truth, will follow you in the same unto the end (*i*)."

From bishop Hooper, I pass on,

V. To Doctor Martin Bucer: a man, whose discretion, mildness and benevolence, procured him the name of "the moderate reformer;" and whose admirable talents obliged even Vossius to style him, *Ter Maximum Bucerum*. His judicious labours, during his residence in this kingdom, greatly assisted in the reformation of our church, at home; and his learned pen was, no less zealously and successfully, engaged, in defending and vindicating her doctrine, worship and discipline, from the calumnies of the Papists, and from the ill-judged exceptions of some foreign Protestants, abroad. Taking every thing into the account, he was, perhaps, in point of temper, conduct, and abilities, one of the most amiable and unexceptionable divines that ever lived: though few persons have been more insulted and traduced by bigots of all denominations.

He was born, A. D. 1491, at Schelestadt, in Alsace. In his early part of life he entered himself of the order of Dominican Friars; but, after a time, God shewed him a more excellent way. Some writings, of Erasmus are said (*k*) to have given his mind the first shock against Popery. His doubts were afterwards improved into a full conviction of the truth, by the books of Luther. As Luther's writings had driven the nail to the head; so some personal interviews, which Bucer had with that reformer, first at Heildberg, and then at Worms, in 1521, clinched the nail so effectually, that Bucer determined from that time forward, to profess the doctrines of the gospel more openly than ever. The conversations of these two great men, during those memorable interviews, appear to have turned chiefly on the articles of free-will and justification.

In the year 1548, Bucer was (not at the recommendation of Melancthon, but at the recommendation of archbishop (*l*) Cranmer) invited, by king Edward, from Strasburg to England. The learned Fagious was invited at the same time; and accompanied Bucer hither. Being arrived, Bucer was made divinity professor at Cambridge; with a salary, treble to what any of his predecessors had enjoyed. "These grave and learned Doctors," says Mr. Strype, meaning Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr, "were placed there [*viz.* in the two Universities; Bucer at Cambridge, and Martyr at Oxford]: the Lord Protector and the archbishop judging them the fittest persons to inform the students in their notions and doctrines concerning religion. Because, as they

(*b*) Fox, vol. iii. p. 131. (*c*) *Ibid.* p. 132.
(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 134.
(*e*) Strype's Eccles. Memor vol. iii. Appendix, No. 27. p. 78.
(*f*) He means, the soul of each person who is regenerated by the Holy Ghost.
(*g*) Fox, u. s. p. 132.
(*h*) *Ibid.* (*i*) *Ibid.* p. 135.
(*k*) Melch. Adam. Vit. Theolog. German. p. 211.—Edit. Heidelb. 1620.
(*l*) See Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. p. 121.—Also Melch. Adam. p. 219.

were very learned in other sciences: so in divinity, they took the Holy Scripture for their guide, and gathered their tenets from no other authority but from thence; according to the constant principle of the great and good archbishop (*m*)." I shall quickly shew, that the archbishop and the Lord Protector were not mistaken, in their favourable opinion of the two celebrated foreigners; and that these illustrious divines did indeed "gather their tenets from no other authority but the Holy Scriptures."

But Bucer's business in England, and that of Martyr, was not restrained to the divinity-chairs of Cambridge and Oxford, or to the instruction of the youth who were to serve in the ministry of this Protestant Church. Those learned professors had likewise a hand in the reformation and settlement of the Church herself. Even the fierce-flaming and high-flying Mr. Samuel Downes, notwithstanding all his redundant bitterness against Calvinism, both foreign and domestic, is compelled to own (though with grievous reluctance, and with no little mincing and twisting,) that the liturgy itself was submitted to the judgment and correction of Bucer and Martyr. These divines, says Mr. Downes, "being men of great learning, and of a moderate and peaceable disposition, had been invited over by archbishop Cranmer: and had, by their prudent carriage, and affection to our regular constitution, which they had given a remarkable instance of in their answers to Hooper's scruples concerning the episcopal habit, so well recommended themselves to the esteem of our bishops; that it was thought expedient to lay a Latin translationof the liturgy before them, and desire their opinion concerning what explanations, or amendments, were requisite to be made (*n*)." Thus far, all is fair, candid and true. And, if this be indeed (as indeed it is) a just state of the fact; I should be glad to know, with what propriety and consistency the Arminian life-compiler has subjoined, in the very next words to those last cited, "But there is a wide difference between asking their advice, and adding, or omitting, according to their humour and fancy." Is not this, indirectly, saying that Bucer and Martyr were humoursome fanciful men? And how does such an unjust and ungenerous implication comport with the character which this very writer has, a moment before, given of these very persons *viz.* That "their disposition was peaceable and moderate, that their carriage was prudent, and their affection to our regular constitution so remarkable as to recommend them to the esteem of the reforming bishops?" It does not appear, that either Bucer or Martyr, had any singularity either of "humour," or of "fancy," to indulge. On the contrary, their modesty and moderation were known to all men, and have pressed even Mr. Downes himself into an acknowledgement of both. It may be asked, Did the English reformers actually make any alterations in the book of Common Prayer, conformably to the judgments of Martyr and Bucer? I answer, yes. And the aforesaid Mr. Downes shall second my testimony. Though, through an excess of bigotry, he faulters in pronouncing his evidence, still the evidence itself is full to the point. "If some particulars were altered agreeable to their judgment, it was because our bishops thought the reasons which they [*i. e.* which Martyr and Bucer] gave, for making those alterations, conclusive and convincing (*o*)." Admitted. It remains, then, that these two foreign Calvinists were actually concerned in the modeling of our English liturgy: and, consequently, that they had some hand in the reformation of the Church of England.

But were they indeed doctrinal Calvinists? Let their own works answer the question. I shall begin with Bucer: and cite his observations, not under distinct heads, but in the same order as I extracted them, from such of his books as I could have present recourse to.

"Predestination," says Bucer, "is neither more nor less than pre-limitation, or fore-appointment: and God, who consigns every thing to its proper use, worketh all things agreeably to his own pre-determination; and, accordingly, separates one thing from another, so as to make each thing answer to its respective use. If you desire a more extensive definition of this predestination, take it thus: predestination is an appointment of every thing to its proper use; by which appointment, God doth, before he made them, even from eternity, destine all things whatever to some certain and particular use. Hence it follows, that even wicked men are predestinated. For, as God forms them out of nothing, so he forms them to some determinate end: for he does all things, knowingly, and wisely. The Lord hath made all things for himself, even the wicked for the day of evil [Prov. xvi. 4]. Divines, however, do not usually call this predestination; but reprobation. 'Tis certain, that God makes a good use of evil itself: and every sin we commit, hath something in it of the good work of God(*p*). Scripture does not hesitate to affirm, that there are persons, whom God delivers over to a reprobate sense, and whom he forms for destruction: why, therefore, should it be

(*m*) Strype, ubi supra.
(*n*) Downe's Lives of the Comp. p. 175, 176.
(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 176.
(*p*) Every sin we commit, has something in it of the good work of God. I cannot clearly understand, what Bucer intends by this extraordinary, and seemingly harsh mode of expression. Be his meaning what it may, the reader will observe, as usual, that I am not advancing the above proposition, as my own: but simply quoting the words of another.

deemed derogatory from God, to assert, that he not only does this, but resolved beforehand to do it (*q*)?"

Nothing can be more plain and nervous than the following remarks of Bucer respecting God's obduration of Pharaoh. Whether the remarks be, or be not, carried too far, is beyond my province to enquire. "The apostle says, Who may resist the will of God? By the word will, Paul gives us to understand, that God actually willeth those very things unto which men are hardened by him. When Paul adds, Who may resist? he, in fact, points out the necessity which they, whom God hardens, are under, of doing those things. When God would harden Pharaoh, in order that he might not obey the commandment, it was the actual will of God that Pharaoh should not obey. Yea, God himself wrought in Pharaoh to oppose the commandment sent him. Pharaoh, therefore, did what God in reality willed him to do; yea, he did no more than what God himself had wrought in him: nor was it in Pharaoh's power, to act otherwise than he did." Such was the doctrine taught by this able and courageous Cambridge professor. Willing, however, to obviate any exceptions which those persons might raise who had not studied these deep points so carefully and so extensively as he had been enabled to do, he, presently after, shelters both his doctrine and himself under the following words, and the correspondent practice, of the great apostle whom he had quoted before: "Nay but, O man! [who art thou that repliest against God?] St. Paul does not accommodate nor soften down, a single syllable of what he had just asserted. The sacred penman does not deny that they who are hardened by God perish according to the will of God. The apostle does not admit it to be even possible that a person who is hardened from above can perform what is good. Paul [instead of setting himself to answer our vain reasonings on the matter] contents himself with merely giving us a solemn caution not to sit in judgment on the decrees of God: assuring us, that we cannot arraign the Deity at our own bar, without being guilty of the uttermost boldness and impiety (*r*)." If Bucer was not a Calvinist, where shall we find one?

I cannot prevail on myself to defraud the reader of a few more citations, which I lately extracted from another most valuable work of Bucer, entitled, A continued Interpretation of the Four Gospels. And I the rather subjoin them, as the book itself is exceedingly scarce, though I have been so happy as to meet with it in a neighbouring library.

"They who are at any time able to fall quite away from Christ, did never really belong to him. Consequently, they never truly believed, nor were indeed pious, nor had the Holy Spirit of adoption: on the contrary, all their performances were nothing but hypocrisy, how sanctified and ready soever unto good works they, for a time, pretended to be. They, whom Christ loves, are loved by him even unto the end: and he doth not cast away those whom the Father giveth him; neither can any snatch them from his hand. Therefore, admitting that these may fall, yet they cannot fall utterly; for they are elect unto life: and God's election cannot be made void by any creature whatever. Seeing, then, that the purpose of God, according to election, may stand, not of works, but of him that calleth [Rom. ix. 11.]; he not only elected his own people before they were born, and had done either good or evil [Rom. ix. 11.], but even before the very foundations of the world [Eph. i. 4.] Hence, our Lord said, concerning his apostles, I pray not for the world, but for them whom thou hast given me; for they are thine: that is, they were chosen by thee unto life. As, therefore, on one hand, Christ never knew [*i. e.* never loved] the reprobate, whatever deceitful appearance of virtue they might have; so, on the other, he always knew [*i. e.* always loved] the elect, how ungodly soever they might seem for a time. Consequently, as these [*i. e.* the elect] are predestinated and called, they shall, sooner or later, be formed anew, according to the likeness of Christ: while those [*i. e.* the reprobate] shall be stripped of that artificial mask, under which they passed for children of God; and be made to appear in their own proper colours (*s*)."

(*q*) "Alioqui, quum προορισμὸν sit simpliciter prefinitio, et Deus prefenito agat omnia, nihil non ad suum usum deputans; atque ita ab aliis rebus, quantum adistum suum usum attinet, seperat. Si in genere delimre hanc prefinitionem veliis, erit, rei cujusque ad suum usum deputatio, quàm Deus singula, antequam conditerit, ab eterno, ad certum aliquem usum destinat. Hinc, et malorum quoque prædestinatio est. Nam sicut et hos ex nihilo fingit Deus fingit ad certem finem: sapientèr enim facit omnia.——Fecit Deus omnia propter semetipsum, etiam impium ad diem malum. Sed hanc theologi non sustinet vocare prædestinationem; sed vocant, reprobationem.——Nullo certè malo Deus non bene utitur: et nihil est, quod nos peccamus, in quo non sit aliquod bonum opus Dei.——Scriptura non veretur dicere, Deum tradere quosdam homines in reprobum sensum, et agere in perniciem. Quid igitur indignum Deo, nicere, etiam statuisse antea, ut illos in reprobum traderit, et ageret in perniciem?" Bucer. Enarr. ad Rom. p. 419. Edit. Basil. 1562.

(*r*) "Voluntati ejus quis resistat? Voluntatem cùm dicit, notat, Deum ea velle, ad quæ homines indurat. Cùm addit, quis resistat? indicat necessitatem faciendi ea, quæ fert induratio. Cùm Deus Pharaonem induraret, ne jussui suo obtemperaret; voluit utique illum jussui suo non obtemperare: imò, ut ei repugnaret, ipse in eo effecit. Fecit itaque Pharao, quod Deus volebat eum facere: imò, quod ipse faciebat in eo: nec potuit aliud. Quinimo, O homo! Apostolus nihil mitigat dictorum. Non negat, Dei voluntate perie, quos indurat Deus. Non facit possibile homini, ut benefaciat indurat.us. Sed deturret tantum et depellit ab eo, ut judicia Domini judicemus: ostendens, hoc esse extremæ impulentiæ et impietatis." Bucer. *Ibid.* p. 456.

(*s*) "Clarè docemur, qui aliquandò à Christo possunt excidere, eos Christi nunquam fuisse; coque nunquam verè credidisse, aut fuisse pios, nunquam Spiritûs filiorum fuisse nactos: sed ut ima illorum

On those words of Christ, Ye believe not, because ye are not of my sheep, Bucer thus remarks: "They were not of our Lord's sheep, *i. e.* they were not in the number of those who were given to him by the Father; they were not elected unto life. Therefore it was, that they were totally destitute of God's good spirit, and were utterly immersed in flesh: neither were they able to believe in our Lord, nor to embrace him as a Saviour (*t*)."

A little farther on, we find this admirable commentator observing as follows: "My sheep hear my voice, &c. In these words our Lord expressly teaches, that all good things are dependent on God's election; and that they, to whom it is once given to be sheep, can never perish afterwards. Christ here tells us, that they alone hear his voice: that is, they who are indeed his sheep, are made partakers of faith. Now, whence is it, that some people are Christ's sheep, or susceptible of his doctrine, while others are not? Undoubtedly, because the former are inspired by the good Spirit of God, whereas the latter are not inspired at all. But whence is it, that the former are endued with the Holy Spirit, and not the latter? For this reason: because the former were given to Christ, to be saved by him; but the latter were not given him. Let us therefore allow God the honour of being the bestower of his own Spirit, without supposing him to need or receive any of our assistance. Christ adds, and I know them: *i. e.* they are committed to my trust; I have them in especial charge. And, doubtless, from hence it is, that his sheep follow him, and live the life which never ends. The Father gave them to him, that he might endue them with life eternal, and they can no more be plucked from Christ's hand, than from the hand of the Father, who is mightier and greater than all. Christ and the Father are one: their power and strength are the same. Consequently, as none can pluck the elect from the Father's hand, so neither from the hand of Christ. We are to observe moreover, that it flows only from God's election, that we are the sheep of Christ, and follow him. We must observe, too, that such can never entirely fall away. For, the Father and the Son being undivided, their hand, that is, their power, must be undivided also: and out of their hand none shall never snatch those whom that hand has once laid hold on for salvation. Now, unto whomsoever it shall be given to hear the voice of Christ, and to follow him; they may be said to be thus laid hold on [by the hand, or power, of divine grace]: seeing, none but the sheep, are able to hear and follow the Redeemer. And if they are sheep now, they are so held in the hand of Christ aud of the Father, as never to perish, but to have eternal life (*u*)."

Bucer was also a Calvinist on the article of limited redemption. He was too well acquainted with the Scriptures, and too accurate a reasoner, as well as entertained too exalted an idea of the dignity of Christ's sacrifice, to imagine that the Messiah died at sixes and sevens, for any body and every body, but effectually for nobody. The learned reformer's sentiments on this subject appear, among other passages, from his pious and judicious paraphrase on our Lord's answer to Peter (Matth. xvi. 23.), which was, says Bucer, as if Christ had said, "If I am the Messiah, I must, according to the Scriptures, be slain for the elect. If I am the son of God, why should I not obey my father, whose will it is, that I

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nil nisi hypocrisin esse, quantumlibet sancti, et pietate præstabiles, ad tempus, sese fingant. Quos enim Christus diligit, in finem usque diligit: et quos pater illi dat, neque ipse abjicit; neque rapere de manu ejus quisquan potest. Ideo etsi cadant hujusmodi, excidunt tamen nonquam. Electi enim sunt ad vitam: quam Dei electionem nulla potest creatura reddere irritam. Siquidem ut secundem electionem propositum Dei maneat, non ex operibus, sed ex vocante; non solùm elegit suos, priusquam nati sint, ac boni aut mali quicquam fecerent; sed antequam jacerentur fundamenta orbis à constitutione mundi. Unde et de apostolis Dominus dicebat. Non pro mundo rogo sed pro iis rogo quos dedisti mihi; quia tui sunt: id est, electi abs te ad vitam. Proinde, ut Christo non quam noti sunt reprobi, ità nunquam ignoti electi: quantumvis, in illis, pietatis species aliqua adhlanditur; et, in his invisa impietatis sæpe forma conspiciatur; Eoque, et hi, sicut prædestinati et vocati sunt, sic tandem ad imaginem Christi reformabuntur: et illi, detracta persona filiorum Dei factitiâ, sui similes apparebunt, juxta hoc quod à se auditurus hic testatur [Christus]." Bucer. in Matth. vii. 22. Apud ejus in sacr. quatuor Evang. Enarrat. Perpet. pag. 76. b.—Edit. Rob. Steph. 1553.

(*t*) "Non erant ex ovibus Domini; hoc est donatis Christo a Patre: non erant ex electis ad vitam, Inèo omni spiritu Dei bono carebant: animales toti. Neque potuerant Domino credere, aut ut servatorem ipsum amplecti." Bucer. *Ibid.* in Joh. x. 25.

(*u*) Oves mæ vocem, &c. in his apperté docet [Christus], omnia à divinâ electione pendere; eosque quibus semel datum fuerit oves esse, perire nunquam posse. Hic namque audimus, eos tantùm vocem Christi audire, id est, fidem recipere, qui oves sunt. Jam unde erit, ut alii, oves, hoc est, capaces doctrinæ Christi sunt, alii minimè? Indubiè, quod illi bono spiritu Dei afflati sunt: hi nequaquam. Unde autem erit, ut illi spiritu donentur, hi secùs? Quod illi filio salvandi donati sunt; hi nequaquam. Domino ergo debmus hanc gloriam, ut ipse spiritum det, nihil nostrâ operâ adjutus. Dominus subjicit, et cognosco illas; h. e. Curæ mihi sunt; et hinc certè est, ut ipsum oves sequantur, vitamque vivant quæ finem nescit. Ipsi illas Pater dedit, ut eis suppeditet vitam æternam: tam igitur non poterunt é manu ejus quam é patris manu, qui major et potentior omnibus est, eripi. Unum siquidem sunt ipse et pater: eadem est utrisque virtus et potentia. Germanicè, es ist ein ding den vatur un der sun. Quare ut de manu patris nemo potest electos rapere, ità neque de manu Christi.—Iterùm observandum, a soli Dei electione esse, ut oves simus, et Christum sequamur; tàm tales excidere nunquam posse. Qui unum sunt pater et filius, eandum manum habent, id est, potentiam; de quâ nemo unquam rapiet eos, quos illa semel apprehenderit salvandos. Apprehensi autem sunt quibuscunque datum fuerit Christi vocem audire et sequi. Id siquidem nulli possunt, nisi oves sint. Si jam oves, in manu Christi et patris sunt, ut nunquam pereant, sed habeant vitam æternam." Bucer Enarr. in Joann. cap. 10. v. 27. p. 277. b.

should be a victim and a sacrifice for the sins of all those whom he hath ordained unto life (*x*)?"

I shall only add, concerning this great man, that he died at Cambridge, A. D. 1551: of which melancholy event, good king Edward VI. made the following entry in his journal: "Feb. 28. The learned man Bucerus died at Cambridge; who was, two days after, buried in St. Mary's church, at Cambridge; all the whole University, with the whole town, bringing him to his grave, to the number of 3000 persons. Also there was an oration of Mr. Haddon, made very eloquently, at his death; and a sermon of [Dr. Parker]: after that, Master Redman made a third sermon. Which three sermons made the people wonderfully to lament his death. Last of all, all the learned men of the University made their epitaphs in his praise, laying them on his grave (*y*)."

Bucer's death was occasioned by a complication of disorders: particularly the cholic, and the stone: *intestinoram dolor* (says Melch. Ad. p. 220.), *calculus, fastidium ciborum, alvi, siccitas, catarrhi copiosi capitis.* During his whole illness, that illustrious mother in Israel, Catharine Brandon, duchess dowager of Suffolk, attended him, watched with him, and deigned to undergo the offices and fatigues of a nurse: in hopes that providence might make her the instrument of saving so valuable a life; or, at least, that her generous assiduity might conduce to soften the last agonies of her beloved friend and pastor (*z*). This was the same lady, who, in the succeeding reign of Mary, to avoid the resentment of the Papists, was obliged to follow her second husband, Mr. Richard Bertie, into voluntary banishment: where they suffered such hardships, and ran such dangers, as cannot be read without the strongest feelings of sympathetic distress. On the accession of queen Elizabeth, the religious and noble exiles returned to England; where, many years after, they finished their course, in wealth, honour and felicity (*a*).

Some short time before Bucer's decease, Mr. John Bradford (the celebrated martyr) coming to see him, with tears, said, "I am going t preach, and will not fail to remember you in my prayers with the congregation." Bucer d voutly answered, weeping, "Cast me not away, O Lord, in my time of old age, when my strength faileth me!" Immediately on pronouncing which words, he seems to have received a fresh and powerful manifestation of the Divine presence: for he added, *Castiget fortiter, abjiciet autem nunquam; nunquan abjiciet:* "God may chasten me greatly, but he'll never cast me away; no, he'll never cast me away." Somebody advising him to arm himself against the assaults of Satan; he replied, I have nothing to do with Satan: I am only in Christ. I should be sorry, indeed, if I did not now experience the sweetest consolations. Among his last words (they seem to have been the very last) were, with his eyes cheerfully thrown up toward Heaven, *Ille, ille regit, et moderatur omnia! i. e.* "He, he reigns, and governs all!" Thus comfortably did this blessed saint of God expire in the 61st year of his age.

Paul Fagius, who accompanied him to this kingdom, and was fixed at Cambridge, in quality of Hebrew Professor, died there, the November preceding: and the famous Tremellius, an Italian Protestant, of great piety and learning, and as rooted a Calvinist as Fagius himself, succeeded to the Hebrew chair; and was, afterwards, made Prebend of Carlisle (*b*). On the death of king Edward, Tremellius retired into Germany: and, after several removes, died at Sedan, in France, A. D. 1580.

In the reign of Queen Mary, the bones of Bucer and Fagius were dug out of their graves, and publicly burned, together with as many of their writings as could be collected.

VI. Peter Martyr, another reformer and luminary of the Church of England, was born at Florence, A. D. 1500. "His family name was Vermilius: but his parents gave him that of Martyr, from one Peter, a martyr, whose church happened to stand near their house (*c*)." Providence had given him a vast capacity: and his acquired learning was prodigious. The writings of Bucer and Zuinglius were the first means of bringing him to the knowledge of the truth.

For some time after his conversion, Martyr seemed to follow those words of St. Paul too literally, Hast thou faith? have it to thyself before God (Rom. xiv. 22.). But Providence would not suffer such a burning and shining light to be always under a bushel. By degrees, God gave him more and more boldness; and at length called him forth, in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ. He preached salvation by grace, with the demonstration of the Spirit and with power. Many were converted under his ministry; some of whom proved eminently useful in the Church of God: particularly those two illustrious divines Zanchius and Tremellius.

(*x*) "Si Christus sum, occidi pro electis debeo, juxta scripturas. Si filius Dei, cui non gererem morem patri, qui vult me hostiam pro peccatis esse omnium quos ille ad vitam ordinavit." Bucer. Enarr. in Matth. xvi. p. 136. b.

(*y*) See king Edward's journal of his own reign p. 20. Annexed to Burnet's Hist. of the Ref. vol. 2.

(*z*) Semper ægrotanti adsedit, et omnia humanitatis officia præstitit. Melch. Adam. p. 221.

(*a*) See Collin's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 53, 54.—Edit. 1768.

(*b*) See Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. p. 337.

(*c*) Biog. Dict. vol. viii. p. 265.

Martyr's courage and success soon made his native country, Italy, too hot to hold him. Switzerland and Germany afforded him safe retreat; till, in the latter end of the (*d*) year 1547, he was invited to England, to help forward the good work of reformation then beginning in this kingdom. Melchior Adam, a writer of great accuracy and fidelity, observes, that "On the death of Henry VIII. the young king Edward was resolved to abolish Popery, and to reduce the English Church to the standard of God's Word, under the auspices of his uncle, the duke of Somerset, and of Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury. And, since the Universities may be considered as the nurseries in which the clergy of the rising generation are trained up for the ministry; it seemed a point of the first importance, to reform those nurseries: that, from them, as from a pure fountain, the streams of sound doctrine might water every corner of the nation. Now, Peter Martyr being in the judgment of the most learned men, a person of singular erudition, and of such general knowledge as almost seemed incredible, he was thought the properest divine, on earth, to preside in the divinity chair at Oxford. He was accordingly, with the king's concurrence, invited to England, by the archbishop (*e*). The specimens, which I shall shortly produce, of the doctrines, with which Dr. Martyr seasoned the minds of the students that were designed for the established ministry, will demonstrate, that he was indeed one of the "properest divines on earth," to be intrusted with that important charge. Would to God that all his successors, in the said chair, had been as "proper" for the task as himself.

But there was also another reason that induced Cranmer to wish for Martyr's settlement in England; and which, in concert with the cause already assigned, lay at the bottom of the invitation. Even old Anthony Wood doth not scruple to declare, in express terms, that "in 1547, he [*viz.* Peter Martyr] was invited into England, by Edward [duke of somerset and] lord protector, and Dr. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; to the end that his assistance might be used to carry on a reformation in the church (*f*)." In assisting to carry on which reformation of our church, as also in the care and zeal with which he instructed the Oxford students in our church doctrines; he acquitted himself so much to the satisfaction of the king, and the rest of the reformers here, that he was made canon of Christ-church, and a prebendary of Canterbury. Nay, so much was he admired and revered by queen Elizabeth herself, that, after she ascended the throne, "she invited him to return into England, and there to accept of what preferment he pleased (*g*)." But, it seems, he "modestly refused" the offer; being fearful lest Popery might get the ascendency in this kingdom again: in which case, he might run the risk of being a martyr in reality, as well as name. He therefore continued at Zurich; where he died in peace, A. D. 1562. So much for the good man himself. Now for his Calvinism.

(1.) "If" says he, "by fate, be meant, a certain power resulting from the stars, and an irresistible implication of causes, by which God himself is reduced within the bounds of restraint—we justly reject the word fate, in this signification of it. But if by fate, you mean a train of causes governed by the will of God—such a fate as this, can by no means seem injurious to true religion, however expedient we may think it to abstain from using the word (*h*)."

He very justly observes that the wiser stoics themselves asserted fate, in the Christian sense of the term. "There are some, who dream of an iron or adamantine fatality, impressed on the stars and natural causes, unalterable by God himself. This is erroneous; nay, 'tis impious: 'tis even contrary to the judgment of the ancient sages themselves; for they plainly declare, that, by fate, they mean no more than the will and providence of the Supreme being. Witness those verses of Cleanthes the stoic:

> Father, and king of Heav'n, my footsteps guide:
> Me with the decrees shall I comply.
> To fly or delay, I follow, where thy purpose seeks my way.
> Were I reluctant, still the event proceeds;
> Fate drags th' unwilling, and the willing leads.
> Resign'd I stand, to suffer and to do
> What must be borne and done, resign'd or no.

now," (continues Peter Martyr,) "though fate is strongly asserted in these lines; still, the reigns and government of fate are placed in the hand of God: for the philosopher invokes the Supreme Father, and supplicates the guidance of him, whose will is affirmed to be certain and infallible (*i*)."

(*d*) Melch. Adam. Vit. Theolog. exter. p. 46.
(*e*) Melch. Adam. *u. s.* p. 30.
(*f*) Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 106,—Edit. 1691.
(*g*) Wood, *u. s.* col. 107.
(*h*) "Si per fatum intelligant, vim quandam manantem ex astris, et connexionem causarum inexpugnabilem quâ etiam ipse Deus cognatur in ordinem; nomen fati non injuriis repudiabimus. At si eo nomine intelligant, ordinem causarum, qui Dei voluntate gubernetur: ea res videri non potest a pietate aliena: quamvis ab eo nomine judicem ad sitinendum, &c." Pet. Mart. Loc. Comm. p. 314.—Edit—1626.
(*i*) "Sunt enim qui sonnient fatalem quandam necessitam ferream, vel adamantinam, sideribus et causis naturalibus affixam, quam nec Deus immutare possit. Quod est erroneum, impium, et etiam a veteribus sapientibus alienum: qui diserte ostenduut, se, per fatum, intelle isse voluntatem et administrationem divinam. Carmina Cleanthis stoici quæ de hâc rescripsit, Seneca, in lib. 18. Epist. fecit Latina. Illa verò sunt hujusmodi:

> Duc me, pares, celsisque dominator poli,
> Quocunque placuit. Nulla paredi mora est.
> Adsum impiger. Fac nolle, comitabor gemens,
> Duentque volentem fata, nolentem trahunt:
> Malisque patior, quod potè licuit bono.

quamvis, his carminibus, fatum statuatur, eius tamen gubernatio in manu Dei ponitur: nam invocat sum-

Nothing can be more judicious, than Martyr's reasoning, relative to the true meaning of that blameless fate, which was so wisely and so solidly asserted by the best philosophers of the portico. And our reformer's vindication of that doctrine, as settled and ascertained in the golden verses which he quotes, is a very conclusive proof of his own candour, good sense, and regard to truth. I wish I could have done justice to those admirable lines, by translating them better: but, even as I have rendered them, the maxims which they convey, and the implicit submission to Providence which they inculcate, most certainly breathe the very language of Christianity. They express what Milton so finely sings, in those majestic words, which he supposes to be spoken by God the Father:

> ——Necessity and chance
> Approach not me; and what I will is fate (k).

The verses of Cleanthes are cited, by Peter Martyr, as they stand in Seneca's translation of them into Latin, Seneca's beautiful lines, are, however, rather a paraphrase, than a version. Cleanthes' prayer ran thus, as cited by Epictetus (l):

> Αγε δη με, ω Ζευ, και σε, ἡ Πεπρωμενη,
> Οπου ποθ' ὑμιν εἰμι διατεταγμενος,
> Ὡς ἑψομαι απροφασιστος· ηδε αυκνος
> Καν δε μη ἑθελω, ουκ ἡττον ἑψομαι.
>
> Lead me, O Jove, and thou, O fate,
> Where'er your pleasure has ordain'd
> I wish with cheerfulness to meet
> What no reluctance can withstand.

By Jove, is meant the God and Father of all. By fate, not a power independent on him, or a separate deity in joint-commission with him; but his own superintending providence. When I consider such exalted sentiments as these; sentiments, so directly tending to give unto God the honour due to his name, and so completely calculated for the general happiness of man; I cease to wonder at those tributes of high, but just encomium on the ancient stoics, which have fallen from the pens even of some learned Arminians themselves. Dr. Cave informs us, that, "Of all the sects of philosophy, St. Pantænus principally applied himself to the stoics, with whose notions and rules of life he was most enamoured. And no wonder," says the learned Doctor, "seeing, as St. Jerom observes, their doctrines [*i. e.* the doctrines of the stoics,] in many things come nearest to the doctrines of Christianity. As indeed they do: especially as to the (*m*) moral and practic part of their principles. They held, that nothing was good, but what was just and pious; nothing evil, but what was vicious and dishonest: that a bad man could never be happy, nor a good man miserable: that the deity was perpetually concerned for human affairs; and that there was a wise and powerful Providence, which particularly superintended the happiness of mankind: that, therefore, this God was, above all things, to be admired, adored, and worshipped, prayed to, acknowledged, obeyed, praised; and that it is the most comely and reasonable thing in the world, that we should universally submit to his will, and απταζεσθαι εξ ὁλης της ψυχης τα συηβαινοντα παντα, cheerfully embrace, with all our souls, all the issues and determinations of his Providence: that we ought not to think it enough to be happy alone, but that it is our duty απο καρδιας φιλειν, to love men from our very heart; to relieve and help them, advise and assist them, and contribute what was in our power to their health and safety: and this, not once, or twice, but throughout our whole life; and that unbiassedly, without any little designs of applause or advantage to ourselves: that nothing should be equally dear to a man, as honesty and virtue; and that this is the first thing he should look at, whether the thing he is going about be good, or bad, and the part of a good, or a wicked man; and, if excellent and virtuous, that he ought not to let any loss or damage, torment, or death itself, deter him from it. Whoever runs over the writings of Seneca, Antoninus, Epictetus, Arrian, &c. will find these, and a great many more, claiming a very near kindred with the main rules of life prescribed in the Christian faith. And what wonder, if Saint Pantænus [or, indeed, every other saint] was in love with such generous and manly principles? which he liked so well, that as he [*viz.* St. Pantænus] always retained the title of the Stoic Philosopher, so, for the main, he owned the profession of that sect, even after his being admitted to eminent offices and employments in the Christian Church (*n*)."

I must make two short remarks on this observable quotation. 1. We see, that, in the judgment of St. Jerom, St. Pantænus, and Dr. Cave himself, the main branches of the stoical theology and ethics were supposed to come very near the theology and ethics of Christianity: yea, that there was "a very near kindred" between them. So different was the idea, which those eminent persons entertained, concerning stoicism, from the illiterate and ungenerous prejudices which breed in the bosoms of some puny, piddling sciolists among the Arminians, against that ancient and respectable philosophy. 2. May not the lives and morals of the stoical fatalists put the generality of free-willers to the blush?

mum patrem, ab eoque duci cupit: cujus tamen voluntatem simulque certam fore, ac infallibilem, demonstrat." Martyr. *Ibid.* p. 331.

(*k*) Par. Lost, b. vii. 172.

(*l*) Enchir. cap. lxxvii. p. 92.—Edit. Berkel.

(*m*) Here let me ask a very natural and reasonable question. If the Stoics, who believed an absolute, over-powering fate in all things, were, nevertheless, the most virtuous and exemplary in their morals, of all the heathen philosophers; with what decency can it be insinuated by Arminianism, that the Christian doctrine of predestination has any degree of tendency to practical ungodliness?

(*n*) Cave's Apostolici, p. 187.

One testimonial more, and that from a very capable hand, shall finish this digression. "I cannot but think," says the learned and celebrated Mr. Ditton, "that the doctrines of that sect [meaning the stoics] have been much misrepresented. And the truth of it is, that there is, generally speaking, a nearer approach to Christianity, in the morals, discipline, and doctrines of that noble sect, than in those of any other sect whatsoever (*o*)."

But I willingly return, from even the excellencies of Paganism, to the school of Christ. Let us now listen to those precious, satisfying truths of the gospel, which do indeed render the soul wise unto salvation, and, beyond all the exterior disquisitions in the world, make glad the city of God.

Peter Martyr, the thread of whose testimony I now resume, shall set before us some of those precious truths, pure and genuine as he drew them from the oracles of Scripture. We have heard his judgment concerning fate: let us

(2.) Attend to him on the subject of predestination.

"Forasmuch as God worketh all things by his determinate purpose, and doth nothing by chance, or accidentally; it is a most indubitable axiom, that whatsoever he creates and makes, is destined by him to some certain end and use. Consequently, neither ungodly men, nor Satan himself, nor even sins themselves, can be exempted from predestination: for, of all these, God makes what use he pleases. Hence, those of the unrighteous, who are devoted to final condemnation, are stiled by St. Paul, σκευη, or vessels, *i. e.* God's vessels: vessels, in whom God makes known his wrath. Thus it is said, respecting Pharaoh, To this very end have I raised thee up, that in thee I might display my power. Take the word predestination in this extensive sense, and it reaches to all things: it will import no other than God's eternal appointment of his creatures to their respective use (*n*)."

(3.) "We may distinguish between the knowledge and the fore-knowledge of God. His knowledge extends not only to every thing past, present, and future; but even to what shall never come to pass: neither possibles, nor impossibles, are unknown to him. But his fore-knowledge is conversant with those things only which are certainly future. God's will is the foundation of his prescience: for nothing could be future if God did not will its futurition. Whatever he does not will should come to pass, he takes care to hinder from coming to pass. God, therefore, fore-knows a thing, because it was his will and pleasure that the thing should exist and take place (*q*)."

(4.) "Providence is God's well-ordered, fixed, and incessant management of all things whatever. When I say, that his providence extends to all things whatever, I advance no more than I am able to prove. And I prove it thus:

"God has a perfect knowledge and comprehension of every thing: else his wisdom would be defective. Now the government of this Allwise Being is either unlimited as his knowledge, or partial and confined. If his government be confined and limited, such limitation must arise either from want of will, or from want of power. If from want of power, he would cease to be Almighty: if from want of will, he would cease to be all-excellent. But to deny the infinity either of his knowledge, power, or excellence, would be the same as to deny that he is God. It remains, therefore, that the supreme Being superintends all things: and this the Scripture, in numberless passages, most expressly declares. For it affirms, that the over-sight of God reaches even to the leaves of the trees, to the hairs of our heads, and to the meanest birds of the air (*r*)." The sum of this reasoning is, that to deny the absolute universality of God's incessant providence is neither more nor less than plain, direct, palpable Atheism.

"I term divine providence," says he "the administration of all things whatever; because nothing can elude its influence: nor, without

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(*o*) Ditton on the Resurrection of Christ. Append. p. 424.—Edit. 1727.

(*p*) "Quoniam autem Deus omnia destinato consilio facit, nihil casu, aut fortuito: procul dubio, quicquid creatur est facit, aliquem ad finem et usum destinat. Hac ratione, nec impii, nec diabolus ipse, neque peccata, excludi possunt a praedestinatione: omnibus enim iis rebus Deus utitur, quomodo voluerit. Itaque Paulus impios homines, devotos ad extremam damnationem, appellavit σκευη, hoc est, vasa Dei, quibus iram patefacit.—Et de Pharaone dicitur, in hoc ipsum excitavi te, ut ostenderem in te potentiam meam. Imo, si ita accipiatur praedestinatio, erit rebus omnibus communis. Neque aliud ista vox significabit, quam Dei, de creatures suis, aeternam dispositionem ad usum aliquem suum." Martyr, *u. s.* p. 315.

(*q*) "Scire debemus, notitiam Dei latius patere, quàm ejus praescientiam. Nam notitia porrigitur, non tantùm ad praesentia, praeterita, et futura; sed etiam, ad ea quae nunquam futura sunt, sive possibilia ea sint, sive, ut loquuntur, impossibilia: praescientia autem est, non nisi de illis quae futura sunt. Et ideirco praescientia requirit voluntatem, quae praecedat: nihil enim futurum est, nisi Deus id esse velit: nam aliquo impediret praescit ergò Deus ea quae vult esse futura." Martyr. *Ibid.* p. 316.

(*r*) "Obiter sic definiri potest providentia: est Dei ordinata, immobilis, et perpetua universarum rerum administratio." Martyr. *Ibid.* p. 316.

"Quod diximus, providentiam ad omnia pertinere; id sic probari potest: quia Deum nihil latet; alioqui non esset sapientissimus. Quod si omnia novit, vel ea regit omnia, vel multorum curam abjicit. Si quarum rerum curam abjiciat, id icircò facit, vel, quia non potest, vel quia non vult, curam earum gerere. Si non potest, non est potentissimus. Si nolit, non est optimus. Negare autem Deum sapientissimum, potentissimum, optimum esse, id est planè eum negare esse Deum. Superest ergò ut Deus omnibus rebus provideat: quod Scripturae infinitis in locis appertissime testantur. Docent enim, Dei curam extendi usque ad arborum folia, usque ad capillos capitis, usque ad passeres." Mart. *Ibid. u. s.*

it, could any thing even continue to exist. I term it well-ordered, because it is so conjoined with unerring wisdom, as to preclude all possible confusion and embarrassment. I term it fixed, or immovable; because the knowledge of the Divine Administrator cannot be disappointed, nor his power defeated: he is equally incapable of mistake, and of disconcertment. Moreover, I term his providence perpetual, or incessant; because he himself is constantly and most intimately present with the things which he has made. When he created them he did not leave them to themselves; but he is, himself, within them, as their perpetual principle of motion: for in him we live, and are moved, and do exist. (Acts. xvii. 28.) So much respecting providence: to which, and to its correlative articles, fate is nearly allied. I have already observed, that, if you suppose the word fate to signify such an inevitable necessity as results from the influence and position of the stars; the ancient Christians did, with very just reason, abstain from the use of the word, in that sense of it. But if it [*i. e.* if the word fate] mean no more than a sure concatenation of second causes, which is not carried on, either with a blind precipitancy, or with an unmeaning accidentality; but is regulated by the providence of God, and may be varied according to the sovereign pleasure of his will; I can see no reason why the thing called fate should, in this view of it, be disrelished or rejected by any man (*s*)."

(5.) I shall just touch on this reformer's doctrine concerning reprobation: requesting the reader still to bear in mind, that I am not, professedly, delivering my own judgment, but simply setting before him the judgment of Peter Martyr. According to him, "Reprobation may be defined, that most wise determination of God, whereby he did, before all eternity, immutably decree not to have mercy on those whom he loved not, but passed by: and this without any injustice on his part (*t*)."

Martyr does not scruple to affirm, that "God withholds his grace from [some] men: which grace being withheld, those men cannot but fall." He even ventures to add, that, "since we all live and move by actuation from God, it is certain, that all the deeds which we perform, are, of necessity, some way or other, wrought under a divine impulse." Yet though he expresses himself with such strength and plainness, he will not admit that this doctrine makes God the author of sin: "There is no need," says he, "for God to infuse additional evil into our hearts. There is enough there already. We have it sufficiently, of ourselves: partly, through the foulness of original sin; and partly, because a created being doth, of himself, degenerate, without measure and without end, unless he is succoured by God (*u*)." From hence, we may easily anticipate his opinion

(6.) Concerning free-will. "Paul plainly saith, It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy. Our salvation is the work of God, and not the atchievement of our own strength. For he it is who worketh in us both to will and to accomplish. Before God thus worketh in us, he has to do [as it were] with stones: for our hearts are hearts of stone, till Christ transforms them into hearts of flesh (*x*)."

"They who are born again ought never to forget, that they obtained this freedom, not by their own deserts, but by the favour of God. It was owing, not to themselves, but to their heavenly Father, that they were drawn to Christ. For unless God the Father had inwardly won them over by main efficacy, they would have shunned and avoided Christ, even as others (*y*)."

Luther, in his answer to Erasmus, had, after his blunt, but nervous manner, compared the human will to a horse: "If grace," says he, "be in the saddle, the will moves to what is good; but man's will, if rid by the Devil, is sure to rush headlong into sin." This comparison, unceremonious as it is, was adopted

(*s*) "Est hæc administratio universarum rerum. Nulla enim res, eam subterfugit, nec potest, absque ea durare. Dicitur ordinata, quia conjuncta est cum summa sapientia, ut nihil admittat confusionis. Immobilis est, quia scientia hujus administratoris non fallitur, nec ejus potentia frustator. Est etiam perpetua, quoniam Deus ipse rebus adest. Neque enim, cum creasset res eas sibi ipsis reliquit; imo ipse in illis est, easque perpetuò agitat: in ipso enim vivimus, et movemur, et sumus. Tantum de providentiâ. His rebus fatum etiam est affine. A quo, si accipiatur, ut supra diximus, pro necessitate quadam inevitabili quæ à vi astrorum pendeat, patres meritò absti nuerunt. Sed si nihil aliud significat quam certam connexionem causarum secundarum, quæ non feratur temere aut fortuitò, sed Dei providentiâ gubernatur, proque ejus voluntate mutari possit non video cur res ipsa debeat a quoquam respui." Martyr. *ut supr.*

(*t*) "Sit igitur reprobatio, sapientissimum Dei propositum, quo, ante omnem æternitatem, decrevit constanter absque ullâ injustitiâ eorum non miseri, quos non dilexit, sed præterit." Martyr. *Ibid.* p. 317.

(*u*) "Deinde Deus est, qui gratiam suam hominibus subjucit: qui subtractâ, necesse est ut illi labantur. Cùmque illius agitatione omnes et vivamus et moveamur, omnia certe opera quæ facimus, necesse est, ut, quoquo modo, ejus impulsu fiant. Quanquam nihil opus est, ut ab illo nobis infundatur nova malitia. Eam enim, tàm propter lal em originis, satis abundè habemus ex nobis ipsis: tàm etiam, propterea quod creatura, si à Deo non juvetur, per seipsam in deteRius vergit sine modo et fine." Mart *Ibid.* p. 317.

(*x*) "Paulus disserte ait, non est volentis, neque currentis, sed miserentis Dei: illius enim opus est nostre salus, non virium nostrarum. Ipse enim est, qui operatur in nobis et velle et perficere. Antequam id præstet, si quid nobiscum agat, aut lege, aut doctrina verbi, cum lapidibus agit. Corda enim nostra saxea sunt, nisi ea Christus transmutet in carnea." Mart. *Ibid.* p. 109.

(*y*) "Qui ità renati sunt, nunquam debent oblivisci, se hanc libertatem non suis meritis adeptos esse sed beneficio Dei. Is enim eos refinxit, et pro corde lapideo, cor carneum in illis posuit. Denique, non ex seipsis, sed expatre cœlesti habuerunt, ut ad Christum traherentur. Nisi enim fuissent, à Deo patre, magnâ efficaciâ, intus in animo persuasi; à Christo, non minus quam ali, refugissent." Mart. *Ibid.* p. 117.

and subscribed to by Peter Martyr; whose words are, "Christ hath said, Ye shall then be free, when the Son makes you so: from whence it follows, that so long as men are unregenerated, they cannot, with truth, be pronounced free. Besides, the tyranny of Satan is such, that he detains men in captivity, till they are rescued by Christ: for our Lord has declared, That the strong man armed keeps peaceable possession of his palace, and continues master of the spoils; till One stronger than he, arrives, and dispossesses him by force. Likewise, in the 2d Epistle to Timothy, the apostle affirms, that such as oppose the truth are kept prisoners by Satan at his will. And it is a well-known illustration, that the will of man resembles a horse, which sometimes has grace for his rider, and sometimes the Devil. Now, perhaps, it is set in motion by the former: anon, it is whipp'd and spurr'd by the latter. Human liberty, therefore, is cut short by manifold slavery. And, seeing the freedom of the will is so exceedingly small, during the present state of things, it is wonderful to me, that men do not, with Luther, rather term the will a slave and a bond-woman, than free. If a man was shut up in prison, manicled and fettered; could he justly call himself free, only because he were able to move his head and lift up his eyelids (*z*)?" Thus much for free-will.

(7.) Now for justification. So far was Martyr from supposing that men are justified and accepted of God on account of their works, that there is a sense, in which he would not admit justification even by faith itself. And very justly. For, though the grace and principle of faith are of God's giving, and of God's infusing, yet faith, as acted and exercised by us, is attended with extreme imperfection: and we cannot be justified, in the strict meaning of the term, by any thing which is defective. Hence the following remark of our judicious reformer: "If faith itself be considered as our act, 'tis impossible we should be justified by it: because faith, in this view of it, is lame and imperfect, and falls far short of that completeness which the law requires. But we are therefore said to be justified by faith, because it is by faith that we lay hold upon, and apply to ourselves, the promises of God and the righteousness and merits of Christ. A beggar (we'll suppose) extends his foul and leprous hand, to receive an alms from a person that offers it: certainly it is not from the leprosy and foulness of his own hand, that he derives any benefit; but from the donation given, and which he receives with such a hand as he has (*a*)." This single paragraph is so full to the point, that it supersedes the necessity of multiplying quotations on the subject in question. Let us hear him

(8.) On the article of perseverance.

"If we consult the sacred writings, we shall there find, not only, in general, that God is good and powerful; but likewise, that he is good and powerful for our particular benefit" [*i. e.* for the particular benefit of us who truly believe]: "and that in consequence of his power and goodness, he'll so confirm our will, that it shall never entirely revolt from him. For he will not suffer us to be tempted above what we are able to bear; but will, with the temptation, make a way for our escape. He will establish you, even unto the end, blameless to the day of our Lord Jesus Christ. God is faithful, by whom ye are called. Very numerous are the Scripture attestations which promise us perseverance through Christ, and the establishment of our wills [in holiness] (*b*)."

So much shall suffice, at present, for Peter Martyr's judgment concerning the points in contest.

And let it be further observed, that this excellent divine appears to have had some hand in drawing up the articles of religion adopted by the Church of England. Heylyn himself confesses as much: tho' he labours, as usual, to mince, and qualify the concession by every diminishing quirk, in his power to apply. I can compare him to nothing, but to a miser, who, forced, against the grain, to pay

(*z*) "Christus quoque dixit, Si filius vos liberaverit, tunc liberi estis. Unde sequitur, falso liberos esse homines, quando nondum sunt renati. Ad hæc omnia, diaboli tyrannis accedit: qui homines, antequam Christi sint, captivos detinet. Christus enim dixit, Fortem armatum custodire atrium suum in pace, et spolia detinere captiva, quoad fortior venerit, qui ea diripiat. Et in Epistola ad Timotheum 2, habetur, contradicentes veritati detineri captivos à Satanâ ad ejus voluntatem. Et satis est vulgata sententia, quæ ait, voluntatem instar equi esse, quæ modo habeat sessorem spiritum Dei et gratiam; modo vero diabolum: et nunc ab eo agitari, nunc vero à gratiâ regi. Est igitur libertas ejus multiplicitur servitute accissa: et mirum est, cum tam parva sit ejus libertas, in hoc præcertim statu, eam potiùs appellari liberam, quam servam. Hæc Lutherus considerans, arbitrium potius dixit servum, quam liberum. Si quis esset in carcere, compedibus et manicis constrictus; an rectè diceret se liberum, quod posset caput movere, aut oculos attolere?" Mart. *Ibid.* p. 686.

(*a*) "Quin etiam, si fides ipsa, qua nostrum opus est consideretur; ea justificari non possumus: cum opus fit et mancum et imperfectum, longe deterius quam lex requirat. Sed illa justificari dicimur, quia promissiones Dei et Christi justitiam meritaque, per ipsam apprehendimus, et nobis applicamus. Fingas tibi mendici hominis fœdissimam et leprosam manum quâ capiat eleemosynam ab oderente: certe, mendicus ille à fœditate seu leprâ suæ manus haudquaquam juvatur, sed, eleemosynâ quam manu qualicunque accipit." Mart. *Ibid.* p. 363.

(*b*) "Equidem, si consultamus sacras literas, non tantùm intelligemus, Deum generalitèr bonum esse et potentem: sed etiam eum nobis ipsis esse bonum et propitium [menda, propotentem]: ideoque confirmaturum nostram voluntatem, ne unquam ab eo deficiat. Nam, ut Paulo ante commemoravimus, non patietur nos tentari supra id quod possimus sustinere; sed faciet, cum tantatione, exitum. Et, i. ad Cor. cap. 1. Confirmabit vos usque ad finem, inculpatus in diem Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Fidelis enim Deus, per quem vocati estis. Sunt præterea alia per multa testimonia in sacris literis, quæ nobis pollicentur et perseverantiam, et confirmationem voluntatis, per Christum. Martyr, *Ibid.* p. 3[illegible]7.

a sum of money, counts it out, with grudging reluctance, and draws it back again and again, till obliged to part with it indeed. Heylyn's words are these: "Though Peter Martyr lived to see the death of king Edward, and consequently the end of the convocation, Anno 1552, in which the articles of religion were first composed and agreed on; yet there was little use made of him in advising, and much less in directing, any thing which concerned that business, tho' some use might be made of him as a labourer to advance the work (c)."

There are testimonies of Martyr's orthodoxy and usefulness still in reserve; able, if need required, to enlarge these gleanings into a harvest. But I must not dismiss this great reformer and ornament of our church, without observing, that he and Bucer were the principal instruments of persuading Dr. Hooper into a compliance (as far as he did comply) with king Edward's reformation, respecting some matters of exterior ceremony: which (however indifferent those matters were in their own nature,) became important, because adopted by the church, and enforced by the state.

Few readers need to be informed, that, when Hooper was nominated to the see of Gloucester, he entertained some unhappy scruples, more nice than necessary, concerning the form of the episcopal habit. He supposed, that the robes, in which a bishop was expected to appear, favoured more of superstition and Popish pomp, than comported with the scriptural simplicity of Protestantism. Amazing, that a person of Hooper's learning, piety, and exalted sense, could look for Popery in the fold of a garment; and extract superstition out of an angular cap! Groundless, however, and ill-timed, as his scruples were, they had such weight with himself, that he refused to be consecrated after the usual mode, and even suffered himself to be imprisoned in the Fleet, for his contempt of legal authority. But I must also do him the justice to add, that he lived long enough to see the weakness and absurdity of opposing things which the law of God has left indifferent. The severities of Mary's reign taught the honest, but over-scrupulous, bishop that Popery consisted in something more than a robe, a scarf, or a four-cornered cap.

While Hooper's obstinacy continued, Bucer and Martyr took all imaginable pains to solve his objections, and, if possible, reduce him to conformity. They gained on him so far that he consented to wear the usual habit on some principal occasions. One of Martyr's letters to him may be seen at full length, in an appendix to (*d*) that edition of his Common Places, which has supplied me with the preceding extracts. It is written with such modesty, learning, candour, and force of reason, as are a standing honour to the writer, and demonstrate that his attachment to the Church of England extended to her rites, as well as her doctrines.

The letter itself being very long, I shall only give the substance of Martyr's arguments, in Mr. Rolt's judicious abridgement of them. "He commended Hooper, for his pains in preaching; but advised him not to exert his zeal on points that are indefensible, or things of little moment, lest the people should from thence be led to call in question the judgment of the reformed preachers, and give no credit to what they delivered on the most important articles. In answer to one objection of Hooper's, that we ought to have an express warrant from Scripture for every thing belonging to religion; Martyr told him, that, if the general rules of order were observed, the governors of the church had a discretionary latitude in little matters. Thus, for instance, our receiving the communion in a church, in a forenoon, not in a reclining posture, [nor] in a congregation [consisting] of men only; stood upon no other than ecclesiastical, that is, upon human authority: to which [nevertheless], he presumed, Hooper had always submitted without any scruple. He told him, further, that it would be difficult to produce any warrant, from the New Testament, for singing Psalms in public worship. And that the Christian church, from the beginning, had a regard, in many particulars, to the Jewish polity: especially, in the great festivals of Easter and Whitsunday. Supposing, what he [Martyr] could not grant, that the episcopal habit and vestments had been introduced into the church by the see of Rome; yet he did not think the contagion of Popery so very malignant, as to carry infection into every thing which it touched. That to govern by such narrow maxims would lay an inconvenient restraint on the Church of God: and that our ancestors moved much more freely, who made no difficulty of turning heathen temples into Christian churches; and of translating, to pious uses, the revenues [once] sacred to idolatry (*e*)." Had Martyr's coolness and moderation been universally prevalent in the Protestant world, how much vain wrangling and party-division would it have prevented!

Bucer was no less assiduous, than Martyr, in respectfully combating the pertinacity of Hooper. They united in assuring him "That in the business of religious rites, they were for keeping as close as possible to the holy Scriptures, and to the most uncorrupt ages of the church: but, however, they could not go so far as to believe that the substance of reli-

(c) Heylyn's Miscell. Tracts, p. 387.
(d) *Viz.* the Edition of 1626.—p. 761, 762, 763.

(e) See Rolt's Lives of the Reformers, page 115.

gion was effected by the clothes we wear; and they thought things of this nature altogether indifferent, and left to our liberty by the word of God (*f*)." Thus, it incontestably appears, that these two learned Calvinists, Bucer and Martyr, were church of England men not in word and tongue only, but in deed and in truth.

Before I conclude this Section, I beg leave to subjoin an observation, that would more properly have fallen under the immediate article of Bucer; but which, though omitted in its due place, is too important to the design of this undertaking to be entirely passed over. It has been affirmed (and what is there, which some Arminians will not affirm?) that Bucer held the doctrine of justification by works, and believed human obedience to be meritorious in the sight of God.

That he was once of this opinion, is not at all wonderful, when we consider that he was born and educated in the bosom of the Romish church, with whom the tenet of legal justification is a fundamental principle. And, for a considerable time after God had called him out of Papal darkness, his improvements in divine knowledge were progressive. His spiritual growth resembled the gradual vegetation of an oak; not the rapid prosiliency of a mushroom. Bucer seems to have expressed himself the most incautiously, in the disputation at Leipsic, A. D. 1539; yet, even then, he roundly declared, that "those good works, to which so great a reward is given, are themselves the gifts of God (*g*)." And that passage, which Vossius quotes from Bucer, falls extremely short of proving that the latter was, even at the early period in which he penned it, an assertor of justification by performances of our own. Impartiality obliges me to subjoin that celebrated passage, which so many Arminians and merit-mongers have since caught at, as if it made for the Popish doctrine of justification. "I cannot but wish," said Bucer, in the year 1529, "a more sound judgment to some persons, who have disturbed many in this our age with this paradox, that we are saved by faith only: tho' they saw the thing was carried so far, as to confine righteousness only to the opinion of the mind, and excluding good works. Where is their charity, who refuse to cure this evil by one word or two? It is only to say that, when faith is formed, we are justified; and that, through faith, we obtain a disposition to good works, and, consequently, a righteousness: or, that faith is the foundation and root of a righteous life, as Augustin said (*h*)." Is there a single sentence, in this paragraph, to which the strictest Calvinist would not consent? Observe the order in which Bucer arranges faith, justification, and obedience. Faith goes before; justification follows faith; and practical obedience follows justification: we first believe; we no sooner believe, than we are justified; and the faith which justifies disposes us to the after-performances of good works: or, in other words, justifying faith "is the root and foundation of a righteous life." Says not every Calvinist the same?

As Bucer advanced in years and experience, he learned to express his idea of justification with still greater clearness and precision, than he had done on some past occasions. Finding that the enemies of grace had greedily laid hold of some inadvertent phrases, and taken ungenerous advantage of some well-meant concessions, which he had made, before his evangelical light was at the full; he deemed it necessary to retract such of his positions as countenanced the merit of works; and to place justification on the scriptural basis of the Father's gratuitous goodness, and the Son's imputed righteousness: still, however, taking care to inculcate, that the faith, by which we receive the grace of God and the righteousness of Christ, is the certain source of all good works. For being thus honest to his convictions, he was loaded, by his adversaries, with accumulated slander and reproach. How modestly and forcibly he vindicated his conduct, may be judged from the following passage: "The Lord," says Bucer, "has given me to understand some places [of scripture] more fully than I formerly did: which, as it is so bountifully given to me, why should I not impart it liberally to my brethren, and ingenuously declare the goodness of the Lord? What inconsistency is there, in profiting in the work of salvation? And who, in this age, or in the last, has treated of the Scripture, and has not experienced, that, even in this study, one day is the scholar of another (*i*)?"

Indeed, no stronger proof need be given, of Bucer's soundness in the article of justification, than the rapture and admiration with which he mentions the English book of Homilies. "No sooner," says Mr. Strype, "were the homilies composed, and sent abroad; but the news thereof (and the book itself, as it seemed, already translated into Latin) came to Strasburgh, among the Protestants there: where it caused great rejoicing. And Bucer, one of the chief ministers there, wrote a gratulatory epistle hereupon to the Church of England, in November, 1547: which was printed the year after. Therein that learned and moderate man shewed, how these pious ser-

(*f*) Rolt, *Ibid.* p. 96.—N.B. Two of Bucer's letters, *viz.* One to Hooper, and the other to A. Lasco, both in vindication of the received modes, are extant in Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. Appendix, from p. 118 to p. 122. The whole letter to A. Lasco was (says Mr. Strype, p. 225.) "translated into English, and set forth, not far from the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, for the use of the church, that then was exercised afresh with the same controversy."

(*g*) Rolt, *Ibid.* p. 88. (*h*) Rolt, p. 38.

(*i*) Rolt, p. 86.

mons were come among them, wherein the people were so godlily and effectually exhorted to the reading of the Holy Scriptures; and faith was so well explained, whereby we become Christians; and justification, whereby we are saved; and the other chief heads of the Christian religion so soundly handled. And therefore, as he added, these foundations being rightly laid, there could nothing be wanting in our Churches, requisite towards the building hereupon sound doctrine and discipline. He commended much the Homily of Faith, the nature and force of which was so clearly and soberly discussed; and wherein it was so well distinguished from the faith that was dead. He much approved of the manner of treating Concerning the misery and death we are all lapsed into, by the sin of our first parent; and how we are rescued from this perdition, only by the grace of God, and by the merit and resurrection of his Son (*k*)."

No wonder, that this excellent man was, soon after, called into England, to assist in perfecting that reformation, whose beginnings he so heartily approved. When here, vast deference was paid to his judgment and advice, by Cranmer and the other Protestant bishops. This is confessed, even by Burnet himself; whose words are, "About the end of this year (1550), or the beginning of the next, there was a review made of the Common-Prayer Book. Martin Bucer was consulted in it: and Alesse translated it into Latin for his [*i. e.* for Bucer's] use. Upon which, Bucer wrote his opinion; which he finished the 5th of January in the year following: and, almost in every particular, the most material things, which Bucer excepted to, were corrected afterwards (*l*)." This acknowledgement of Bishop Burnet's confirms what is delivered by Guthrie: who, in his English History, observes, concerning Bucer and Peter Martyr, that their authority was great in England (*m*)."

SECTION XV.

Of the Share which Calvin *had in the Reformation of the Church of* England.

To what has been already observed, concerning our principal reformers, a word or two must be added, relative to that grand ornament of the Protestant world, Dr. John Calvin. It has been furiously affirmed, by more than one Arminian, that Calvin had not the least hand, directly or indirectly, in any part of our English reformation. Old Heylyn plays to this tune: "Our first reformers had no respect of Calvin (*n*)." And again: they "had no regard to Luther or Calvin, in the procedure of their work (*o*)." To Heylyn's pipe, dances Mr. Samuel Downes; with the same reverential glee, as poor Wat Sellon squeaks to the quavers of Mr. John Wesley. Let us, however, examine for ourselves, and attend to facts. Mr. Rolt informs us, from Guthrie, that Bucer's "remonstrances, together with those of Martyr and Calvin, prevailed with archbishop Cranmer, and the other prelates of the reformation, to suffer it [*i. e.* to suffer the liturgy] to be revised and corrected (*p*)." Such an acknowledgment, from a historian of Guthrie's principles, must have decisive weight with every rational enquirer.

So must the testimony that follows. "Calvin advised Bucer how to conduct himself before king Edward VI. He [*i. e.* Calvin] corresponded with the duke of Somerset" (who was the king's uncle, protector of the realm, and, in concert with Cranmer, the main instrument in conducting the reformation) "and gave him his opinion how the reformation should be carried on. In one of his [*i. e.* of Calvin's] letters to the lord protector, he expressed his dislike of praying for the dead. Calvin, in his epistolary correspondence with the protector, was instrumental, not only in pushing some severity against the Papists, but in some advances towards bringing the Church of England to a nearer conformity with the Churches abroad, where the worship was more plain (*q*)." The Church, therefore, stood indebted for part of her purity and simplicity, to the discreet and friendly offices of this most eminent divine, "whose decisions" (as an elegant modern historian truly observes) "were received among the Protestants of that age, with incredible submission (*r*)."

Even bishop Burnet takes some notice of Calvin's correspondence with Somerset. "Calvin wrote to the protector, on the 29th of October (1548), encouraging him to go on, notwithstanding the wars, as Hezechias had done, in his reformation. He [*i. e.* Calvin] lamented the heats of some that professed the gospel: but complained, that he heard there were few lively sermons heard in England, and that the preachers recited their discourses coldly. He much approves a set form of prayers, whereby the consent of all the Churches did more manifestly appear. But he advises a more complete reformation. He taxed the prayers for the dead, the use of chrism, and extreme unction, since they were no where recommended in Scripture. He [Calvin] had heard, that the reason why they (the English reform-

(*k*) Strype's Memorials Ecclesiastical, vol. ii. p. 31, 32.
(*l*) Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. p. 147, 148.
(*m*) See Rolt, p. 115.
(*n*) Peter Heylyn's Historic. & Miscell. Tracts, p. 548.
(*o*) Heylyn's Life of Laud, Introd. p. 3.
(*p*) Rolt's Lives of the Reformers, p. 116.
(*q*) Rolt, *Ibid*, p. 134.
(*r*) Robertson's Hist. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 240.

ers) went no further, was, because the times could not bear it: but this was to do the work of God by political maxims; which, though they ought to take place in other things, yet should not be followed in matters in which the salvation of souls was concerned. But, above all things, Calvin complained of the great impieties and vices that were so common in England; as swearing, drinking, and uncleanness: and prayed him (the lord protector) earnestly, that these things might be looked after (*s*)."

Calvin did not remonstrate in vain. The communion office underwent a farther reform, in 1550: as did the whole liturgy, in 1551; when among many other alterations, the clrism in baptism, the unction of the sick, and prayers for the dead, were totally expunged (*t*).

That the reasonings and representations of Calvin had great influence on the protector, and on the conduct of ecclesiastical affairs in England, is evident, amidst a multiplicity of additional proofs that might be offered, from what is observed by the candid and learned Mr. Hickman: than whom, no person, perhaps, was better acquainted with the religious history of this kingdom. "Bucer, at Cambridge," says that excellent writer, "understood that Calvin's letters prevailed much with Somerset: and therefore intreats Calvin, when he did write to the protector, to admonish him not to suffer the churches to be left void of preachers (*u*)."

Heylin himself, in his History of the Reformation, virtually contradicts what he elsewhere delivers, concerning the "no-respect" which, he would have us believe, was shewn to Calvin. Speaking of king Edward's first liturgy, he says, "And here the business might have rested," [*i. e.* the liturgy would not have been reviewed and reformed] "if Calvin's pragmatical spirit had not interposed (*w*)." The concession is important, though maliciously expressed: for, what is this, but allowing, that the Church of England was obliged to "Calvin's interposition," for her deliverance from the alb, the cope, the introits, the exorcism, the trine immersion, the unction, prayers for souls departed, &c. which were all retained by the first liturgy? Surely, if Heylyn's complaint be justly founded, that "if Calvin's pragmatical spirit had not interposed" the first liturgy might have stood as it did, it will follow, 1. That the Protestant religion in England is under the highest obligations to Calvin, for his successful zeal in occasioning all this rubbish to be wheeled away: and, 2. That Heylin himself, by whom this very circumstance is affirmed, was guilty of a most palpable deviation from truth, in asserting, elsewhere, that "Calvin offered his assistance to our reformers, and that his interposition was refused (*x*)."

'Tis not a little amusing to see such rank Arminians, as Heylyn, pressing themselves, whether they will or no, into the service of truth. Take, therefore, a farther taste of his testimony, occurring in another work of his. He observes, that "Cranmer, Ridley," and "the rest of the English bishops" concerned in the reformation, resolved that "they would give Calvin no offence (*y*)." The Arminian found himself constrained even to add, that Calvin, "In his letters to the king and council, had excited them to proceed in the good work which they had begun: that is, that they should so proceed as he [*i. e.* as Calvin] had directed. With Cranmer he is more particular, and tells him, in plain terms, that, in the liturgy of this church [*viz.* the first liturgy], as it then stood, there remained a whole mass of Popery, which did not only blemish, but destroy, God's public worship (*z*)." It appeared, by the subsequent revisal and reformation of that liturgy, that king Edward, his council, and archbishop Cranmer [or, as Heylyn himself there, for a wonder, vouchsafes to express it, "the godly king, assisted by so wise a council, and such learned prelates"] were entirely of Calvin's mind. Doubtless, those good and great men reformed the first liturgy, more from a conviction of the force of Calvin's arguments, than from a principle of mere deference to Calvin's authority. Mr. Heylyn, however, inclines to the latter supposition: and, by a concession which places Calvin's authority with the reformers in the most exalted point of view, expressly declares, that "the first liturgy was discontinued, and the

(*s*) Burnet's Reform. vol. ii. p. 83. —— Dr. Fuller gives a much more satisfactory abstract from Calvin's letter, than does his lordship of Sarum. "Master Calvin," says Fuller, "is therein very vositive for a set form: whose words deserve our translation and observation. Formulam precum [saith Calvin] et rituum ecclesiasticorum, valde probo, ut certa illa existet; a qua ne pastoribus disedere in functione suâ liceat: 1. Ut consulatur quorundam simplicitati et imperitiæ. 2. Ut certûs constet omnium inter se ecclesiarum consensus. 3. Ut obvium sneatur desultoriæ quorundam levitati, qui novationes quasdam affectant. Sic igitur statum esse catechismum oportet, statam sacramentorum administrationem, publicam item precum formulam. That is: I do highly approve that there should be a certain form of prayer, and ecclesiastical rites; from which it should not be lawful for the pastors themselves to discede. 1. That provision may be made for some people's ignorance and unskilfulness. 2. That the consent of all the churches among themselves may the more plainly appear. 3. That order may be taken against the unsettled levity of such as delight in innovations. Thus there ought to be an established catechism, an established administration of sacraments, as also a public form of prayer." Fuller's Church Hist. book vii. p. 326.

(*t*) See Strype, Burnet, Downes, &c. sub annis 1550 et 1551.

(*u*) Hickman's Animadvers. on Heylyn, p. 149.

(*w*) Heylyn Hist. of the Reform. Pref. p. 3.—Mr. Whiston, likewise, honestly confesses, that king Edward's first liturgy was then [*i. e.* in the year 1551.] "plainly altered out of human prudence, and out of compliance with Calvin and other foreigners." Whiston's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 423.

(*x*) See Heylyn's Quinquart. Hist. Ch. viii. s. 2. Misc. Tr. p. 548. And yet this very Heylyn, in the very next page but one, says, that the first liturgy, "being disliked by Calvin, was brought under a review." *Ibid.* p. 550.

(*y*) Heylyn's Hist. of the Presbyterians p. 204

(*z*) Hist. Presb. p. 206.

second superinduced upon it after this review, to give satisfaction unto Calvin's cavils; the curiosities of some, and the mistakes of others, of his friends and followers (*a*)."

In such esteem was Calvin held at the English court, that Bucer (though invited hither by the king himself, and the archbishop of Canterbury) would not, on his arrival here, wait on the lord protector, till he had obtained, from Calvin, letters of introduction and recommendation to that personage. "Of this," says Heylyn, *viz.* of the state of religion in England, "he (*i. e.* Bucer,) gives account to Calvin; and desires some letters from him to the lord protector, that he might find the greater favour, when he came before him: which was not till the tumults of the time were composed and quieted (*b*)."

What, moreover, shall we say, if it appear, that Calvin's interest was so considerable as to be a means of extricating Dr. Hooper from the Fleet-prison, to which he had been committed on account of his aforementioned objections to the episcopal habit? Let us, once more, attend to Heylyn. "In which condition of affairs Calvin addresseth his letters to the lord protector, whom he desireth to lend the man (*viz.* Hooper) a helping hand, and extricate him out of those perplexities into which he was cast. So that, at last, the differences," adds Heylyn, "were thus compromised, that is to say, that Hooper should receive his consecration, &c. (*c*)"

Add to this, that, according to the said Heylyn, the order for removing altars, and placing communion tables in their room, was chiefly owing to the influence of Calvin. "The great business of this year (1550) was the taking down of altars in many places, by public authority: which, in some few, had formerly been pulled down by the irregular forwardness of the common people. The principal motive whereunto was, in the first place, the opinion of some dislikes which had been taken by Calvin against the (first) liturgy (*d*)."

A correspondence was also carried on, between Calvin and archbishop Cranmer. Nay, so high did Calvin stand in the regards of king Edward himself, and so thoroughly satisfied was Cranmer, of Calvin's abilities and integrity, that "Cranmer admonished Calvin, that he could not do any thing more profitable than to write often to the king (*e*)."

Nor was Calvin unworthy of the distinguished honours that were every where shewn him, by the learned and moderate of all denominations. "He was" (says Dr. Edwards,) "reputed a great man, not only at Geneva, but in England, and, accordingly, he had a great stroke here, and his judgment was much valued by our Church: as is evident from this, that, when some things in the first English liturgy were disliked by him, there was presently an alteration made in it, and another edition of it was put out, with amendments(*f*). That accomplished prelate, Bishop Andrews, said, that Calvin was an illustrious person, and never to be mentioned without a preface of the highest honour. (Determ. Theol. de Usur.) Bishop Bilson tells us (Dial. p. 5(9) that Mr. Calvin was so well known, to those that are learned and wise, for his great pains and good labours in the church of God, that a few snarling friars could not impeach his good name. Mr. Hooker gives him this short but full character: He was incomparably the wisest man that ever the French church enjoyed: and in the same place (Pref. to Eccles. Polity) he styles him, a worthy vessel of God's glory. Bishop Morton speaks as honourably of him. For understanding the Scripture, he was endued with an admirable gift of judgment, saith Mr. Lively, the famous Hebrew professor. And the generality of our churchmen, in those times, were ready to bestow on him that brief encomium our Bishop Stillingfleet gives him, *viz.* that excellent servant of God (*g*)." Now, as Dr. Edwards farther observes, "It is certain, that our churchmen did not admire and esteem Calvin and Beza, and their followers, for their ecclesiastical government, and some other things which were peculiar to their churches; therefore it must be their doctrines which they had a respect for (*h*)."

It would be almost endless to refer to the just praises with which Calvin's memory has been honoured. "Joseph Scaliger, who scarce thought any man worth his commending, could not forbear admiring Calvin: whom he owned for the happiest of all the commentators, in apprehending the sense of the prophets. And Pasquier says, Calvin was a good writer, both in Latin and French; and our French tongue is highly obliged to him, for enriching it with so great a number of fine expressions (*i*)."

The character given of him, by the immortal Monsieur de Thou, is, Johannes Calvinus, "*acri vir ac vehementi ingenio, et admirabili facundiâ præditus; inter Protestantes magni nominis theologus;* a person endued with a quick and lively genius, and of admirable eloquence; a divine highly accounted of among Protestants (*k*)."

"Bishop Hooper so much valued Calvin, that he wrote to him, even when he [Hooper] was imprisoned; saluting him with the compellation of *vir præstantissime*, earnestly begging his church's prayers, and at last subscribing himself, *Tuæ pietatis studiosissimus*, Johannes Hooperus (*l*)."

"Whenever he was quoted, in the press, or in the pulpit, it was done with epithets of honour; as, the learned, the judicious, the

(*a*) Hist. Presb. p. 207. (*b*) His. Ref. p. 79.
(*c*) Heylin, *Ibid* p. 91. (*d*) Heylin, *Ibid.* p. 95. See also his Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 206.
(*e*) Hickman, *ubi prius.* p. 149.
(*f*) Veritas Redux, p. 529. (*g*) Verit. Red. p. 559.
(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 561. (*i*) Rolt's Lives, p. 145.
(*k*) See Leigh's Relig. and Learned Men, p. 149.
(*l*) Hickman, *u. pr.* p. 149.

pious Calvin. And I am more than confident, there cannot be produced one writer of credit, in the established Church of England, that ever fell foul on Calvin, 'till about 60 or 70 years after his death, when the tares of Arminius began to be sown and cherished among us. Dr. Featly styles him, that bright, burning taper of Geneva, as warm in his devotions, as clear and lightsome in his disputes (Ep. Ded. to Dippers Dipt). How respectfully do Jewel, Abbot, Usher, &c. mention him(*m*)!"

Calvin has been taxed with fierceness and bigotry. But his meekness and benevolence were as eminent as the malice of his traducers is shameless. I shall give one single instance of his modesty and gentleness. While he was a very young man, disputes ran high between Luther and some other reformers, concerning the manner of Christ's presence in the holy sacrament. Luther, whose temper was naturally warm and rough, heaped many hard names on the divines who differed from him on the article of consubstantiation; and, among the rest, Calvin came in for his dividend of abuse. Being informed of the harsh appellations he received, he meekly replied, in a letter to Bullinger, "*Sæpe dicere solitus sum, etiamsi me diabolum vocaret, me tamen hoc illi honoris habiturum, ut insignem Dei servum agnoscam; qui tamen, ut pollet eximiis virtutibus, ita magnis vitiis laboret: i. e.* 'Tis a frequent saying with me, that, if Luther should even call me a devil, my veneration for him is, notwithstanding, so great, that I shall ever acknowledge him to be an illustrious servant of God; who, tho' he abounds in extraordinary virtues, is yet not without considerable imperfections (*n*)."

The same learned historian, who relates this, has an observation, concerning Calvin, which deserves attention. "John Calvin," (says he,) "was a man whose memory will be blessed in every succeeding age. He instructed and enlightened, not only the church of Geneva, but also the whole reformed world, by his immense labours. Insomuch that all the reformed churches are, in the gross, frequently called by his name (*o*)." Thus wrote this candid Arminian, so lately as the year 1734.

I might here add some account of the consummate veneration in which the name and doctrines of Calvin were held, by our bishops and Universities, before the clergy of our establishment were debauched into Arminianism by Laud. But this shall, if Providence permit, be the subject of some succeeding Section.

In the mean while, I should be equally unjust to the church of England, and to the moderation of Calvin, if I did not annex a passage or two, from Mr. Strype, relative to the remarkable candour with which Calvin expressed himself, concerning the ceremonies and discipline of our religious establishment.

"The mention of Calvin," (says this excellent historian,) "must bring in a very remarkable letter, which he wrote in the month of August this year [1561], concerning certain ecclesiastical rites, used in our office of private prayer [an evident mistake for common-prayer] newly [re-] established [on the accession of queen Elizabeth]: which were scrupled by some of the English exiles, upon their return; chiefly, because not used by the reformed Church in Geneva: concerning which they had sent to Calvin, for his resolution and judgment. Wherein he gave his opinion generally in favour and approbation of them (*p*); *i. e.* in favour of the "ecclesiastical rites": which the historian particularizes in several instances: and then adds:

"To this judgment of this great divine, concerning rites used in this Church, I will briefly subjoin his approbation of the episcopal government of the Church: which is alledged out of his institutions, by Dr. Whitgift:

'That every province [saith Calvin] had among their bishops, an archbishop; and that the council of Nice did appoint patriarchs, who should be, in order and dignity, above archbishops; was for the preservation of discipline. Therefore for this cause especially were those degrees appointed, that if any thing should happen, in any particular Church, which could not be decided, it might be removed to a provincial synod. This kind of government some called Hierarchia: an improper name. But if, omitting the name, we consider the thing itself, we shall find, that these old bishops did not frame any other kind of government in the Church, from that which the Lord hath prescribed in his word.' And so much concerning Calvin's sense of our Church's liturgy and government (*q*)."

Nor did Calvin's learned colleague and successor, the illustrious Beza, entertain a less respectful idea of our national establishment. Towards the decline of queen Elizabeth's reign, when puritanic opposition ran high against the outworks of the Church, the opposers affected to give out, that their objections were authorized, and their measures countenanced, by the most learned foreign Protestants: and, especially, by Beza. This being soon known at Geneva, that great man thought it his duty to exculpate himself from a charge so ungenerous and unjust: which he took care to do, in a letter to Whitgift, then Archbishop of Canterbury. "While the archbishop," says Strype, "was endeavouring to suppress the male-contents against episcopacy and the Church of

(*m*) Hist. of Popery, vol. ii. p. 349, 350.

(*n*) Turretini (Joh. Alph.) Histor. Eccles. p. 352.

(*o*) "Vir benedictæ in cunctum memoriæ, Johannes Calvinus;——immensique laboribus, non Genevensem modo ecclesiam, sed et totum reformatum orbem, eruditi atque illustravit: adeò ut, de ejus nomine reformati, quanti quanti sunt, non raro appellentur." Joh. Turretin. *u. s.* p. 253.

(*p*) Strype's Hist. Ref. under Qu. Eliz. chap. xxi p. 246.

(*q*) Strype, *Ibid.* p. 248.

England in its present establishment, he receiveth, March 8th [1591], a letter from Theodore Beza, the chief minister of Geneva, wherein he by owning, with all respect, the archbishop, and the rest of the English bishops, and their government of this Church, gave a notable check to these new reformers, who bore out themselves much with his authority. It seemed to have been written by him, in answer to one from the archbishop, blaming him for his (supposed) meddling with the Church and state of England, without any lawful commission. In defence of himself, he (Beza) returned an answer; part whereof was as followeth: That whereas his lordship thought it meet, in his letters, to move them (*i. e.* to move the Geneva divines) to think well of this kingdom, and of the Church here, and the government thereof: it indeed troubled both him and Sadeel (another of the ministers of Geneva), in some sort: as being greatly afraid, lest some sinister rumours were brought to him (to the archbisop) concerning them; or lest what they had written, concerning Church-government properly against the antichristian tyranny [of the Roman church], as necessity required, might be taken, by some, in that sense, as tho' they ever meant to compel to their order those churches that thought otherwise. That such arrogancy was far from them: for [added Beza] who gave us authority over any church? And that they by no means thought, so substantial matters were kept, that there ought nothing to be granted to antiquity, nothing to custom, nothing to the circumstances of places, times, and persons." So wrote Beza: or, to use Mr. Strype's own words, on the occasion, "Thus did Beza and Sadeel, in the name of their church, profess to the archbishop their respect, honour, and approbation of the Church of England (*r*)."

About two years afterwards, Dr. Bancroft (who at length became archbishop of Canterbury), in a treatise, which he published against the obstinacy of some restless Puritans, "produced divers letters of Zanchius, in approbation of episcopacy; and of Bullinger and Gualter, to several English bishops, in disallowance altogether of those innovators (*s*)."

As to Beza, if he was afterwards so far wrought upon, by dint of misrepresentation, as to countenance, in any measure, the forwardness of the more rigid disciplinarians; it ought, in justice, to be imputed, neither to any levity, nor duplicity, in him (for he was equally incapable of both); but to the wrong informations that were sent him: by which, a foreigner, who resided at so great a distance from England, might, easily enough, be liable to undue impression.

(*r*) Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 378, 379.

(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 104.—In another work of Mr. Strype, that useful and laborious collector gives a large account of Zanchius's attachment to church-government by archbishops and bishops. "We do not disallow the fathers," said Zanchy, "in that, after a diverse way of dispensing the word, and governing the church, they multiplied divers orders of ministers. It was lawful so to do: seeing they did it for honest causes, appertaining, at that time, to the order, decency and edification of the church.—For this reason, *viz.* that the nurseries of dissentions and schisms might be taken away, we think that those things which were ordained before the council of Nice, concerning the bishops, nay, as touching the four patriarchs, may be excused and defended." Some others of the reasons assigned by Zanchy, for his approbation of the hierarchy, were, 1. The practice of the primitive church, presently after the apostles' time. 2. Because he thought it his duty to have regard to those reformed churches [the churches of England and Ireland, for instance] which retained both bishops and archbishops. And, 3. Because all the reformed churches generally, although they had changed the names, yet, in effect, they kept the authority: as where they had superintendents, &c. "And what," added Zanchius, "can be shewed more certainly, out of histories, out of the councils, and out of the writings of all the ancient fathers, than that those orders of ministers, of which we have spoken, have been ordained and received in the church, by the general consent of all Christian commonwealths? And who then am I, that I should presume to reprove that which the whole church hath approved?" See Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 653, 654.

On the whole, it appears, that the learned, the modest, the judicious Zanchy, was a fast friend, not only to the doctrines, but also (a circumstance not very usual with the foreign Protestants of that age) to the hierarchy, of the church of England. Nor was the church unmindful of his worth and affection: for, by the voice of the University of Cambridge, in the year 1593, this great man was, expressly, and by name, numbered among "the lights and ornaments" of our established church.—See my account of Zanchy, prefixed to my Translation of his Treatise on Predestination.

SECTION XVI.

The Judgment of the most eminent English Martyrs, and Confessors, who suffered Death, or Persecution, after the Overthrow of the Reformation by Queen Mary I.

We have seen in the three preceeding Sections, 1. That the reformers of the Church of England were zealous Calvinists, as to matters of doctrine: 2. That Calvin himself had a very considerable hand in reducing our liturgy to that purity and excellence which it still retains: and, 3. That Calvin, Beza, Zanchius, Sadeel, Bullinger, and Gualter, entertained very respectful and affectionate sentiments, concerning the ritual, decency and order, together with the episcopal regimen, of our incomparable Church. And, to the approbation of those most learned persons, might be added (if need required) that of many other foreign Calvinists, who are deservedly numbered among the first ornaments of that century.

While pious king Edward lived, the Church of England saw herself at the very pinnacle of spiritual prosperity. Her supreme visible head was a prodigy of wisdom, knowledge, and undefiled religion. Her bishops were luminaries of the first brightness: men glowing with love to God; clear in the doctrines of the gospel, and zealous in maintaining them; of eminent learning, for the most part; assertors, and patterns, of every good word and work. Had Providence been

pleased to have extended the felicities of that reign, what might not have been expected from a Prince of Edward's accomplishments; and from a choir of prelates, whom grace, abilities, and almost every useful attainment, concurred to render venerable?

But God (whose disposals are not less wise, just, and gracious, for being at present unsearchable,) was pleased to reverse the scene. The king's death opened Mary's way to the throne; who ruled not with a sceptre, but a sword.

That bigotted princess, and her Popish counsellors, knew, that the doctrines of gratuitous election, invincible grace, and justification without works, enter into the very basis of genuine Protestantism. No wonder, therefore, that, to rid the two Universities of all predestinarians, was a primary object of her attention. Free-will, conditional justification, and the merit of works, were doctrines so essential to the interests of Popery, that not to aim at (*t*) restoring them, would have been doing matters by halves. Therefore, "A resolution was taken, to bring into the Universities a test for purging them of all Protestants, and to prevent their re-admission for the future. This was done by way of oath, as follows:

"You shall swear, by the holy contents of this book, that you shall not keep, hold, maintain, and defend, at any time, during your life, any opinion erroneous, or error of Wickliff, Huss, Luther, or any other condemned of heresy: And that you shall, namely and specially, hold as the Catholic church holdeth in all these articles, wherein lately hath been controversy, dissention, and error; as concerning faith, and works, grace and free-will, &c. (*u*)" Now, I have before demonstrated (particularly, in the 3d and 4th Sections of this essay), that "in all these articles," which concern "faith and works, grace and free-will," the church of Rome is avowedly Arminian throughout. Consequently, by tendering the above oath to the members of the Universities, queen Mary's design was to clear those seminaries of all Calvinists; the better to make way for the re-introduction of Popery.

With the same view, a proclamation was issued, in 1555, to prohibit the sale, the reading, or the keeping of any book or books, writings or works, made or set forth by or in the name of Martin Luther, O. Ecolampadius, Zuinglius, John Calvin, Bucer, Peter Martyr, Latimer, Hooper, Coverdale, Tyndal, Cranmer (*w*)," and other predestinarian Protestants whose names are there enumerated. 'Twas added, that all persons, possessing any books written by the above authors, "Shall, within the space of fifteen days next after the publication of this proclamation, bring, or deliver, or cause the said books, writings, and works, and every of them, remaining in their custody and keeping, to be brought and delivered, to the ordinary of the diocese, to be burnt," or otherwise destroyed. On which order the pious Mr. Fox makes this obvious remark: What a-do is here, to keep down Christ in his sepulchre! and yet will he rise, in spite of all his enemies (*x*). The truth is, queen Mary and her Spanish husband, in whose names that proclamation ran, well knew that Calvinism is the very life and soul of the reformation: and that popery would never flourish, 'till the Calvinistic doctrines were eradicated.

I have already given some intimation (p. 310), from bishop Burnet, of a brief confession of faith, which was drawn up and signed by the Protestant bishops and Clergymen who were then imprisoned in London, shortly after the coronation of Mary. But as Burnet's extract is (according to custom) very partial and superficial, I shall here present my readers with the entire paragraph, to which that historian so lamely refers. "Fourthly, we believe and confess, concerning justification, that as it cometh only from God's mercy through Christ, so it is perceived and had of none, who be of years of discretion, otherwise than by faith only. Which faith is not an opinion, but a certain persuasion wrought by the Holy Ghost in the mind and heart of man; wherethrough, as the mind is illuminated, so the heart is suppled to submit itself to the will of God unfeignedly; and so sheweth forth an inherent righteousness, which is to be discerned (*i. e.* which inherent righteousness is to be carefully distinguished) in the articles of justification, from the righteousness which God endueth us withal, justifying us; although inseparably they go together. And this we do [*i. e.* we preserve this important distinction between imputed and inherent righteousness] not for curiosity, nor contention sake; but for conscience sake; that it might be quiet; which it can never be, if we confound, without distinction, forgiveness of sins and Christ's righteousness imputed to us, with regeneration and inherent righteousness." Thus spake these excellent divines: adding, immediately after, "by this," (*i.e.* by this view of justification,) "we disallow Papistical doctrine of free-will, of works of supererogation, of merits, of the necessity of auricular confes-

(*t*) It deserves particular notice, that, A.D. 1554 (which was the year after Mary came to the crown), Bonner published a book, for the re-instruction of his diocese in the principles of Popery, entitled, A Profitable and Necessary Doctrine, containing an Exposition on the Creed, Seven Sacraments, Ten Commandments, the Pater-noster, Ave Maria, &c. A considerable part of which was taken out of the Pia et Catholica Institutio, which had been published in the reign of Henry VIII. See the Biogr. Dict. vol. ii. p. 264.—Thus Sellon's Arminian letter to the vicar of Broad Hembury, as also Dr. N.'s answer to the Author of Pietas Oxoniensis, are fraught with arguments borrowed from that self-same Popish storehouse (*viz.* the Pia et Catholica Institutio) which furnished Bonner with materials for his pastoral letter to the diocese of London. Arminianism cares not what it eats. The foulest food will go down, so dear free-will is but kept from starving. (*u*) Rolt's Lives Ref. p. 116. (*w*) Fox, iii. p. 225. (*x*) *Ibid.*

sion, and satisfaction to God-wards (*y*)." This valuable paper was dated the 8th day of May, A.D. 1554, and subscribed by

Robert Ferrar, late bishop of St. David's.	Edward Crome.
Rowland Taylor.	John Rogers
John Philpot.	Laurence Saunders.
John Bradford.	Edmund Laurence
John Hooper, late bishop of Worcester and Gloucester.	J. P.
	T. M.

At the bottom of all was written, "To these things abovesaid, do I, Miles Coverdale, late (bishop) of Exeter, consent and agree, with these mine afflicted brethren, being prisoners: mine own hand." Now, can any person question the Calvinism of these blessed men of God, by whom the tenets of free-will and of justification by inherent righteousness, were expressly numbered among "Papistical doctrines;" and classed with "works of supererogation, merits, and auricular confession?"

A great number of God's faithful servants, both ministers and people, were brought to the stake, for the testimony of Jesus, and for the word of his patience, during the short, but sharp reign of this sanguinary woman. Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Hooper, having been treated of already, I shall proceed to the brief mention of some others.

And here, amidst the noble army of English Martyrs, I find myself encompassed with so great a cloud of witnesses to the doctrines of grace, that I scarce know whom to select, or whom to omit. Was I to introduce them all, I should exceed every reasonable limit of brevity. I am obliged, therefore, to suppress the attestations of many precious sufferers for Christ, who witnessed a good confession even unto death, and who will be found with honour and praise and glory at his appearing. Among the few I shall produce, as vouchers for the rest, those that follow:

I. Mr. John Rogers, prebendary and divinity-lecturer of St. Paul's, and vicar of St. Sepulchre's, London, had the honour of being the first that was burned for the gospel, under the bloody auspices of Mary. He suffered in Smithfield, February 4, 1555. His judgment, concerning the Calvinian doctrines, is sufficiently apparent, without adducing any other proofs, from the above mentioned declaration of faith, to which he set his hand during his last imprisonment.

II. Mr. Laurence Saunders, a clergyman of birth and fortune, eminent as a scholar, but still more respectable for the grace given him of God, was lecturer, first, at Fotheringhay; next, reader in the cathedral of Litchfield; and, lastly, rector of Allhallows, in Bread-street, London. He was burned at Coventry, Feb. 8. 1555. Though his hand, likewise, was to the declaration of faith, quoted above; I will annex one or two additional evidences of his Calvinism: in hope, that, while they demonstrate the clearness of the martyr's head, their piety may warm and impress the reader's heart. In a letter, sent from prison to his wife, he thus expressed his triumph of faith: "I do not doubt but that both I and you, as we be written in the book of life, so we shall together enjoy the same everlastingly, through the grace and mercy of God our dear Father, in his Son, our Christ. I am merry, I thank my God and my Christ; in whom and thro' whom I shall, I know, be able to fight a good fight, and finish a good course (*z*)." In another letter to Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer (then prisoners at Oxford), this seraphic man observes: "We walk in faith: which faith, although, for want of outward appearance, reason reputeth but as vain; yet the chosen of God do know the effect thereof to bring a more substantial state and lively fruition of very felicity and perfect blessedness, than reason can reach, or senses receive. You may be assured, by God's grace, that you shall not be frustrate of your hope of our constant continuance in the cheerful confession of God's everlasting verity. For even as we have received the word of truth, the gospel of our salvation; wherein we believing are sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance (which Spirit certifieth our spirit that we are the children of God, and therefore God hath sent the spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father); so, after such portion as God measureth unto us, we, with the whole Church of Christ and with you, reverend fathers, receiving the same spirit of faith, according as it is written, I believed, and therefore have I spoken; we also believe, and therefore speak. Knowing, most certainly, that though we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of this power might be God's, and not ours; yet shall we not be dashed in pieces: for the Lord will put his hand under us. To communicate with our sweet Saviour Christ in bearing the cross, it is appointed unto us, that with him also we shall be glorified (*a*)." Elsewhere Mr. Saunders sets his seal to the doctrine of final perseverance, in terms, if possible stronger still: "Now that he hath, in his dear Christ, repaired us (being, before, utterly decayed); and redeemed us, purging us unto himself as a peculiar people, by the blood of his Son; he hath put on a most tender goodwill and fatherly affection towards us never to forget us (*b*)." Again: "Praised be our gracious God, who preserveth his from evil; and doth give them grace to avoid all such offences, as might hinder his honour, or hurt his Church (*c*)." Once more, "I take occasion of much rejoicing in our so gracious God and merciful Father, who hath, in his immeasurable mercy, by faith, hand-fasted us his chosen

(*y*) Fox's Acts & Mon. vol. iii. p. 83. (*z*) *Ibid.* p. 111. (*a* *Ibid.* p. 112. (*b*) *Ibid.* p. 113. (*c*) *Ibid.*

children unto his dear Son our Christ (*d*)." "We may boldly, with our Christ, and all his elect, say, Death, where is thy sting (*e*)?" No self-righteousness lay at the foundation of this holy man's triumph. His whole trust was in the covenant-merits of Jesus the Saviour. Hence, in a short letter, which is entitled, To his wife, a little before his burning, after desiring her to send him a shirt in which he was to suffer, he breaks out into this sweet prayer, "O, my Heavenly Father, look upon me in the face of thy Christ! or else, I shall not be able to abide thy countenance; such is my filthiness. He will do so; and therefore I will not be afraid what sin, hell, death, and damnation, can do against me (*f*)." His spiritual consolations continued with him to the last. When arrived at the place of execution, he kissed the stake; saying, in a transport of joy, Welcome, the cross of Christ; welcome, everlasting life!

III. Dr. Rowland Taylor was rector of Hadley, in Suffolk. We may form a judgment of that wonderful out-pouring of the Holy Spirit, and of the diffusive spread of divine knowledge, which attended the preaching of the gospel in the age of the reformation, from what Mr. Fox delivers, concerning the state of religion in that particular town. "The town of Hadley was one of the first that received the gospel in all England, at the preaching of Mr. Thomas Bilney: by whose industry the gospel of Christ had such gracious success, and took such root there, that a great number in that parish became exceeding well learned in the Holy Scriptures, as well women as men. So that a man might have found amongst them many, who had often read the whole Bible through, and who could have said a great sort of St. Paul's epistles by heart, and very well and readily have given a godly, learned sentence in any matter of controversy. Their children and servants were also brought up and trained so diligently in the right knowledge of God's word, that the whole town seemed rather an university of the learned, than a town of cloth-making, or labouring people; and, what is most to be commended, they were, for the more part, faithful followers of God's word in their living. In this town was Doctor Rowland Taylor, doctor in both the civil and canon laws, and a right perfect divine, parson (*g*)." What a melancholy contrast, alas! are the present times, to those! How has the introduction of Arminianism poisoned our Protestant streams, and cankered our evangelical gold!

Dr. Taylor was a very uncommon man, both for grace and gifts. He had the piety of Calvin, the intrepidity of Luther, and the orthodoxy of both. When bishop Bonner came to degrade him, in the Poultry compter, prior to his martyrdom, he [Bonner] desired the magnanimous prisoner to put on the sacerdotal habit, that he might be divested of it in form. "I am come, [quoth Bonner] to degrade you: wherefore put on these vestures. No, said Dr. Taylor, I will not. Wilt thou not? answered the bishop; I shall make thee, ere I go. Quoth Dr. Taylor, You shall not, by the grace of God. Then he charged him, upon his obedience, to do it: but he would not do it for him (*h*)." 'Tis usual, it seems, in popish degradations, for the bishop to give the degraded person a slight stroke on the breast, with a crosier. Bonner was afraid (for persecutors are generally cowards) to perform this part of the ceremony on Taylor. "At the last," says Mr. Fox, "when he should have given Dr. Taylor a stroke on the breast with his crosier-staff, the bishop's chaplain said, My lord, strike him not, for he will sure strike again. Yea, by St. Peter, will I, quoth Dr. Taylor: the cause is Christ's: and I were no good Christian, if I would not fight in my master's quarrel. So the bishop laid his curse upon him, but struck him not. Bonner being gone, the doctor returned up stairs: and when he came up, he told Mr. Bradford (for they both lay in one chamber) that he had made the bishop of London afraid; for, said he, laughing, His chaplain gave him counsel not to strike me with his crosier-staff, for that I would strike again; and, by my troth, continued he, rubbing his hands, I made him believe I would do so indeed (*i*)."

That this eminent messenger and martyr of Christ was one who rightly divided the word of truth, the following short extracts will suffice to shew. His judgment was, that the Mediator died for those only who are endued with faith: "Christ gave himself," said he, "to die for our redemption, upon the cross; whose body, there offered, was the propitiatory sacrifice, full, perfect, and sufficient unto salvation, for all them that believe in him (*k*)." He held the doctrine of assurance: and no wonder; for God had favoured him with the gift itself. Hence, four days before his execution, he thus subscribed his last will and testament: "Rowland Taylor, departing hence in sure hope, without doubting, of eternal salvation; I thank God, my heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ my certain Saviour, Amen. The 5th of February, anno 1555. The Lord is my light and my salvation: whom then shall I fear? God is he that justifieth: who is he that can condemn? In thee, O Lord, have I trusted: let me never be confounded." All assurance of salvation, not grounded on certainty of perseverance, is, in the most superlative degree, baseless, contradictory, and enthusiastic. But this good man's assurance was not thus built on a bubble. "I am," said he, "unmovably settled upon the rock: nothing doubting, but that my dear God will perform and finish the work that he hath begun in me and others (*l*)." I will only add

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 116. (*e*) *Ibid.*
(*f*) *Ibid* p 118. (*g*) Fox, vol iii. p 137.
(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 143 (*i*) *Ibid.*
(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 139. (*l*) *Ibid.* p. 142.

a judicious remark of his, concerning justification: "Abraham's justification by faith, by grace, by promise, and not by works, is plainly set forth, both in the Epistle to the Romans, chap. iv. and to the Galatians, chap. iii. And Abraham's works of obedience, in offering up his son so long after his justification, must needs be taken as a fruit of a good tree, justifying before men, and not of justification before God: for then had man [*i. e.* man would then have somewhat] to glory in; then did Christ die in vain (*m*)." Now, as men, by the gospel scheme of salvation, have nothing to glory in, nothing to boast of, nothing to rest upon, but the grace of God and the Messiah's obedience unto death; it follows, that men cannot be justified in the sight of God, by their own works, neither in whole, nor in part: since, if they could, they would have something else to glory in, besides that grace and imputed righteousness which the Scripture avers are the only basis of a sinner's justification. Moreover, as this blessed martyr farther observes from the apostle, Christ died in vain, on the supposition that human works have any antecedent influence on our acceptance with God: for, as much conditionalty, or casualty, as you ascribe to works; just so much you detract from the merit and efficacy of Christ's blood and righteousness The Saviour of sinners obeyed and died, either to accomplish the whole of our justification, or a part of it only. If to accomplish the whole, then justification by works falls at once. If his merits accomplished our justification only in part, then our own works must come in, by way of supplement, to make up what Christ left deficient: on which supposition, as human obedience would have some hand in justifying us, so, it would be fairly entitled to a share of the praise; for, if Christ has actually divided the work of salvation between himself and sinners, it is but equitable that the honour should be divided also. The Bible, however, cuts up this sacrilegious and self-righteous scheme, both root and branch: and, without giving the lie in form to every page of that blessed book, we cannot believe that Christ's mediatorial righteousness has any deficiency to make up. Admitting, therefore, that his work was perfect, and that he truly said, it is finished; the consequence will be, that our good works (though absolutely requisite, *ex post facto*, as indications of justification; yet) have no kind of agency, whatever, in accomplishing, procuring, obtaining, or conditionating our pardon and acceptance with the Father. Since, if Christ redeemed us completely, and any remaining efficacy be still supposed to reside in our own works; that efficacy (be it more or less) renders superfluous an equal ratio of the merit of Christ's complete redemption: and thus, so far, Christ, on this scheme, must have died in vain. But it was impossible for Christ to die in vain: therefore, human works have no hand in justification. This seems, to me, the precise drift of the apostle's argument, Gal. ii. 21. If righteousness, either justification itself, or any part of the righteousness which justifies, come by the law, accrue, though ever so remotely, to any sinner, by or through his own conformity to the moral law; then it would follow that Christ is dead in vain: but Christ could not die in vain: ergo, neither justification itself, nor the righteousness which justifies, can accrue, though ever so remotely, to any sinner by or through his own conformity to the moral law. But does not St. James affirm, that Abraham was justified by works when he offered his son Isaac on the altar? Certainly he was. But it was a justification before men, not before God. As good Dr. Rowland Taylor remarks, Abraham had been justified before God, long, even many years, before his intentional oblation of Isaac: yea, many years before Isaac himself was born. Abraham's justification in the sight of God is related Gen. xv. 6. But even the birth of Isaac does not occur, till you come to chapter xxi. I conclude, then, that the justification, of which St. James speaks, is no more than an evidential justification before men, by visible works of external obedience; declaring, manifesting, and proving, a prior justification before God: which prior justification before God is in no sense founded upon, though most certainly productive of, all holiness of life and conversation. St. Paul viewed the matter exactly in the same light: by faith, Abraham, when he was tried, offered up Isaac; and he that had received the promises offered up his only begotten son. Heb. xi. 17. Observe, his receiving of the promises (by which faith, or reception, he was divinely justified in the court of his own conscience), his receiving of the promises respecting salvation by Christ, was antecedent to his offering of Isaac. Consequently, having been already actually justified by the former; the justification, mentioned by St. James, can only mean a declarative display, or practical proof, of Abraham's (and by the same rule, of any other believer's) preceding justification in the sight of God, without works. The reader, I hope, will forgive this incidental disquisition: which, though in some measure excursive, is not wholly digressive; as it attempts to elucidate, more at large, what the excellent martyr intimated in brief.

IV. and V. Soon after the burning of Dr. Taylor, Mr. Thomas Causton, and Mr. Thomas Higbed, sealed the truth with their blood. Fox expressly says, that these two elect champions were "condemned for the confession of faith" which they united in drawing up and presenting to Bonner. Part of that confession was as follows. "We believe, that there is a Catholic church, even a communion of saints, built upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles (as Paul saith), Christ being the head

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 117.

corner-stone. For the which church, Christ gave himself, to make it to himself a glorious congregation, without fault in his sight. We believe, that this church, of herself, and by her own merits, is sinful; and must needs say, Father, forgive us our sins. But, thro' Christ and his merits, she is freely forgiven: for he, in his own person, hath purged her sins, and made her faultless in his sight (*n*)." Can words more strongly express a redemption absolute, limited, and efficacious?

VI. Mr. Stephen Knight was burnt at Maldon, in Essex, March 28, 1555. Part of his prayer at the stake was, "Thou rememberest, O Lord, that I am but dust, and able to do nothing that is good: therefore, O Lord, as, of thine accustomed goodness and love, thou hast bidden me to this banquet, and accounted me worthy to drink of thine own cup, amongst thy elect; even so give me strength, &c. (*o*)"

VII. The right reverend Doctor Robert Farrer, lord bishop of St. David's, a prelate of eminent name in the Church of England, and formerly one of the committee nominated to compile the English liturgy, (*p*) was burned in the market-place at Caermarthen, March 30, 1555. On his examination, a paper, containing several Popish articles, was tendered to him for subscription: but he resolutely refused to save his life at the expense of his faith. One of these articles, which respected justification, was as follows: "Men are not justified before God, by faith only; but hope and charity are also necessarily required to justification (*q*)." The bishop's not acceding to this Papistical tenet (a tenet, now, as common to Arminians, as ever it was to Papists), was one cause of his being adjudged to the flames: for, in the sentence of condemnation which enumerated some of the pretended errors for which he was cast, the following clause brings up the rear: Item, *quod homo sola fide justificatur: i. e.* "Also, he believeth, that men are justified by faith alone (*r*)." The reader, I suppose, need not be reminded that this worthy bishop was one of those imprisoned divines who drew up and set their hands to the confession of faith, quoted toward the beginning of this Section. His lordship's execution was attended with a very remarkable circumstance. A Mr. Jones coming to condole him on the painfulness of the death he was to undergo, the holy bishop made answer, If you see me once to stir, while I am burning, then give no credit to the truth of the doctrines for which I suffer. God, under whose inspiration, undoubtedly, this was uttered, enabled his faithful martyr to make good his promise: for he stood, encircled with the flames, like a rock in the midst of the waves, without flinching, or moving so much as once: steadily holding up his arms, even when his hands were burnt away; till one Richard Gravel, a bye-stander, "dashed him on the head with a staff, and so struck him down (*s*)."

VIII. Mr. George Marsh suffered Martyrdom at or near Chester, April 24, 1555. This good man was as truly Calvinistic, as the rest of his Protestant brethren; for, being charged on his examination before Cotes, the Popish bishop of Chester, with having said, "That the church and doctrine taught and set forth in king Edward's time was the true church, and the doctrine of the true church;" Marsh acknowledged that he had so spoken, and declared himself still to be of the same mind (*t*). If more particular proof of his judgment be thought necessary, the ensuing passages, extracted from some of his letters, offer themselves as evidences. "Tho' Satan" says he, "be suffered to sift us, as wheat, for a time; yet faileth not our faith, thro' Christ's aid (*u*)." Again: "If any, therefore, fall away from Christ and his word, it is a plain token that they were but dissembling hypocrites, for all their fair faces outwardly, and never believed truly: as Judas, Simon Magus, Demas, Hymenæus, Philetus, and others were (*w*)." Once more: "Daily I call and cry unto the Lord, in whom is all my trust, and without whom I can do nothing, that he who hath begun a good work in me, would vouchsafe to go forth with it until the day of Jesus Christ: being surely certified in my own conscience, of this, that he will do so; forasmuch as he hath given me not only that I should believe on him but also suffer for his sake (*x*)." What he thought concerning the invincible efficacy of inward grace, appears from this passage in the prayer which the historian tells us "he used daily to say:" We beseech thee, according to the little measure of our infirmity, although we be far unable and unapt to pray, that thou wouldest mercifully circumcise our stony hearts, and for these old hearts create new within us, and replenish us with a new spirit (*y*).—Nor was his judgment, respecting faith, justification, and works, less excellent and scriptural. "What hast thou, saith the apostle, that thou hast not received? This sentence ought to be had in remembrance of all men: for, if we have nothing but that which we have received, what can we deserve? or what need we to dispute and reason of our own merits? It cometh of the free gift of God, that we live, that we love God, that we walk in his fear. Where is our deserving then (*z*)!" Elsewhere he writes thus: "Grace is, throughout all the Epistles of Paul, taken for the free mercy and favour of God; whereby he saveth us freely, without any deservings, or works of the law (*a*)." Reconciliation with God, through the blood of Christ, is a subject, which this holy martyr treats of with equal clearness: "Peace is taken for the quietness and tran-

(*n*) Fox, vol. iii. p. 162. (*o*) *Ibid.* p. 165
(*p*) See Burnet's Reform. vol. ii. p. 58.
(*q*) Fox, vol. iii. p. 177. (*r*) *Ibid.* p. 178.
(*s*) *Ibid.* (*t*) *Ibid.* p. 199 (*u*) *Ibid.* p. 193.
(*w*) *Ibid.* p. 194. (*x*) *Ibid.* p. 199. (*y*) *Ibid.*
(*z*) *Ibid.* p. 196. (*a*) *Ibid.* p. 197.

quillity of the conscience, being thoroughly persuaded, that through the only merits of Christ's death and blood-shedding, there is an atonement and peace made between God and us: so that God will no more impute our sins unto us, nor yet condemn us (*b*)." Yet are not good works hereby discarded: "Declare your faith," says he, "by your good works, which are infallible witnesses of the true justifying faith, which is never idle, but worketh by charity (*c*)." Again: "After these works, we must learn to know the cross, and what affection and mind we must bear towards our adversaries and enemies, whatsoever they be; to suffer all adversities and evils patiently; to pray for them that hurt, persecute, and trouble us: and, by thus using ourselves, we shall obtain a hope and certainty of our vocation, that we be the elect children of God (*d*)." He observes, that "God is wont, for the most part, to warn his elect and chosen, what affliction and trouble shall happen unto them for his sake: not to the intent to fray them thereby, but rather to prepare their minds against the boisterous storms of persecution (*e*)." Next to the effectual presence of the Holy Spirit, nothing, perhaps, so strengthens and animates the minds of God's people to be valiant for his truths, as the examples of those who are enabled to lay down their lives for Christ: whence we find Mr. Marsh saying, as the apostle did before him, "We suffer all things for the elects' sake (*f*)." His judicious explication of Col. i. 24. shall at present close the testimony of this worthy martyr: "St. Paul doth not here mean, that there wanteth any thing in the passion of Christ, which may be supplied by man: for the passion of Christ, as touching his own person, is that most perfect and omnisufficient sacrifice, whereby we are all made perfect, as many as are sanctified in his blood. But these his words [*i. e.* the Apostle's words in the above text] ought to be understood of the elect and chosen, in whom Christ is and shall be persecuted unto the world's end (*g*)."

IX. Mr. John Warne, upholsterer and citizen of London, was burned in Smithfield, May, 31, 1555. The day before he suffered he wrote a confession of his faith, in form of a commentary on the Apostle's creed. The confession, though long, is so excellent that I cannot help giving it entire.

"*I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth.*

"A Father, because he is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the everlasting Word, whom, before all worlds, he hath begotten of himself; which Word was made flesh, and therein also manifested to be his Son: in whom he hath adopted us to be his children, the inheritors of his kingdom; and therefore he is our Father. An Almighty God, because he hath, of nothing, created all things, visible and invisible, both in heaven and in earth, even all creatures contained therein; and governeth them.

"*And in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord.*

"The eternal Word, perfect God with his Father, of equal power in all things, of the same substance, of like glory, by whom all things were made and have life, and without whom nothing liveth. He was made also perfect man: and so, being very God and very man in one person, is the only Saviour, Redeemer, and Ransomer, of them which were lost in Adam our forefather. He is the only mean of our deliverance, the hope of our health, the surety of our salvation.

"*Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin* Mary.

"According to the Father's most merciful promise, this Eternal Son of God, forsaking the heavenly glory, humbled himself to take flesh of a virgin, according to the Scriptures: uniting the substance of the Godhead to the substance of the manhood, which he took of the substance of that blessed Virgin Mary, in one person; to become therein the very Messiah, the anointed King and Priest, for ever appointed to pacify the Father's wrath, which was justly gone out against us all for our sin.

"*Suffered under* Pontius Pilate, *was crucified, dead, and buried, and descended into Hell.*

"He was arraigned before Pontius Pilate, the ruler of Jewry; and so unjustly accused of many crimes, that the ruler judged him innocent, and sought means to deliver him: but contrary to known justice, he did let go Barabbas, who had deserved death; and delivered Christ to be crucified, who deserved no death Which doth declare unto us, manifestly, that he suffered for our sins, and was buffetted for our offences, as the Prophets do witness: thereby to have it manifested to all men that he is that Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. Therefore, suffering for our sins, he received and did bear our deserved condemnation, the pains of death, the taste of abjection, the very terror of Hell: yielding his spirit to his Father; his body, to be buried in the earth.

"*The third day, he rose again from the dead.*

"To make full and perfect the whole work of our redemption and justification, the same crucified body, which was laid in the grave, was raised up again the third day from death, by the power of his Father, and glory of his Godhead. He became the first fruits of the resurrection, and got the victory of death, that all by him might be raised up from death: through whom all true penitent sinners may now boldly come unto the Father, and have remission of their sins.

"*He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty.*

"After that, in his death and resurrection,

(*b*) *Ibid.* (*c*) *Ibid.* p. 191. (*d*) *Ibid.* p. 195. (*e*) *Ibid.* p. 198. (*f*) *Ibid.* (*g*) *Ibid.*

he had conquered sin, death, and the Devil, and had been conversant forty days in the earth, being seen of the Apostles, and more than five hundred brethren at once; in the same body, in which he wrought the work of our salvation, he ascended into heaven, with eternal triumph for the victory over death, sin, and hell: leaving the passage open, by which all true believers may and shall enter into his kingdom; where he now sitteth at his Father's right hand, that is to say, in power and glory equal, in Majesty co-eternal.

"*From thence he shall come, to judge the quick and the dead.*

"He shall appear again, in great glory, to receive his elect unto himself, and to put his enemies under his feet: changing all living men, in a moment, and raising up all that be dead; that all may be brought to his judgment. In this shall he give each man according to his deeds. They who have followed him in regeneration, who have their sins washed away in his blood, and are clothed with his righteousness, shall receive the everlasting kingdom, and reign with him for ever. And they, who, after the race of the corrupt generation of Adam, have followed flesh and blood, shall receive everlasting damnation with the Devil and his angels.

"*I believe in the Holy Ghost.*

"I do believe that the Holy Ghost is God; the third person in the Trinity; in unity of the Godhead equal with the Father and the Son: given, through Christ, to inhabit our spirits; by which we are made to feel and understand the great power, virtue, and loving-kindness, of Christ our Lord. For he [*i. e.* the Holy Ghost] illuminates, quickens, and certifies our spirit that by him we are sealed up to the day of redemption: by whom we are regenerate, and made new creatures: so that, by him, and through him, we do receive all the abundant goodness promised us in Jesus Christ.

"*The Holy Catholic Church.*

"This is a holy number of Adam's posterity, elected, gathered, washed, and purified by the blood, from the beginning of the world; and is dispersed through the same, by the tyranny of Gog and Magog, *i. e.* [by] the Turk and his tyranny; and Antichrist, otherwise named the bishop of Rome, and his angels [*i. e.* his emissaries], as this day also doth teach.

"*The Communion of Saints.*

"Which most holy congregation (being, as St. Paul teacheth, builded upon the foundation of the Apostles, and Prophets, Jesus Christ being the head-corner stone), though it be, by the tyranny of Satan and his ministers, persecuted, some by death, and some by other afflictions and painful torments; yet doth it remain in one perfect unity, both of faith and fellowship. Which unity is knit in an unspeakable knot, as well of them who are departed from this mortal life, as of them who now be living, and hereafter shall be in the same: and so shall continue, until they all do meet in the kingdom, where the head, Jesus Christ, with all his holy members (of which number, through Christ, I assuredly believe I am one), shall be fully complete, knit, and united together, for evermore.

"*The forgiveness of Sins.*

"I do believe, that my sins, and all their sins who do rightly believe the Holy Scripture, are forgiven only through Jesus Christ; of whom only I do profess, that I have my whole and full salvation and redemption: which St. Paul saith cometh not through our works and deservings, but freely, by grace, lest any should boast himself. Through the blood of the cross, all things in heaven and earth are reconciled and set at peace with the Father [*i. e.* as it immediately follows], without him [without Christ] no heavenly life [is] given, no sin forgiven.

"*The Resurrection of the Body.*

"I do believe, that, by the same, my Saviour Christ, I and all men shall rise again from death: for he, as St. Paul saith, is risen again from the dead, and is become the first-fruits of them that sleep; for by a man came death, and by a man cometh the resurrection from death. This man [by whom the resurrection comes] is Christ; through the power of whose resurrection, I believe that we shall rise again in these our bodies: the elect, clothed with immortality, to live with Christ for ever; the reprobate also shall rise immortal, to live with the Devil and his angels in death everlasting.

"*And the life everlasting.*

"Through the same Jesus, and by none other, I am sure to have life everlasting. He only is the way and entrance into the kingdom of Heaven. For God so loved the world, that he did give his only Son Jesus Christ, to the end that so many as do believe in him might have everlasting life. The which I am sure to possess, so soon as I am dissolved, and departed out of this tabernacle; and in the last day, shall, both body and soul, possess the same for ever: to the which, God grant all men to come.

"I believe, that the sacraments, that is to say, of baptism and the Lord's Supper, are seals of God's most merciful promises towards mankind. In baptism, as, by the outward creature of water, I am washed from the filthiness which hangeth on my flesh: so do I assuredly believe, that I am, by Christ's blood, washed clean from my sins: through which [spiritual washing] I have sure confidence of my certain salvation. In partaking of the Lord's supper, as I receive the substance of bread and wine, the nature of which is to strengthen the body; so do I, by faith, receive the redemption wrought in Christ's body broken on the cross; life, by his death; resurrection, by his resurrection; and, in sum, all that ever Christ in his body suffered for my salvation, to the strengthing of my faith in the same. And I believe that God hath appointed

the eating and drinking of the creatures of bread and wine, in his holy supper, according, to his word, to move and to stir up my mind to believe these articles above written.

"This is my faith: this do I believe: and I am content, by God's grace, to confirm and seal the truth of the same with my blood.

"By me, JOHN WARNE (*h*)."

X. At the same stake with Mr. Warne, suffered that memorable dignitary of the Church of England, the reverend Mr. John Cardmaker, canon residentiary, and treasurer, of the cathedral church of Wells, and vicar of St. Bride's, Fleet-street. There is, so far as I have yet been able to find, no more than a single letter of his extant, and that a very short one: but, concise as it is, it contains a clause whence we may infer the Calvinism of this excellent man. "The Lord," says he to his friend and correspondent, "strengthen you, me, and all his elect (*i*)."

XI. Mr. Thomas Haukes, a gentleman of Essex, suffered at Coggleshall, in that county, June 10, 1555. A little before his execution, several of his particular friends, who, though stedfast Protestants, were in some degree of bondage through fear of that violent death which they knew not how soon they might be called to undergo, requested him, that if the pain of burning was at all tolerable, he would give them a signal before he expired. The good man promised them that he would: and the token fixed upon was that he should elevate his hands above his head towards Heaven ere his soul ascended to God. Being fastened to the stake, the fagots were kindled: "In which, when he had continued long, and when his speech was taken away by the violence of the flame, his skin shriveled, and his fingers consumed, so that all thought certainly he had been gone; suddenly, and contrary to all expectation, the blessed servant of God, being mindful of his promise afore made, lifted up his hands (which were all in a blaze) over his head, and triumphantly struck them together thrice. At the sight of which, the spectators, they especially who were apprised of the signal, gave uncommon shouts of joy and applause. And so the blessed martyr of Christ, straightway sinking down inte the fire, yielded up his spirit (*k*)."

Mr. Haukes's principles, as to the doctrine of grace, are sufficiently apparent, from the two following passages. "Though the world rage," said he, "and blaspheme the elect of God; ye know that it did so unto Christ, his apostles, and to all that were in the primitive church (*l*)." In a letter to a person who had promised to take charge of his son's education, he wrote thus; "I hope to meet both him and you among all God's elect (*m*)."

XII. Mr. Nicolas Sheterden was burned at Canterbury, July 12, 1555. Praying at the stake, he said, "O Father, I do not presume unto thee in my own righteousness: No! but only in the merits of thy dear Son, my Saviour. For the which excellent gift of salvation, I cannot worthily praise thee (*n*)."

To his surviving brother he thus expressed himself: "God is the giver of all goodness, and that freely, for his love to us; not only without our deserts, but contrary to the same (*o*)." Again: "Dear brother, my heart's desire and prayer to God is, that we may together enjoy the bliss of eternal inheritance, by one spiritual regeneration and new birth (*p*)."

XIII. Mr. John Newman was crowned with martyrdom, at Saffron Walden, August 31, 1555. "Faith," said this Christian hero, "is the gift of God, and cometh not of man (*q*)." Having occasion to treat of the extent of Christ's death, he thus delivered his belief: "With that one sacrifice of his body, once offered on the cross, he hath made perfect, for ever, all them that are sanctified (*r*)." Adding, "I believe that there is a holy church, which is the company of the faithful and elect people of God, dispersed abroad throughout the whole world (*s*)."

XIV. In the same month, Mr. Robert Smith was burnt at Uxbridge. Some of his excellent observations were these: "In Corinth was not all the congregation of God; but a number of those holy and elect people of God (*t*)." Referring to the persecuting time in which he lived, "The prince of darkness," said he, "is broken loose, and rageth, in his members, against the elect of God (*u*). By these means, God will try his elect, as gold in the furnace (*w*)." He asserts the absolute freeness of salvation in all its parts: "All favour, mercy, and forgiveness, cometh only by Christ. He only, of God the Father, was made, for us, all wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. All these are the gifts of God the Father, freely given unto us, by Christ Jesus, God and man, through faith in his blood, and not by the merits of men. Gifts they are, I say; freely given unto us, of favour, without our desert: by believing, and not by deserving. To this do the law and the prophets bear witness (*x*)." Let us just hear him on the article of perseverance: God "hath numbered all the hairs of his children's heads, so that not one of them shall perish without his Fatherly will. He keepeth the sparrows: much more will he preserve them whom he hath purchased with the blood of the immaculate Lamb (*y*)."

God honoured the martyrdom of this pious person with a display of divine goodness and power, not unsimilar to what was related of

(*h*) Fox, *Ibid.* p. 206, 207. (*i*) Fox, *Ibid.* p. 207. And Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. p. 260.
(*k*) Fox, *Ibid.* p. 220. (*l*) *Ibid.* p. 221.
(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 222. (*n*) *Ibid.* p. 313.
(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 315. (*p*) *Ibid.* (*q*) *Ibid.* p. 325.
(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 326. (*s*) *Ibid.* (*t*) *Ibid.* p. 331.
(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 339. (*w*) *Ibid.* p. 341.
(*x*) *Ibid.* p. 340. (*y*) *Ibid.* p. 341.

Mr. Haukes Before Mr. Smith was chained to the stake, he conversed with the people that surrounded him, concerning the goodness of the cause for which he was about to suffer; and expressed his certainty of again receiving, at the resurrection, that body which he was then resigning to the flames: adding, I doubt not, but God will show you some token thereof. And so it proved. For, "at length, being well-nigh half burned, and also black with fire, clustered together as in a lump, and supposed by all to be dead; he suddenly rose upright before the people, lifting up the stumps of his arms, and clapping them together: after which, bending down again, and hanging over the fire, he slept in the Lord (*z*)." Thus, on some great occasions,

Heav'n owns its friends, and points them out to men!

XV. Mr. Robert Samuel, who had been an eminent and useful preacher in king Edward's days, was burned at Ipswich, Aug. 31, 1555. But not till he had borne a lasting testimony to the gospel, in the few, but precious papers, which he bequeathed to the church of God. "Touching the Father of Heaven," say he, "I believe as much as Holy Scripture teacheth me to believe. The Father is the first person in the Trinity, [and] first cause of our salvation: who hath blessed us with all manner of blessings in heavenly things by Christ. Who hath chosen us, before the foundations of the world were laid, that we should be holy, and without blame before him. Who hath predestinated us, and ordained us, to be his children of adoption, through Christ Jesus (*a*)." For these predestinated persons, sanctified and set apart by the Father, Mr. Samuel believed that Christ became obedient unto death: Christ, "Is made unto us, of God, that only sacrifice and oblation, offered, once for all and for ever, for all them that be sanctified (*b*)." Between Christ and these there is a blessed commutation, or exchange, of sin and righteousness: Christ takes away the guilt of their trespasses, and consigns over to them the merit of his own active and passive satisfaction to the divine law. This was the doctrine of our martyred preacher: "His [*i. e.* Christ's] innocency, his righteousness, his holiness, his justice, is our's given us of God: and our sins and unrighteousness, by his obedience, and abasing of himself to the death of the cross, are his (*c*)." Such as are elected, redeemed, and justified, shall be preserved to God's kingdom and glory: "Now that Christ our head is risen, we, being his body and members, must follow our head [*i. e.* our bodies shall, like his, be raised to eternal life]. Death, hell, and sin, cannot sunder nor pluck us from him. For, as the Son cannot be divided nor sundered from the Father, nor the Holy Ghost from them both; no more may we, being the faithful [*i. e.* the believing] members of Christ, be separated from Christ (*d*). Christ affirmed the same; saying, My sheep hear my voice: I know them: they hearken unto me, and to no strangers: and I give them everlasting life; and they shall not be lost: and no man shall pluck them out of my hands. No, nor yet this flattering world, with all his vain pleasures; nor any tyrant, with his great threats and stout brags; can once move them out of the way of eternal life. What consolation and comfort may we have, more pleasant and effectuous than this? We are members of his body, and of his flesh, and of his bones; and as dear to him as the apple of his eye (*e*)."

XVI. Mr. Robert Glover became a burnt-offering for the truth's sake, at Coventry, in September, 1555. Valuable is the testimony which he bore to the doctrine of election. Speaking of saints, he justly affirms, that "They were no bringers of any goodness to God, but altogether receivers. They chose not God first, but he chose them. They loved not God first, but he loved them first. Yea, he both loved and chose them, when they were [considered as] his enemies, full of sin and corruption, and void of all goodness (*f*)." Pursuant to this evangelical view of the subject, Mr. Glover thus addressed the adorable Majesty: "O Lord, thou shewest power, in weakness; wisdom, in foolishness; mercy, in sinfulness. Who shall lett [*i. e.* who can hinder] thee to chuse where and whom thou wilt (*g*)?"

XVII. Mr. Thomas Whittle, a clergyman of Essex, received the crown of martyrdom, in Jan. 1556. "Christ," saith this good Church of England divine, "hath, by his passion, fully redeemed and saved us in his own person: howbeit, his elect must suffer with him and for him, to the world's end (*h*)." Elsewhere he expresses himself thus: "Those that are ingrafted and incorporated into Christ by faith, feeling the motion of God's holy spirit as a pledge of their election and inheritance, exciting and stirring them not only to seek heavenly things, but also to hate vice and embrace virtue; will not only do these things, but also, if need require, will gladly take up their cross, and follow their captain, their king, and their Saviour, Jesus Christ, as his poor afflicted Church of England now doth, against that false and antichristian doctrine and religion now used (*i*):" *i. e.* against the doctrine and religion of Popery, then newly restored. The perseverance of the elect is a consequence which necessarily follows from the above premises: take, however, one positive proof of this martyr's judgment as to the certainty of that inestimable truth. "Tho' the righteous fall, saith David, he shall not be cast away, for the Lord upholdeth him with

(*z*) *Ibid.* p. 342. (*a*) *Ibid.* p. 348. (*b*) *Ibid.*
(*c*) *Ibid.* (*d*) *Ibid.* (*e*) *Ibid.* p. 347.
(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 355. (*g*) *Ibid.* p. 353.
(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 520. (*i*) *Ibid.* p. 521.

his hand. Oh, the bottomless mercy of God, towards us miserable sinners (*k*)!"

XVIII. Mr. Bartlet Green, a gentleman of the law, was converted at Oxford, by hearing the divinity-lectures of Peter Martyr. But, being young, and rich, and naturally of a gay turn, he was permitted, for a time, to relapse into a worldly spirit, and lose sight of that glory and virtue to which he had been called by grace. God, however, who will never lose a chosen vessel, recalled the wanderer; and even enabled him to lay down his life for the sake of Christ. And thus, as the pious Mr. Fox remarks on this occasion, "We see the fatherly kindness of our most gracious and merciful God, who never suffereth his elect children so to fall, as to lie still [*i. e.* to the end] in security of sin: but oftentimes quickens them up by some such means as, perhaps, they think least of; as he did, here, this his strayed sheep (*l*)." He ascended from Smithfield, to Heaven, in company with six other martyrs, who were burned in the same fire, January 27, 1556.

This valuable person touches on the doctrine of grace with much judgment and propriety. "God" says Mr Green, "is not bound to time, wit, or knowledge; but rather chooseth the weak things of the world, in order to confound the strong. Neither can men appoint bounds to God's mercy: for I will have compassion, saith he, on whom I will shew mercy. There is no respect of persons with God, whether it be old or young, rich or poor, wise or foolish, fisher or basket-maker: God giveth knowledge of his truth, through his free grace, to whom he list (*m*)." On one of his examinations before the Popish delegates, he offered to debate matters with them, in form; provided they would first allow him to consult "Calvin, and my lord of Canterbury's books (*n*)." Indeed, the writings of Calvin and Cranmer were deservedly numbered among the most efficacious antidotes against the poison of Popery: and, the Arminian weed not having then over-run the Protestant garden, Canterbury and Geneva were considered as much nearer neighbours than the new sprung disciples of Van Harmin are willing to confess. I cannot take leave of Mr. Green, without citing the pious and not inelegant distich, which he several times repeated, both on his way to execution, and after his arrival at the stake:

Christe Deus, sine te spes est mihi nulla salutis!
Te duce, vera sequor; te duce, falsa nego.

XIX. Mr. William Tyms, a young clergyman, in deacon's orders, and curate of Hockley, was burned, in April, 1556. When he was first seized and brought before Gardiner, the Popish bishop of Winchester, he was very meanly dressed (such were the distresses of God's people, at that time of trouble, rebuke, and blasphemy): he went not to the bishop, says Mr. Fox, in a gown, but in a coat; and his stockings were of two colours. Gardiner insulted him on the poorness of his habit: "Sirrah, are you a deacon? You are not apparalled like one." Mr. Tyms with great smartness replied, My lord, your own dress is no more like that of the apostles, than mine is like a deacon's.

This gentleman's agreement with the Protestant Church of England, in the points which relate to grace, may be collected from the following passages. Writing to a penitent backslider, he says, "Since I have heard of your earnest repentance, I have very much rejoiced, and praised Almighty God for his mercy shewed to you, in that he has not left you to yourself, but, since your denial, hath shewed his mercy on you, by looking back upon you, as he did on Peter, and so caused you to repent: Whereas, if God had left you to yourself, you would have run forward, from one evil to another (*o*)." In the same letter, speaking of such false, nominal Protestants as had fallen back into a profession of Popery, he observes that such would perish, "except they do repent and amend: which grace, that they may so do, I beseech the eternal God, for his Christ's sake, if it be his good will, to give them in his good time (*p*)."

He justly ascribes the "perception" and "feeling" of "grace and peace" in the "heart," to "the mighty working of the Holy Ghost the comforter (*q*):" and says, "I am surely certified of this, that he who hath begun a good work in you shall go forth with it [*i. e.* go through with it, maintain and complete it] 'till the day of Jesus Christ (*r*)." Adding: "The God of all grace, who called you to his eternal glory by Christ Jesus, shall, his own self, after you have suffered a little affliction, make you perfect; shall settle, strengthen, and stablish you."

XX. XXI. and XXII. Three persons were burned at Beccles, in Suffolk, May 21, 1556. Their names were Thomas Spicer, John Denny, and Edmund Poole. One of the articles, for which they were condemned to death, ran in these words: "Item, They affirmed no mortal man to have in himself free-will to do good or evil (*s*)."

XXII.—LVI. The historian mentions thirty-four persons besides who were persecuted and expelled from the towns of Winston and Mendlesham, in Suffolk, in the same month of May, 1556. These, though it does not appear that they were all eventually brought to the stake, yet deserve to be ranked with those that were: inasmuch as they suffered greatly for the same blessed cause. Among the reasons assigned by the martyrologist, for the hard usage of these excellent people, is the following: "Fifthly, They denied man's free-will, and

(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 520.
(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 52.
(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 523.
(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 521.
(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 574.
(*p*) *Ibid.*
(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 575.
(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 576.
(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 590.

held that the Pope's church did err: rebuking their [*i. e.* the Papists] faise confidence in works, and their false trust in man's righteousness. Also, when any rebuked those persecuted, for going so openly, and talking so freely; their answer was, they acknowledged, confessed, and believed, and therefore must speak: and that their tribulation was God's good will and providence, and that, of very faithfulness and mercy, God had caused them to be troubled; so that not one hair of their heads should perish before the time, but all things should work unto the best to them that love God: and, that Christ Jesus was their life and only righteousness; and that, only by faith in him, and for his sake, all good things were freely given them; also forgiveness of sins and life everlasting. Many of these persecuted were of great substance, and had possessions of their own (*t*)."

Now I would ask of Mr. Wesley and Co. 1. Were not these good old Church-of-England-people Calvinists? 2. Can the Church of Rome be, with any shew of reason, or with any shadow of truth, considered as well-affected to Calvinism; seeing one grand motive why she persecuted the primitive Protestants, was, because they held the Calvinistic doctrines? 3. Must it not be the very essence of slander and falsehood, to object against those doctrines as productive of practical remissness: when the persons who maintained them with the greatest zeal took joyfully the spoiling of their goods, relinquished their wordly possessions, rather than dissemble any part of their faith, and went even to prison and to death for the sake of those very principles? If any man seriously supposes that Calvinism relaxes the sinews of evangelical or moral duty, let him only consider the holiness, the honesty, and the heroism, of those Calvinistic saints, whose sufferings and deaths redden the Protestant Calendar, and who resisted even unto blood, striving against sin.

LVII.—LXX. Eleven men, and two women, were burned, in one fire, at Stratford le Bow, near London, June 27, 1556. It should seem, that they had temporized, or at least concealed their faith, for some time after the return of Popery under queen Mary. My chief reason for this supposition is, because their own words appear to imply something of this kind. They speak, as persons who had once let go the profession (though not the possession) of grace: and ascribe their recovery, not to their own free-wills, but to the unfailing faithfulness of God's unchangeable Spirit. "Although," said they, in their united declaration, "we have erred for a certain time, yet the root of faith was preserved in us by the Holy Ghost, who hath reduced us into a full certainty of the same (*u*)."

LXXI. Mr. John Careless, of Coventry, bore a glorious attestation to the doctrines of the Church of England. Though he died in the King's-bench Prison, and so, as Mr. Fox observes, "came not to the full martyrdom of his body; yet is he no less worthy to be counted in honour and place of Christ's martyrs, as well for that he was, for the same truth's sake, a long while imprisoned, as also for his willing mind and zealous affection which he had to martyrdom, if the Lord had so determined (*w*)."

What this eminent servant of God believed, and delivered, concerning predestination, will appear from some remarkable passages which passed at his examination before Dr. Martin, the Popish commissary. The commissary having told Mr. Careless, that he had authority to question him on any articles of faith whatever; Careless answered,

"Then let your scribe set his pen to the paper: and you shall have it roundly, even as the truth is. I believe, that Almighty God, our most dear, loving Father, of his great mercy and infinite goodness, did elect in Christ.

"*The Popish Doctor.* Tush, what need all that long circumstance? Write, I believe God elected: and make no more a-do.

"*Careless.* No, not so, Mr. Doctor. It is a high mystery, and ought reverendly to be spoken of. And, if my words may not be written as I do utter them, I will not speak at all.

"*Popish Doctor.* Go to, go to: write what he will. Here is more business than needeth.

"*Careless.* I believe, that Almighty God, our most dear, loving Father, of his great mercy and infinite goodness (through Jesus Christ), did elect and appoint, in him, before the foundation of the earth was laid, a church or congregation, which he doth continually guide, and govern, by his grace and holy spirit; so that not one of them shall ever finally perish (*x*)."

"The crafty fleering Papist then asked Mr. Careless, "Why, who will deny this?" To which the honest, unsuspecting prisoner made answer, "If your mastership do allow it, and other learned men when they see it, I have my heart's desire."

"*Popish Doctor.* It was told me also, that thou dost affirm, that Christ did not die effectually for all men.

"*Careless.* Whatsoever hath been told you, it is not much material to me. Let the tellers of such tales come before my face, and I trust to make them answer. For indeed I do believe, that Christ did die effectually for all those that do effectually repent and believe; and for no other (*y*)."

"*Popish Doctor.* Now, Sir, what is Trew's faith of predestination?"

"Truly, I think, he doth believe as your mastership and the rest of the clergy [*i. e.* the

(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 500, 501. (*u*) *Ibid.* p. 504. (*w*) *Ibid.* p. 508. (*x*) *Ibid.* p. 508. (*y*) *Ibid.* p. 509.

Popish clergy] do believe of predestination: that we be elected, in respect of our good works; and so long elected as we do them, and no longer (*z*)."

Here observe, 1. That the Mr. Trew, now mentioned, was a professing Protestant; and had, probably, been a member of that single "Free-will congregation," spoken of by Mr. Strype, and noticed by me in the first Section of this treatise. 2. That those few free-willers (and they were, in that age, exceeding few indeed) who made profession (and 'twas little more than mere profession) of Protestantism, did not vary from the Church of Rome, but cordially chimed in with her, like two tallies, so far as election and its connected articles were concerned. For, the upright Mr. Careless, whom neither fear nor favour could bias from his integrity, expressly declared, in the hearing and to the face of his Popish judge, that Mr. Trew, the free-willer (who held a changeable election grounded on works), did therein exactly agree with the said Popish judge, and the rest of the Romish clergy. Whence, say I, Mr. John Wesley, Mr. Watt Sellon, and some others of that kidney, whom I could name, may see, to what party they belong. And although the said Messieurs may not deem it altogether prudent and convenient, to own their relationship to the said Popish party; yet, as many of mankind, as have unprejudiced eyes wherewith to see, and distinguishing heads wherewith to understand, cannot possibly fail to rank the Messieurs aforesaid with the party aforementioned.

A few concise extracts, from some of Mr. Careless's letters, shall give farther demonstration of that light and grace which God had bestowed on this admirable man.

1. "*To Mr. John Bradford.*

"John Bradford, thou man so specially beloved of God, his singularly beloved and elect child; I pronounce and testify unto thee, in the word and name of the Lord Jehovah, that Christ hath cleansed thee with his blood, and clothed thee with his righteousness; and hath made thee, in the sight of God his Father, without spot or wrinkle: so that, when the fire doth its appointed office, thou shalt be received, as a sweet burnt-sacrifice, into heaven; where thou shalt joyfully remain in God's presence for ever, as the true inheritor of his everlasting kingdom, unto which thou wast undoubtedly predestinate and ordained by the Lord's infallible purpose and decree, before the foundation of the world was laid (*a*)."

2. "*To my most dear and faithful brethren in Newgate, condemned to die for the testimony of God's everlasting truth.*

"The everlasting peace of God, in Jesus Christ; the continual joy, strength, and comfort of his most pure, holy, and mighty Spirit; with the increase of faith, and lively feeling of his eternal mercy, be with you, my most dear and faithful loving brother Tyms, and with all the rest of my dear hearts in the Lord, your faithful fellow-soldiers, and most constant companions in bonds. Thy will, O Lord, be effectually fulfilled! for it is only good, and turneth all things to the best for such as thou, in thy mercy, hast chosen. He [*i. e.* Christ] hath given you, for everlasting possession, all his holiness, righteousness, and justification: yea, and the Holy Ghost into your hearts, wherewith ye are surely sealed to the day of redemption, to certify you of your eternal election, and that ye are his true adopted sons (*b*)."

3. "*To my dear and faithful brother, William Tyms, prisoner in Newgate.*

"Faithful is God, and true of his promises, who hath said, that he will never suffer his chosen children to be tempted above their strength. Great cause have you to be of good comfort. I see, in you, as lively a token of God's everlasting love and favour in Jesus Christ, as ever I perceived in any man. Christ is made unto us holiness, righteousness, and justification. He hath clothed us with all his merits, mercies, and most sweet sufferings; and hath taken to him all our misery, wretchedness, sin and infirmity. So that if any [*i. e.* any of God's chosen children] should now be condemned for the same, it must needs be Jesus Christ, who hath taken them upon him. But indeed he hath made satisfaction for them to the uttermost jot. So that, for his sake, they shall never be imputed to us, if they were a thousand times so many more as they be.

"Satan's fiery darts can do you no harm, but rather do you good service: to cast you down under the mighty hand of God, that he may take you up by his only grace and power, and so you may render him all the glory by Jesus Christ: which thing the enemy can in no wise abide: therefore he shooteth off his other piece most pestilent, to provoke you to put some part of your trust and confidence in yourself, and in your own holiness and righteousness; that you might, that way, rob God of his glory, and Christ of the honour and dignity of his death. But, blessed be the Lord God, you have also a full strong bulwark to beat back this pestiferous pellet also: even the pure law of God, which proveth the best of us all [to be] damnable sinners in the sight of God, if he would enter into judgment with us according to the severity of the same [*i. e.* according to the unabating severity and perfection of his law]; and that our best works are polluted and defiled, in such sort as the prophet describeth them; with which manner of speaking, our free-will pharisees are much offended: for it felleth all man's righteousness to the ground (I had like to have said, to the bottom of hell); and extolleth only the righteousness of Jesus Christ, which is allowed before God, and is freely given to all those that firmly believe

(*z*) *Ibid.* (*a*) *Ibid.* p. 602. (*b*) *Ibid.* p. 603 604.

as, blessed be God, you do. (God) comfort, strengthen, and defend you, with his grace and mighty operation of his Holy Spirit, as he hath hitherto done: that you, having a most glorious victory over the subtle serpent and all his wicked seed, may also receive the crown of glory and immortality, prepared for you before the foundations of the world were laid, and is so surely kept for you in the hands of him whose promise is infallible, that the devil, sin, death, or hell, shall never be able to deprive you of the same (*c*)."

4. *To my good sister M. C.*

"Though God, for a time, permit Satan to take his pleasure on me, as he did upon Job; yet, I doubt not, but, in the end, all shall turn to my profit, through the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. To whose most merciful defence I commit you, dear sister, with all the rest of the Lord's elect (*d*)."

5. *To my dear Brother, T. V.*

"If his [*i. e.* if God's] love towards you stood in the respect of your own merit and worthiness, you might well mourn, lament, and complain: yea, you had good cause to doubt, fear, and mistrust. But seeing he loveth you only for and in Jesus Christ, who is your whole righteousness and redemption; banish from you all fear, mistrust, and infidelity. And know, that, as long as Christ doth continue God's Son, so long must the love of the Father continue towards you immutable, and his good will unchangeable, and cannot be altered through any of your infirmities (*e*)."

6. "*To my dear Brother, Henry Adlington, prisoner in the Lollard's Tower.*

"This present day, I received a letter from you; at the reading whereof, my brethren and I were not a little comforted, to see your conscience so quieted in Christ, and your continuance so stedfast in him. Which things be the special gifts of God: not given to every man, but to you his dear, darling elect and chosen in Christ. Blessed be God for you, and such as you be, who have played the part of wise builders. You have digged down, passed the sand of your own natural strength, and beneath the earth of your own worldly wisdom: and are now come to the hard stone and immoveable rock, Christ, who is your only keeper; and upon him alone have you builded your faith, most firmly, without doubting, mistrust, or wavering. Therefore neither the storms nor tempests, winds nor weathers, that Satan and all his wily workmen can bring against you, with the very gates of hell to help them, shall ever be able once to move your house; much less, to overthrow it: for the Lord God himself, and no man, is the builder thereof, and hath promised to preserve and keep the same for ever (*f*)."

7. "*To my most dear and faithful Brother T. V.*

"The Lord thy God, in whom thou dost put all thy trust; for his dear Son's sake, in whom thou dost also undoubtedly believe; hath freely forgiven thee all thy sins, clearly released all thy iniquities, and fully pardoned all thy offences, be they never so many, so grievous nor so great; and will never remember them any more, to condemnation. As truly as he liveth, he will not have thee die the death; but hath utterly determined, purposed, and eternally decreed, that thou shalt live with him for ever. Thy sore shall be healed, and thy wounds bound up, even of himself, for his own name's sake. He doth not, nor will he, look upon thy sins, in thee; but he respecteth and beholdeth thee in Christ: into whom thou art lively grafted by faith in his blood, and in whom thou art most assuredly elected and chosen to be a sweet vessel of his mercy and salvation, and wast thereto predestinate in him, before the foundation of the world was laid. In testimony and earnest whereof, he hath given thee his good and Holy Spirit, who worketh in thee faith, love, and unfeigned repentance, with other godly virtues, contrary to the corruption of thy nature (*g*)."

8. "*To E. K.*

"Forasmuch as Christ hath chosen us out of the world, to serve God in spirit and verity; let us be well assured, the world will hate us and persecute us, as it hath done to our Lord and Master (*h*)."

9. "*To Mrs. A. G.*

"His glory, above all other things, we, that are his chosen children, ought to seek; yea, even with the loss of our own lives: being yet well assured, that the same shall not be shortened, one minute of an hour, before the time which God hath appointed. Cast, therefore, dear sister, all your care upon the Lord, who careth for you. And mighty is his love and mercy towards you. With his grace he will defend you; and with his Holy Spirit will he evermore guide you, wherewith he hath surely sealed you unto the day of redemption. He hath also given you the same, in earnest for the recovery of the purchased possession which he hath prepared for you before the foundation of the world (*i*)."

10. *To the said Mrs. A. G.*

"Although the perilous days be come, whereof Christ prophesied, that, if it were possible, the very elect should be deceived; yet let the true faithful Christians rejoice and be glad, knowing that the Lord himself is their keeper, who will not suffer one hair of their heads to perish, without his Almighty good will and pleasure. Neither will he suffer them to be further tempted than he will give them strength to bear; but will, in the midst of their temptations, make a way for them to escape out: so good and gracious a God is he to all his chosen children. And though, some-

(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 605
(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 606.
(*e*) *Ibid.*
(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 608, 609.
(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 610.
(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 611.
(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 612.

times, he do let his elect stumble and fall, yet no doubt, he will raise them up again, to the further encrease of their comfort, and to the setting forth of his glory and praise (*k*)."

Mr. Careless lay in prison, on account of his religious principles, two whole years: first, in Coventry jail; and, finally, in the King's Bench, London. So ardent was his zeal for the reformed Church of England, that the sunburnt hart does not long more intensely after the waters of the brook, than this seraphic saint panted for the flames. Dying, however, in the last-mentioned prison, the Papists, disappointed of burning him, buried his remains in a dunghill (*l*).

LXXII. Mrs. Joyce Lewis, genteelly born and elegantly brought up, was martyred at Litchfield. A little before she suffered, she said to some friends, who came to take leave of her, "When I enjoy the shinings of my Saviour's countenance, the near view of death ceases, in great measure, to be terrible." Mr. Fox adds, that she took occasion, at the same time, to "reason most comfortably, out of God's word, concerning God's election and reprobation (*m*)." Early in the morning of the day on which she was executed, this excellent woman was tempted to doubt of her own election and redemption. It should seem, that, for several hours, she walked in spiritual darkness, even darkness which might be felt. Unbelief was permitted to suggest, How do I know that I was chosen to eternal life, and that Christ died for me (*n*)? Some religious persons, who were about her, perceiving her distress, reminded her, "That her vocation and calling to the knowledge of God's word was a manifest token of God's love towards her: which might be farther inferred, from that love to God, that desire to please him, and that desire to be justified by Christ, which the Holy Spirit had wrought in her heart. By these, and like persuasions, and especially by the comfortable promises of Christ alleged from Scripture, the enemy fled, and she was comforted in Christ (*o*)."

LXXIII. Mr. Ralph Allerton was burned at Islington. This good man, quoting that passage in the Psalms, Though the righteous fall, &c. justly observes upon it, "Whereby we perceive God's election to be most sure (*p*)."

LXXVI. With Mr. Allerton were executed three others, *viz.* James Austoo, and Margaret, his wife; and Richard Roth. Of the two former Mr. Fox says that "they were as sound in matters of faith, and answered as truly, as ever any did: especially the wife; to whom the Lord had given the greater knowledge, and more fervency of spirit." And that Mr. Roth was as "sound in matters of faith" as either of them is plain, from the answer he returned to bishop Bonner: who asking him, "What he thought of his fellow prisoner, Ralph Allerton?" Roth replied, "I think him to be one of the elect children of God (*q*)."

LXXVII. Mr. John Rough, a minister, who had been exercised with several very remarkable providences, at length sealed the truth with his death, in the latter end of 1557. Writing to some religious friends, he thus expresses the benevolence of his wishes, and the purity of his faith: "The comfort of the Holy Ghost make you able to give consolation to others, in these dangerous days, when Satan is let loose, but to the trial only of the chosen, when it pleaseth our God to sift his wheat from the chaff (*r*)." And, in another letter, addressed to the same persons, he says: "Dear brethren, I am sorry that I cannot be with you, to rejoice with you in the Lord, and to comfort you in the Lord, as I would gladly do. But I trust, that the Lord will shortly cause us to meet together, and go to the Mount of Calvary."

(*k*) *Ibid.*

(*l*) Great and exemplary was the Christian zeal with which Mr Careless opposed the free-will men of that age. Some remarkable passages, from Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, will both prove this, and illustrate the conversation (already related) which passed between Careless and his Popish examiner, Dr. Martin.

"Careless also had much conference with these men [*i. e.* with the free-willers], prisoners with him in the King's Bench; of whose contentiousness he complained in a letter to Philpot. There is extant an answer of Philpot to Careless about them: where he writes, that he was sorry to hear of the great trouble which these schismatics did daily put him to; that he should commit the success of his labours (in rightly informing them men) to God; and not to cease, with charity, to do his endeavour in defence of the truth against these arrogant and self-willed, blind scatterers; that these sects were necessary for the trial of our faith, and for the beautifying thereof; that he should shew as much modesty and humility as possible, and then, others, seeing his modest conversations among these contentious babblers, would glorify God in the truth of him, and the more abhor them: that he should be content that Shimei do rail at David, and cast stones awhile, &c." Such was the arch-deacon Philpot's opinion of the free-will mongers: whom he termed schismatics: arrogant self-willed, blinded scatterers, sects, contentious babblers; and railing Shimeis. Yet did not the arch-deacon's zeal out run his charity: for his letter concludes with a most candid and pious exhortation, in which he earnestly intreated the brethren "to kiss one another with the kiss of unfeigned love, and to take one another by the hand cheerfully, and to say, Let us take up our cross together, and go to the Mount of Calvary."

Mr. Strype remarks, that all the terrors of the Popish persecution could not keep the free-will men within the bonds of peace and quietness. For, in 1556, Mr. Careless having "wrote a confession of his faith, some part whereof favoured absolute predestination against free-will; he sent it from the King's Bench, where he lay, to the Protestant prisoners in Newgate: whereunto [*i. e.* to which confession of faith] they generally subscribed; and particularly twelve, who were, a little before, condemned to die. Hart [who was a noted preacher among the free-willers] having gotten a copy of this, [*i. e.* of Mr. Careless's predestinarian] confession, on the back-side thereof wrote his confession in opposition thereunto. When they in Newgate had subscribed Careless's confession, this Hart propounded his unto them; and he, with one Kemp and Gybson, would have persuaded them from the former to the latter, but prevailed not. One Chamberlain also [another free-will teacher] wrote against it [against Mr. Careless's confession].

"This paper of Careless's confession, with the answer wrote on the back-side by Hart, fell, by some accident, into the hands of Dr. Martin, a great Papist; who took occasion, hence, to scoff at the professors of the Gospel, because of these divisions and various opinions among them. But Careless, before the said Martin, disowned Hart, and said, that he [*viz.* Hart,] had seduced and beguiled many a simple soul with his foul Pelagian opinions, both in the days of king Edward, and since his departure." — Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, p. 551, 3-2.

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 704.
(*n*) *Ibid.*
(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 709.
(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 710.
(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 712.
(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 724.

dressed to his former congregation, and written two days before his martyrdom, he observes, that "God hath in all ages tried his elect (*s*)."

LXXVIII. The celebrated Mr. Cuthbert Sympson, who underwent such variety of torments so meekly, that Bonner himself pronounced him the most patient prisoner he ever dealt with, and who at last ended his holy life in the flames, A. D. 1558, has transmitted, to posterity, that grand axiom, through the unfeigned belief of which he was enabled, without murmuring, to "stand as a beaten anvil to the stroke." And what axiom was it? That in which the rays of Calvinism are concentred, and contracted to a point. Read it in the martyr's own words: "There is nothing that cometh unto us by chance or fortune; but by our heavenly Father's providence (*t*)."

I may truly say, with the apostle, Time would fail me to tell of that "noble army of martyrs," and of suffering confessors, who, through faith quenched the violence of fire, and out of weakness were made strong: who were tortured, not accepting deliverance; that they might obtain a better resurrection. And others had trial of cruel mockings and scourgings; yea, moreover, of bonds and imprisonment; being destitute, afflicted, tormented. A competency of witnesses has been produced, sufficient to shew that our Protestant martyrs were doctrinal Calvinists. I cannot help repeating an observation already made, *viz.* that I have widely mistaken indeed, if the gentlemen on the Arminian side of the question are able to bring a single instance of any one Pelagian, or free-will-man, who laid down his life in defence of the reformation, during the whole reign of queen Mary. I can at least say, that I, for my part, have not hitherto met with any such example. If Mr. Wesley, or Mr. any-body else, can point out so much as one; it will, as before noted, be for the honour of Pelagianism to let the world know it.

I have dwelt, perhaps, too long, already, on the subject now in hand. Yet, I cannot dismiss those eminent worthies, whose testimonies adorn this Section, without adding four more to the number. The reader will not wonder at my introducing them, when he perceives the celebrated names of Mr. John Bradford, chaplain to bishop Ridley, and prebendary of St. Paul's, London; Mr. John Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester; Mr. Richard Woodman, and Mr. John Clement: which two last, though not in orders, were men famous in their generation, men of renown, for holiness of conversation, liveliness of grace, and clearness of evangelical light. Their attestations shall occupy the Section that follows.

SECTION XVII.

The Judgment of the Martyrs concluded.

Mr. John Bradford was one of the most valuable men that ever adorned God's visible church below. The impartial and judicious Mr. Strype styles him, one of the four prime pillars of the reformed Church of England (*u*). and adds, that he was a person "of great learning, elocution, sweetness of temper, and profoundness of devotion towards God. Of whose worth the Papists themselves were so sensible, that they took more pains to bring him off from the profession of religion, than any other. But he, knowing the truth and goodness of his cause, remained steadfast and immoveable. While he was in prison, he spent his time in preaching twice every Sunday, in writing many letters and discourses, praying, reading, conferring, disputing: sleeping but four hours in the night (*w*)."

It had been at the importunate instigation of Martin Bucer that Mr. Bradford entered into holy orders. On Bucer's expressing his earnest desire of seeing him in the ministry, Bradford declined the proposal, from a supposition, that he had not sufficient talents to speak in the name of God. Bucer's answer was memorable: If you cannot feed the people with fine manchet, feed them with such barley-bread as God may give you. In the end, Bucer's expostulations prevailed: and Mr. Bradford received both his ordination and his preferments from the apostolic bishop Ridley. The brightest abilities are usually rooted in self-diffidence. Mr. Bradford's powers, as an orator, and the blessing, with which his labours were attended, as a minister of Christ, were equal to the fear and trembling with which he entered on the arduous employ. Of his usefulness in king Edward's reign, bishop Ridley wrote as follows: "He [*i. e.* Bradford] is a man by whom, as I am assuredly informed, God hath and doth work wonders, in setting forth his word." And, on another occasion, Ridley said of Bradford, "In my conscience I judge him more worthy to be a bishop, than many of us, that are bishops already, are of being parish priests (*x*)." But his course, though illustrious, was short. Queen Mary made him pass through the fire to heaven, in June, 1555 (*y*). Let us now see, whether

(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 725. (*t*) *Ibid.* p. 728.

(*u*) "Bradford and Latimer, Cranmer and Ridley, four prime pillars of the reformed Church of England; whom this bloody year [1558] executed in the flames."——Strype's Eccles. Mem. vol. iii. 254.

(*w*) Strype, *Ibid.* p. 230.

(*x*) Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 8.

(*y*) At the same stake with Mr. Bradford, was burned one John Leaf a tallow chandler's apprentice, not twenty years of age. This elect youth had been converted in king Edward's reign, under the ministry of Mr. Rogers, the proto-martyr of the Church of England. During Leaf's imprisonment for the gospel, old Bonner sent him two papers, *viz.* A Recantation of Protestantism, which if he would sign, his life was to be spared: and A Summary of the Protestant confession, by the signing of which, his doom was to be finally fixed. The young martyr, on this alternative being offered him, absolutely refused to have any thing to do with the recantation. Not being able to write, he pricked his hand with a pin; and sprinkling the Protestant confession of faith with his blood, ordered Bonner's messenger to shew it to his master, as a proof of his determined resolution to lay down

this "prime pillar of the Church of England" was, or was not a Calvinist.

On his first appearance before Gardiner, the Popish bishop of Winchester, we are informed, that Gardiner "began a long process, concerning the false doctrine wherewith the people were deceived in the days of king Edward: and so turned the end of his talk to Bradford; saying, How sayest thou? Bradford answered, My Lord, the doctrine taught in king Edward's days was God's pure religion: the which as I then believed, so do I now more believe it than ever I did. And therein I am more confirmed, and ready to declare it, by God's grace, even as he will, to the world, than I was when I first came into prison (*z*)." This declaration, alone, might suffice to convince any person, who is acquainted with the religious history of the reign of Edward VI., that Bradford was, to all intents and purposes, a doctrinal Calvinist. If more particular proofs be required, take the following, as a specimen of the rest:

1. In a letter to Mrs. Warcup, and others of his evangelical friends, this eminent predestinarian thus writes: "The souls under the altar look for us to fill up their number. Happy are we, if God have so appointed us. Howsoever it be, dearly beloved, cast yourselves wholly upon the Lord; with whom all the hairs of your head are numbered, so that not one of them shall perish. Will we, will we, we must drink God's cup, if he have appointed it for us (*a*)."

2. "*To Sir James Heles, Knight.*

"The children of God think, oftentimes, that God hath forgotten them: and therefore they cry, Hide not thy face from me; leave me not, O Lord. Whereas in very truth, it is not so, but to their present sense. And therefore David said, I said in my agony, I was clean cast away from thy face. But was it so? Nay, verily. Read his Psalms, and you shall see. So writeth he also, in other places, very often; especially in the person of Christ; as when he saith, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? Where [*i. e.* whereas] indeed God had not left him; but that it was so to his sense; and that this Psalm telleth us full well. The same we read, in the prophet Esay, chap. xl. where he reproveth Israel saying, God hath forgotten them: fear not, &c. For a little while I have forgotten thee but with great compassion will I gather thee. For a moment, in mine anger, I hid my face from thee, for a little season: but in everlasting mercy have I had compassion on thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer. For this is unto me as the waters of Noah: for as I have sworn, that the waters of Noah should no more go over the earth; so have I sworn, that I would not be angry with thee, nor rebuke thee. For, the mountains shall remove, and hills fall down: but my mercy shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of my peace fail away, saith the Lord that hath compassion on thee. Be certain, be certain, good master Hales, that all the hairs of your head your dear Father hath numbered. Your name is written in the book of life. Therefore upon God cast all your care, who will comfort you with his eternal consolations (*b*)."

3. "*To Mrs. M. H. a godly gentlewoman comforting her in that common heaviness and godly sorrow, which the feeling and sense of sin worketh in God's children.*

"As Satan laboureth to loosen our faith, so must we labour to fasten it, by thinking on the promises and covenant of God in Christ's blood: namely, that God is our God, with all that ever he hath. Which covenant dependeth and hangeth on God's own goodness, mercy, and truth, only; and not on our obedience, or worthiness, in any point: for then should we never be certain. Indeed, God requireth of us obedience, and (*c*) worthiness: but not that thereby we might be his children, and he our Father; but because he is our Father and we his children through his own goodness in Christ, therefore requireth he faith and obedience. Now, if we want this obedience and worthiness which he requireth, should we doubt whether he be our Father? Nay. That were to make our obedience and worthiness the cause, and so put Christ out of place, for whose sake God is our Father. But rather, because he is our Father, and we feel ourselves to want such things as he requireth, we should be stirred up to a shamefacedness and blushing, because we are not as we should be. And thereupon should we take occasion to go to our Father, in prayer, on this manner: Dear Father, thou, of thy own mercy in Jesus Christ, hast chosen me to be thy child: and therefore thou wouldest that I should be brought into thy church and faithful company of thy children, wherein thou hast kept me hitherto; thy name therefore be praised. Now, I see myself to want faith, hope, love, &c. which thy children have, and thou requirest of me. Wherethrough the devil would have me to doubt, yea utterly to despair of thy Fatherly goodness, favour and mercy. Therefore I come to thee, as to a merciful Father, through thy dear Son Jesus Christ: and pray thee to help me good Lord. Help me, and give me faith, hope, love, &c. and grant that thy Holy Spirit may be with me for ever, and more and more, to assure me that thou art my Father; that this merciful covenant (which thou madest with me, in re-

his life for the truth. What an instance of heroic zeal! How unlike that worldly, that luke-warm spirit of religious indifference, which now seems to have laid Protestants of every denomination asleep!

(*z*) Fox's Acts and Mon. vol. iii. p. 230.
(*a*) *Ibid.* p. 268. (*b*) *Ibid.* p. 269, 270.
(*c*) The word worthiness, here used by Mr. Bradford, does not, in this connection, signify merit, or desert; but a suitableness of practice, becoming of, correspondent to, and such as may be expected to follow upon, a profession of conversion. And, in this sense, the word very frequently occurs in our old writers. Just as the adjectives Meet and Dignus are often used by writers more ancient still.

spect of thy grace, in Christ and for Christ, and not in respect of any my worthiness) is always to me. On this sort, I say, you must, pray, and use your cogitations, when Satan would have you doubt of your salvation.

"Might not [God] have made you blind, deaf, lame, frantic, &c.? Might he not have made you a Jew, a Turk, a Papist, &c.? And why hath he not done so? Verily, because he loved you. And why did he love you? What was there in you to move him to love you? Surely, nothing moved him to love you, and therefore to make you, and so hitherto to keep you, but his own goodness in Christ. Now, then, in that his goodness in Christ still remaineth as much as it was, that is, even as great as himself, for it cannot be lessened; how should it be, but that he is your God and Father? Believe this, believe this, my good sister: for God is no changeling. Them whom he loveth he loveth to the end (*d*)."

4. "*To another religious friend, who was in darkness and distress of soul, Mr. Bradford wrote as follows:*

"His [*i. e.* God's] calling and gifts be such, that he can never repent him of them. When he loveth, he loveth to the end None of his chosen can perish. If he had not chosen you (as, most certainly, he hath), he would not have so called you, he would not have so justified you, he would never have so glorified you with his gracious gifts: he would never have so excercised your faith with temptations, as he hath and doth, if he had not chosen you. If he hath chosen you, as doubtless he hath, in Christ; then neither can you, nor ever shall you, perish. For, if you fail, he putteth under his hand: you shall not lie still [in sin]. So careful is Christ your keeper, over you. Never was mother so mindful over her child, as he is over you. And hath not he always been so? Think you God to be mutable? Is he a changeling? Doth not he love to the end, them whom he loveth? Are not his gifts and calling such, that he cannot repent him of them? for else were he no God. If you should perish, then wanted he power: for, I am certain, his will toward you is not to be doubted of. Hath not the Spirit, which is the Spirit of truth, told you so; and will you now hearken, with Eve, to the lying spirit, which would have you (not to despair; no he goeth more craftily to work: but) to doubt and stand in a mammering? And so should you never truly love God, but serve him of a servile tear, lest he should cast you off for your unworthiness and unthankfulness: as though your thankfulness, or worthiness, were any cause with God, why he hath chosen you, or will finally keep you! Your thankfulness and worthiness are fruits and effects of your election: they are no causes. You have a shepherd, who never slumbereth nor sleepeth. No man, nor devil, can pull you out of his hands. Therefore, inasmuch as you are indeed the child of God, elect in Christ, before the beginning of all times: inasmuch as you are given into the custody of Christ, as one of God's most precious jewels; inasmuch as Christ is faithful, and hitherto hath all power, so that you shall never perish; I beseech you, I pray you, I desire you, I crave at your hands, with all my very heart, I ask of you with hand, pen, tongue, and mind, in Christ, through Christ, for Christ, for his name, blood, mercies, power, and truth's sake, that you admit no doubting of God's final mercies towards you, howsoever you feel yourself (*e*)."

5. "*To Mr. John Hall, and his wife; prisoners in Newgate for the gospel.*

"He [*i. e.* your heavenly Father] hath brought you where ye be. And though your reason and wit will tell you it is by chance, or fortune, or otherwise; yet know for certain, that whatsoever was the mean, God your Father was the worker hereof (*f*)."

6. "*To Mr. Richard Hopkins, sheriff of Coventry; and prisoner in the Fleet, for the faithful and constant confessing of God's holy gospel.*

"The Apostle saith, Not many noble, not many rich, not many wise in the world, hath the Lord God chosen. Oh then, what cause have you to rejoice, that, amongst the not many, he hath chosen you to be one (*g*)!"

7. "*To my good sister, Mrs. Eliz. Brown.*

"Patience and perseverance be the proper notes, whereby God's children are known from counterfeits. They who persevere not were always but hypocrites. Many make godly beginnings; yea, their progress seemeth marvellous: but, yet, after, in the end they fail. These were never of us, saith St. John: for, if they had been of us, they would have continued to the very end (*h*)."

8. "*To a godly gentlewoman troubled and afflicted by her friends, for not coming to mass.*

"If your cross be to me a comfort or token of your election, and a confirmation of God's continual favour, how much more ought it to be so unto you (*i*)?"

9. "This is the difference betwixt God's children, who are regenerate and elect before all times in Christ, and the wicked, always: that the elect lie not still continually [*i. e.* finally] in their sin, as do the wicked; but at length do return again, by reason of God's seed, which is in them, hid as a sparkle of fire in the ashes: as we may see in Peter, David, Paul, Mary Magdalene, and others. For these, I mean God's children, God hath made all things in Christ Jesus, that they should be his inheritance and spouses (*k*)."

10. "*To certain of his friends, N. S. and R. C.*

"I believe, that man made after the image of God, did fall from that blessed, state to the condemnation of himself and all his posterity

(*d*) Fox's Acts and Mon. vol. iii. p. 271, 272.
(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 273, 274. (*f*) *Ibid.* p. 275.
(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 282. (*h*) *Ibid.* p. 283.
(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 285. (*k*) *Ibid.* p. 2 D

I believe, that Christ, for man being thus fallen, did oppose himself to the justice of God, a mediator: paying the ransom and price of redemption for Adam, and his whole posterity that refuse it not finally (*l*)." In the judgment, therefore, of Mr. Bradford, Christ did not ransom and redeem those of Adam's posterity who finally refuse the redemption which he wrought: or, in other words, according to this divine, Christ did not die for any who do not eventually believe in him for salvation: which is particular redemption, with a witness. Christ, says the above paragraph, "paid the price of redemption" for as many of Adam's whole posterity, as finally accept of it by faith: consequently, for those who finally refuse it (and these, 'tis to be feared are more than a few) the price of redemption was not paid. And I should much wonder if it had: since what good end would it have answered? Mr. Bradford goes on: "I believe, that all who believe in Christ, I speak of such as be of years of discretion, or partakers of Christ and all his merits; I believe, that faith, and to believe in Christ (I speak not now of [that] faith which men have by reason of miracles (John ii. 11. Acts viii.); or by reason of earthly commodity (Matth. xiii.), custom, or authority of man; which is commonly seen; the hearts of them, that so believe, being not right and simple before God; but I speak of that faith which is indeed the true faith, the justifying and regenerating faith; I believe, I say, that this faith and belief in Christ is the work and gift of God; given to none other than to those which be the children of God: that is, to those whom God the Father, before the beginning of the world, hath predestinate in Christ unto eternal life (*m*)." Mr. Bradford's reasoning stands thus: Christ died not for those who finally refuse his redemption; but for those who are justified and regenerated by faith in him: which justifying and regenerating faith is the gift of God, given to those persons only whom he predestinated to eternal life before the world began. Thus it appears, that there is nothing discouraging in the doctrines of eternal election and particular redemption. Not in election; because God gives faith to his people, as a token and pledge of their sure interest in his covenant-favour: and as to those who may, at present, be seemingly destitute of faith, we know not how soon God may give it them, or stir them up to seek it. Neither does limited redemption tend to the discouragement of any who seriously desire to be saved in God's own way, *i. e.* in the Bible-way of faith, repentance, and new obedience: forasmuch as Christ "paid the ransom and price of redemption, for Adam's whole posterity who do not finally refuse it." Thus scripturally and discreetly does the admirable Mr. Bradford state and assert these illustrious doctrines of the gospel.

Another remark of his deserves well to be considered: "For the certainty of this faith [*i. e.* of the justifying faith] search your hearts. If you have it, praise the Lord; for you are happy, and therefore cannot finally perish: for then happiness were not happiness, if it could be lost. When you fall, the Lord will put under his hand, that you shall not lie still. But, if ye feel not this faith, then know, that predestination is too high a matter for you to be disputers of, until you have been scholars in the school-house of repentance and justification; which is the grammar-school wherein we must be conversant and learned, before we go to the University of God's most holy predestination and providence (*n*). Thus do I wade in predestination: in such sort as God hath patefied and opened it. Though, in God, it be the first; yet, to us, it is the last opened. And therefore I begin with creation, from thence I come to redemption, so to justification, and so to election. On this sort, I am sure that warily and wisely a man may walk in it easily, by the light of God's spirit in and by his word; seeing this faith not to be given to all men, (2 Thess. iii.) but to such as are born of God, predestinate before the world was made, after [*i. e.* according to] the purpose and good will of God. Which will we may not call in disputation, but, in trembling and fear, submit ourselves to it, as to that which can will none otherwise than that which is holy, right and good, how far soever otherwise it may seem to the judgment of reason: which [*i. e.* the judgment of reason, so far as it opposes the doctrine of predestination,] must needs be beaten down to be more careful for God's glory, than for man's salvation, which hangeth only thereon, as all God's children full well see (*o*)."

11. "*To Sir Thomas Hall, and Father Traves, of Blanchly.*

"Christ alone is our full, sufficient Saviour; for in him we be complete: being made, through his death and one only oblation made and offered by himself upon the cross, the children of God, and fellow-heirs with him of the celestial kingdom, which is the free-gift of God, and cometh not of merits, but of the mere grace of God. He that is of God heareth the word of God: John viii. Will you have a more plain badge, whether you are the elect child of God or no, than this text (*p*)?"

12. Mr. Strype has preserved a valuable paper, entitled, John Bradford's Meditation of God's Providence and Presence. Part of it runs thus: "This ought to be unto us most certain, that nothing is come without thy providence, O Lord: that is, that nothing is done, good or bad, sweet or sour, but by thy knowledge; that is, by thy will, wisdom, and ordinance; for all these knowledge doth comprehend in it. As, by the word, we are taught, in many places, that even the loss of a sparrow

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 291. (*m*) *Ibid.*

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 292. (*o*) *Ibid.* (*p*) *Ibid.* p. 295.

is not without thy will; nor any liberty nor power upon a poor porket [*i. e.* swine] have all the devils in hell, but by thine own appointment and will. And we must always believe it, most assuredly, to be all just and good, howsoever it may seem otherwise unto us. For thou art marvellous, and not comprehensible, in thy ways; and Holy, in all thy works. But hereunto it is necessary for us to know, no less certainly, that, although all things be done by thy providence, yet the same thy providence to have many and divers means to work by; which [means] being contemned, thy providence is contemned (*q*)."

Such ample attestation did this faithful martyr, and "prime pillar" of the Church of England, bear to "The doctrine taught in king Edward's days!"

A very remarkable and important confirmation of Mr. Bradford's zeal for doctrinal Calvinism, as maintained by the Church of England, occurs in Strype's memorials of Cranmer, Book III. chap. xiv. A confirmation which also involves additional proof of the Calvinism of archbishop Cranmer, bishop Ridley, bishop Latimer, bishop Ferrar, Dr. Rowland Taylor, and Mr. Philpot, who (together with Bradford himself) were all martyrs for the church.

Strype acquaints us, under the year 1554, when Papal persecution began to wax warm, that, among such Protestants as then filled the public prisons in London, there was a mixture of free-will, men: *i. e.* of men who "held free-will, tending to the derogation of God's grace; and refused the doctrine of absolute predestination, and original sin." (Memor. of Cranm. p. 350). The historian adds, that these free-will prisoners, though men of strict lives, were "very hot in their opinions and disputations, and unquiet." Divers of them, it seems, were confined "in the King's Bench, where Bradford and many other gospellers [*i. e.* Protestants] were: many whereof, by their conferences, they [*i. e.* the free-will men] gained to their own persuasion. Bradford had much discourse with them. The name of their chief man was Harry Hart, who had writ something in defence of his [free-will] doctrine. Trew and Abingdon were teachers also among them: Kemp, Gybson, and Chamberlain, were others. They ran their notions as high as Pelagius did, and valued no learning: the writings and authorities of the learned they utterly rejected and despised.

"Bradford was apprehensive that they might now do great harm in the church: and therefore, out of prison, wrote a letter to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, the three chief heads of the reformed, though oppressed, Church in England, to take some cognizance of this matter, and to consult with them in remedying it; and with him joined bishop Ferrar, Rowland Taylor, and John Philpot." (Memor. of Cranm. *ut supr.*).

The letter itself, sent on this occasion, is extant in the Appendix to the above 'Memorials of Cranmer,' p. 195. No. lxxxiii. 'Tis entitled, "Bradford to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, concerning the free-willers." The superscription of it, written by Bradford himself, ran thus: 'To my dear fathers, Doctor Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, Doctor Latimer, prisoners in Oxford, for the testimony of the Lord Jesus, and his holy gospel.' Part of the letter is as follows: "Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, more and more kindle your hearts and affections with his love. As for your parts, in that it is commonly thought your staff standeth next the door" [*i. e.* you are among the first who are to be burnt for Christ], "ye have the more cause to rejoice and be glad, as they which shall come to their fellows under the altar. To the which society, God, with you, bring me also, in his mercy, when it shall be his good pleasure. Herewithal, I send unto you a little treatise" [written in favour of predestination], "which I have made, that you might peruse the same. All the prisoners here about, in manner have seen it, and read it: and as therein they agree with me, nay rather with the truth, so they are ready, and will be, to signify it, as they shall see you give them example." Good Mr. Bradford then observes, that his motive to writing this letter arose from the apprehensions he entertained of the "Great evil, that is like hereafter to come to posterity, by these men," *i. e.* by the free-willers: adding, "The which thing that I might the more occasion you to perceive, I have sent you here a writing of Harry Hart's own hand: whereby ye may see, how Christ's glory and grace is like to lose much light, if your sheep *quondam* be not something holpen by them that love God, and are able to prove that all good is to be attributed only and wholly to God's grace and mercy in Christ, without other respects of worthies than Christ's merits." The holy and judicious martyr next proceeds to give the following true and just account of the free-willers. "The effects of salvation they so mingle and confound with the cause, that, if it be not seen to, more hurt will come by them, than ever came by the Papists. In free-will, they are plain Papists; yea, Pelagians: and ye know, that *modicum fermenti totam massam corrumpit.* They utterly contemn all learning. But hereof shall this bringer" [*i. e.* shall the bearer of this letter] "shew you more." The whole concludes thus: "My brethren here with me have thought it their duty to signify this need to be no less than I make it, to prevent the plantations which may take root of these men.

"Yours in the Lord,
"Robert Ferrar,
"John Bradford,
"Rowland Taylor,
"John Philpot."

Such was Bradford's excellent letter

(*q*) Strype's Eccles. Mem. vol. iii. Append. No. 29. p. 82.

against the free-will men. And what effect had it on Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer? It filled those illustrious martyrs with deep and solemn alarm, lest the corrupt leaven of free-will, though little at the time (few Protestants, comparatively, being infected with it), might, as Bradford also seemed to fear, go on to spread its defilement. "Upon this occasion," says the historian, "Ridley wrote a Treatise on God's Election and Predestination. And Bradford wrote another upon the same subject, and sent it to those three Fathers in Oxford for their approbation: and their's" [*i. e* the approbation of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer] "being obtained, the rest of the eminent divines, in and about London, were ready to sign it also." (Strype's Mem. of Cranm. p. 350.)

"I have" adds Mr. Strype, "seen another letter of Bradford, to certain of those men who were said to hold the errors of the Pelagians and Papists concerning man's free-will: by which letter, it appeared, that Bradford had often resorted to them and conferred with them: and, at his own charge and hindrance, had done them good. But, seeing their obstinacy and clamours against him, he forbore to come at them any more: but yet wrote letters to them, and sent them relief. They told him, he was a great slander to the word of God, in respect of his doctrine; in that he believed and affirmed the salvation of God's children to be so certain, that they should assuredly enjoy the same: for, they said, it hanged partly on our perseverance to the end. Bradford [by way of answer] said, it [*i. e.* salvation] hung upon God's grace in Christ; and not upon our perseverance, in any point: for then were grace no grace. They charged him, that he was not so kind to them as he ought, in the distribution of the charity-money (which was then sent by well-disposed persons to the prisoners of Christ, in which Bradford was the purse-bearer); but he assured them, he never defrauded them of the value of a penny: and at that time sent them 13*s.* 4*d.* and, if they needed as much more, he promised they should have it."

Though Mr. Bradford broke the errors of the free-will men to pieces with the hammer of God's word: he yet observed all possible candour and meekness toward their persons. "Let love" said he, "bear the bell away; and let us pray one for another, and be careful one for another. I have loved you in the Lord, my dear hearts; though you have taken it otherwise, without cause by me given. I have not" [*i. e.* he had not then] "suffered any copy of my Treatise of Predestination to go abroad, because I would suppress all occasion, so far as might be. I am going before you, to my God and your God, to my Father and your Father, to my Christ and your Christ, to my home and your home." What a striking model, was this excellent man of 'orthodoxy and charity united!' Mr. Strype observes, that, "By Bradford's pains and diligence, he gained some [*i. e.* some of the free-willers] from their errors, particularly, one Skelthorp: for whom, in a letter to Careless, he thanked God, who gave this man to see the truth at length." Mem. of Cranm. p. 350, 351.

I shall now proceed to Mr. John Philpot, Arch-deacon of Winchester: to which he was collated by the pious and discerning Dr. Ponet, the first Protestant bishop of that see, and a principal framer of that excellent catechism mentioned in Section xiii.

Mr. Arch-deacon Philpot "was of a worshipful house, a knight's son, born in Hampshire, brought up in New College, Oxford, where he studied the civil law for six or seven years, besides other liberal arts, and especially the languages. In wit he was pregnant and happy; of a singular courage; in spirit, fervent; in religion; zealous (*r*)." He suffered death in Smithfield, December 18, 1555.

At his examination, before five Popish prelates, and other doctors of the Romish church, Mr. Philpot defied them all to confute Calvin's institutions. "Which of you all," said he, "is able to answer Calvin's institutions, who is minister of Geneva (*s*)?" To which one of the Papists (Dr. Saverson) replied, "A godly minister indeed! of receipt of cut-purses and runagate traitors. And of late, I can tell you, there is such contention fallen between him [meaning Calvin] and his own sects, that he was fain to flee the town, about predestination. I tell you truth: for I came by Geneva hither." To this, Philpot rejoined in these words: "I am sure you blaspheme that godly

(*r*) Fox's Acts and Mon. vol. iii. p. 459.—Mr. Strype records two amusing incidents, relative to this Mr. Philpot. "He was the son of Sir Peter Philpot, Knight, nigh Winchester; and was, in his youth, put to Wickham College; where he profited in learning so well, that he laid a wager of twenty pence with John Harpsfield, that he would make two hundred verses in one night, and not make above three faults in them. Mr. Thomas Tuchyner, schoolmaster was judge: and adjudged the twenty pence to Mr. Philpot." Strype's Eccl. Mem. iii. p. 263.—"Stephen [Gardiner], bishop of Winton, ever bore ill-will against this godly gentleman *viz.* against Mr. Philpot the martyr], and forbad him preaching, oftentimes, in king Henry's reign. But he [Philpot] could not in conscience hide his talent under this Prince, and in so Popish a diocese. At last the bishop sent for certain justices, who came to his house: and there calling Mr. Philpot, a rogue, [Philpot said to the bishop,] My lord, do you keep a privy sessions in your own house for me, and call me rogue, whose father is a knight, and may spend a thousand pounds within one mile of your nose? And he that can spend ten pounds by the year, as I can, I thank God, is no vagabond.

"*Bishop of Winchester.* Canst thou spend ten pounds by the year?

"*Philpot.* Ask Henry Francis, your sister's son. Henry Francis, kneeling down, said, I pray you, my lord, be a good lord to Mr. Philpot: for he is to me a good landlord.

"*Bishop of Winchester.* What rent dost thou pay him?

"*Francis.* I pay him ten pounds by the year.

"At this word, the bishop was afraid, and ashamed for making so loud a lie upon a gentleman, and a learned gentleman." *Strype, Ibid.*

(*s*) Fox, vol. iii. p. 470.

man, and that godly church where he is minister. As it is your churches' condition" [*i. e.* in slandering Calvin, you only follow the constant practice of the Romish church], "when you cannot answer men by learning, to oppress them with blasphemies and false reports. For, in the matter of predestination, he [*i. e.* Calvin] is in no other opinion than all the doctors of the church be, agreeing [*i. e.* who agree] with the Scriptures (*t*)." Such was Mr Philpot's judgment of Calvin, and predestination. And, indeed, where was then the Church of England-man who thought otherwise either of him or it?

On a subsequent examination before the Popish commissioners, Ralph Bayne, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, told Mr. Philpot, that Christ prophesied of Geneva, when he bid his disciples beware of false prophets. Take the bishop's flirtation, and Philpot's answer, in the words of each respectively.

"*Bishop of Cov.* Your Church of Geneva, which ye [*i. e.* ye Protestants] call the Catholic Church, is that which Christ prophesied of.

"*Philpot.* I allow [*i. e.* I acknowledge and profess] the church of Geneva, and the doctrine of the same: for it is *Una, Catholica, et Apostolica*; and doth follow the doctrine which the apostles did preach; and the doctrine taught and preached in king Edward's days, was also according to the same (*u*)." Here is an arch-deacon of the Church of England, who laid down his life for her doctrines, openly witnessing that the doctrinal system of Calvin and Geneva, was the same which the apostles preached, and the same which was taught and asserted in the days of king Edward. And the arch-deacon well knew what he said and whereof he affirmed. For he had been not only a clergyman, but a dignitary, of our Protestant Church, in the said king Edward's days. He had, moreover, not only the ocular demonstration of Calvin's writings, to convince him how exactly the doctrines of that reformer harmonized with the doctrines of the Church of England, but had likewise had auricular demonstration of it, during his travels abroad. So that this martyr's peremptory attestation to the sameness of the doctrine established at Geneva under Calvin, with the doctrine established in England, under king Edward, is such a proof of the Calvinism of our Church, as all the piddling cavils of all the Arminian methodists in the three kingdoms will never be able to shake.

While the good arch-deacon lay in prison, he wrote several inestimable letters: and from which I shall give the reader a few selections.

1. "*To Mr. John Careless, prisoner in the King's Bench.*

"God, by his Spirit, setteth the sins of his elect still before them; that where they perceived sin to abound, there they might be assured that grace shall super-abound: and bringeth them down unto hell, that he might lift them up with greater joy to heaven. The Spirit, which is in you, is mightier than all the adversary's power. Tempt he [*i. e.* the adversary] may; and, lying await at your heels, give you a fall, unawares: but overcome he shall not, yea, he cannot; for you are sealed up already, with a lively faith, to be the child of God for ever. And whom God hath once sealed for his own, him he never utterly forsaketh. The just falleth seven times: but he riseth again. It is man's frailty, to fall: but it is the property of the devil's child, to lie still. Who can lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? Do you not perceive the manifest tokens of your election? First, your vocation to the gospel; and, after your vocation, the manifest gifts of the Spirit of God, given unto you above many others of your condition, with godliness, which believeth and yieldeth to the authority of the Scriptures, and is zealous for the same. The peace of God be with you, my dear brother. I can write no more, for lack of light. And that I have written, I cannot read myself; and, God knoweth, it is written far uneasily. I pray God, you may pick out some understanding of my mind towards you. Written in a coal-house of darkness, out of a pair of painful stocks; by thine own in Christ, John Philpot (*x*)." It was usual for some of the Protestant preachers, before sentence of death was actually passed, to be confined in bishop Bonner's coal-house: where they suffered every kind of inconvenience and indignity.

2. "*To certain godly Brethren.*

"To continue out in well-doing, is the only property of the children of God" [*i. e.* is the property of God's children only], "and such as assuredly shall be saved. He hath commanded his angels to keep us, that we stumble not at a stone without his divine providence (*y*)."

3. "*To Lady Vane.*

"Blessed be they that mourn, for such shall be comforted. God wipe away all tears from your pitiful eyes, and sorrow from your merciful heart: that you may (as doubtless you shall do shortly) rejoice with his elect for ever. God pour his Spirit abundantly upon you: until you may come to see the God of all gods with his elect, in Sion (*z*)."

4. "*To the same Lady.*

"His elect, and such as he loveth, will he punish here, that they should not be condemned hereafter with the world eternally. Be thankful unto God, for his wondrous working in his chosen people (*a*)." The benevolent reader will not be displeased, to know, that the excellent person to whom the two last mentioned letters were addressed, and who was the common supporter of God's afflicted witnesses, during the whole reign of Mary, was reserved by Providence, to out-live those

(*t*) Fox, vol. iii. p. 470. (*u*) *Ibid.* p. 495. (*x*) *Ibid.* p. 502. (*y*) *Ibid.* p. 504. (*z*) *Ibid.* p. 506. (*a*) *Ibid.* p. 508, 509.

persecuting times, and had the comfort of seeing the Church of England restored by queen Elizabeth. Mr. Fox's short account of this elect lady (as Mr. Philpot justly termed her) will hardly be censured as a digression. "This lady Vane was a special nurse of the godly saints, who were imprisoned in queen Mary's time. Unto whom divers letters I have, both of Mr. Philpot, Careless, Trahern, Thomas Rose, and others: wherein they render most grateful thanks for her exceeding goodness towards them; with their singular commendations and testimony, also, of her Christion zeal towards God's afflicted prisoners, and to the verity of his Gospel. She departed of late at Holborn" [now a part of London, then a village near it, or at most a suburb] "Anno 1568, whose end was more like sleep than death, so quietly and meekly she deceased in the Lord (*b*)."

Mr. Strype informs us of the earnestness with which arch-deacon Philpot opposed an Arian of those times. On this occasion, Philpot wrote what he calls an apology. It is extant in the Ecclesiastical Memoirs (*c*). Among other particulars, it contains the following: "Pray that God will give you the lyke zele to withstand the enemies of the Gospel, which go about to teach you any other doctryne than you have received in kynge Edward's days: in the which, praised be God, all the syncerity of the Gospel was reveled, accordynge to the pure use of the primitive Churche, and as it is, at this present, of the trew Catholyck Churche, allowed through the worlde. Thes new heretyks are full of blasphemous reports; spreading the same abroad, both by themselfs, and by their adherents, against the sincere professors of the Gospel, that we make God the author of synne; and that we say, Let men do what they will, it is not material, yf they be predestinate. And with this I, among other, am most slaunderously charged and defamed by these outragious heretyks; to whom I have gon abowte, to my power, to do good, as God is my witnes. But I have receved the reward of a prophet at their hands (although I am not worthy to be cownted under that glorious name), which is shame, rebuke, slander, and slaying of my good fame: only because I holde and affirme, being manifestly instructed by God's word, that the elect of God cannot finally perish. Therefore they [*i. e.* the Arian free-willers] have pyked owt of their own malicious nailes the former part of thes blasphemies: and because, at another tyme, I did reprove them of their temerous and rash judgment, for condemnyng of men usyng thyngs indefferent, as shooting, bowling, hawkyng, with such lyke; provyng, by the Scripture, that all men, in a temperancy, might use them in their dew tymes, and showing honest pastyme was no synne: which thes contentious schismatyks do improve, whereupon they do maliciously descant, as is before mentioned."

Here let us observe, 1. That the Arians of that age were likewise free-willers: they not only denied the proper divinity of God the Son and God the Spirit, but also the predestination of God the Father, and the final perseverance of his people. 2. As these Arians were free-willers; so, it should seem, that none, who call themselves Protestants, were free-willers, but such as were Arians too. 3. These free-will Arians were professed Dissenters from the reformed Church of England. Hence, Mr. Philpot vindicates the Church from their malicious objections. Indeed, such men as these could be no other than Dissenters. They held what the Church denies, and denied what the Church affirms. The Church denies, to this day, that free-will has any power in spirituals: but those Arian Pelagians maintained the contrary. The Church asserts absolute predestination: but they denied that there is any such thing. The Church holds a Trinity of divine persons: to which those men said, Nay. The Church affirms the ultimate perseverance of the elect: the above Arians would not allow of it at all. The Church declares, that no man upon earth is free from sin: but those very free-will Arians, against whom arch-deacon Philpot disputes in the said apology, maintained, that "men might be without sin, as well as Christ (*d*)." The Church teaches her children to say, Lord, have mercy upon us miserable sinners. but these identical Arian free-willers objected against that suffrage; for they said they were not miserable, not would be accounted so (*e*)." The Church uses the Lord's Prayer: but the aforesaid free-will Arians "were against using the Lord's Prayer; for it was needless, they said, to pray, Thy kingdom come, when God's kingdom was already come upon them. And also that petition, Forgive us our trespasses: for they held they had no sin (*f*)." Query: Would not any body almost imagine, that, in all the above respects (the article, concerning the Trinity, alone excepted), these free-will Arians were designed as the types, figures, forerunners, and prophetic images, of Messrs. Wesley, Sellon, and their associates? Never, surely, was there a stronger likeness, in all the features but one! 4. The self-same slander against predestination and perseverance, which was raised by those Arians, is (almost in the self-same words) alledged by the acrimonious Arminians last mentioned. The Arian slander, urged against the "doctrine received in king Edward's days," was, Let men do what they will, it is not material, if they be predestinate. And what says Mr. John Wesley? "The elect shall be saved, do what they will." Behold how brethren jump toge-

(*b*) Fox, vol. iii. p. 274.
(*c*) Vol. iii. Append. No. 48. p. 145—157.
(*d*) Strype's Eccles. Mem. vol. iii. p. 261.
(*e*) Strype, *Ibid.*
(*f*) Strype, *Ibid.*

ther? 5. Mr. Philpot, the martyred arch-deacon, was traduced, by the said Arians, as an Antinomian, because he maintained that "honest pastime was no synne," if properly timed, and temperately indulged: such as "shooting, bowling, hawking, and such like." 6. Justly, therefore, did that pious and learned martyr brand the said free-will Arian-Perfectionists (and, by the same rule, justly may their modern successors be branded) on account of "their temerarious and rash judgment, for condemning men using things indifferent."

So much for the excellent Mr. Philpot; who shall now take his leave of the reader, with this short, but weighty observation: "Such is the omnipotencye of owre God, that he can and doth make, to his elect, sour, sweet, and misery, felicity (*g*)."

Mr. Richard Woodman was burned in one fire, with nine other martyrs, at Lewes, in Sussex, July 22, 1557.

His first examination was before Dr. Christopherson, the Popish bishop of Chichester. Some particulars, which passed on that occasion, are worthy the reader's attention.

"*Bishop of Chichester.* Do you think that you have the Spirit of God?

"*Mr. Woodman.* I verily believe that I have.

"*Bishop of Chichester.* You boast more than ever Paul did, or any of the apostles: which is great presumption.

"*Mr. Woodman.* I boast not in myself, but in the gift of God, as Paul did. I can prove, by places enough, that Paul had the Spirit of God; as I myself, and all God's elect, have.

"*Bishop of Chichester.* How prove you that?

"*Mr. Woodman.* No man can believe that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost, 1 Cor. vii. I do believe that Jesus Christ is my Redeemer, and that I shall be saved from all my sins by his death and blood-shedding; as Paul and all the apostles did, and as all faithful people ought to do: which no man can do, without the Spirit of God. And as there is no damnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, so is there no salvation to them that are not in Christ: for he that hath not the Spirit of Christ is none of his. We have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba, Father. The same Spirit certifieth our spirits, that we are the sons of God. Besides all this, he that believeth in God dwelleth in God, and God in him. So, it is impossible to believe in God, unless God dwell in us.

"*Dr. Story* [another of the Popish examiners] Oh, my lord, what an heretic is this same? Why hear you him? Send him to prison, to his fellows in the Marshalsea, and they shall be dispatched within these twelve days.

"*Bishop of Chichester.* Methinks he is not afraid of the prison.

"*Mr. Woodman.* No; I praise the living God.

"*Dr. Story.* This is an heretic indeed: he hath the right terms of all heretics. The living God! I pray you, be there dead gods, that you say the living God?

"*Mr. Woodman.* Are you angry with me, because I speak the words that are written in the Bible?

"*Dr. Story.* Bibble babble, bibble babble. What speakest thou of the Bible? there is no such word written in all the Bible (*h*)."

Some time afterwards, Mr. Woodman was examined again, before Doctor Langdale. By reciting what then passed, concerning God's decrees, and man's free-will, we shall see, whether the Popish doctor was not what would now be called an Arminian, and the Protestant martyr a Calvinist

"*Mr. Woodman.* St. Paul saith, Rom. ix. Ere ever the children were born, ere ever they had done either good or bad, that the purpose of God, which is by election, might stand, not by the reason of works, but by the grace of the Caller, The elder shall serve the younger: Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated.

"*Dr. Langdale.* Methinks, by your talk, you deny original sin and free-will.

"*Mr. Woodman.* I pray you, what free-will hath man to do good of himself?

"*Dr. Laugdale.* I say, that all men have as much free-will now, as Adam had before his fall.

"*Mr. Woodman.* I pray you, how prove you that?

"*Dr. Langdale.* Thus I prove it: that as sin entered into the world, and by the means of one that sinned, all men became sinners, which was by Adam; so by the obedience of one man, righteousness came upon all men that had sinned, and set them as free as they were before the fall: which was by Jesus Christ.

"*Mr. Woodman.* Oh Lord, what an overthrow have you given yourself here, in original sin! For, in proving that we have free-will, you have quite denied original sin. For here you have declared, that we be set as free by the death of Christ, as Adam was before his fall: and I am sure that Adam had no original sin before his fall. If we be as free now, as he was then; I marvel wherefore Paul complained thrice to God, to take away the sting of it: God making him answer, and saying, My grace is sufficient for thee.

"These words, with divers other, prove original sin in us; but not that it shall hurt God's elect people, but that his grace is sufficient for all his. I say, with David, In sin was I born, and in sin hath my mother conceived me: but in no such sin that shall be imputed; because I am born of God by faith. Therefore I am blessed, as saith the prophet, Because the Lord imputeth not my sin: not

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(*g*) Strype, *Ibid.* Append. p. 157.

(*h*) Fox, vol. iii. p. 675.

because I have no sin, but because God hath not imputed my sin. Not of our own deserving, but of his free mercy, he hath saved us. Where is now your free-will that you speak of? If we have free-will, then our salvation cometh of our own selves, and not of God: which is a great blasphemy against God and his word.

"For Saint James saith, Every good gift, and every perfect gift, cometh from above, from the Father of Light, with whom is no variableness. Of his own will begat he us. For the wind" [*i. e.* the regenerating breath of the Holy Spirit] "bloweth where it listeth. It is God that worketh in us the will, and also the deed. Seeing, then, that every good gift cometh from above, and lighteneth upon whom it pleaseth God, and that he worketh in us both the will and the deed; methinks all the rest of our own will is little worth, or nought at all, unless it be wickedness. And as for original sin, I think I have declared my mind therein, how it remaineth in man: which you cannot deny, unless you deny the Word of God.

"*Dr. Langdale.* Say what you can: for it availeth me to say nothing to you. I was desired to send for you, to teach you; and there will no words of mine take place in you; but you go about to reprove me. Say what you will, for me (*i*)."

The truth is, the Popish examiner had the wrong end of the argument: and he was glad to shuffle off the Calvinistic prisoner, as well as he could. Mr. Woodman, however, was not so easily shuffled off: for, to one who came in during the debate, the intrepid martyr said, "He [*i. e.* Dr. Landgdale] saith, I denied original sin; and it was he himself (that denied it), for he went about to prove that man hath free will (*k*)."

This Protestant nero's last examination, at the close of which he received sentence of death, was held in the Church of St. Mary Overy, (now St. Saviour's) Southwark. Himself informs us, that his judges and condemners were, Gardiner "the bishop of Winchester, (Christopherson) bishop of Chichester, the arch-deacon of Canterbury, Dr. Langdale, Mr. Roper, with a fat-headed priest, I cannot tell his name (*l*)." We shall soon see, what a jest this "fat-headed priest," whose name Mr. Woodman could not tell, made of predestination, and justification by faith alone. Happy would it have been for the Protestant cause in general, and for the Church of England in particular, if those doctrines had, to this day, been exploded by Papists only. But there have, since, been too many "fat-headed priests," of more than one Protestant denomination, at whose hands the doctrines of election and free justification found no better reception than at those of the nameless fat-headed priest above-mentioned. I wish the same remark may not extend to more than a few lean-headed priests likewise.

The commissioners being sat, Mr. Woodman was called upon to give an account of his faith This he did, as follows:

"I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and in visible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ my Saviour; very God, and very man. I believe in God the Holy Ghost, the comforter of all God's elect people; and that he is equal with the Father and the Son (*m*)."

The bishop of Winton and the arch-deacon of Canterbury told him, in the cant so usual with persecutors, "We go not about to condemn thee, but to save thy soul, if thou wilt be ruled, and do as we would have thee.

"*Woodman.* To save my soul? Nay; you cannot save my soul. My soul is saved already: I praise God therefore. There can no man save my soul, but Jesus Christ. And he it is that hath saved my soul, before the foundation of the world was laid.

"*The fat Priest.* What a heresy is that, my lord! Here's a heresy! He saith, his soul was saved before the foundation of the world was laid! Thou canst not tell what thou sayest. Was thy soul saved before it was [*i. e.* before it existed]?

"*Woodman.* Yes, I praise God, I can tell what I say; and I say the truth. Look in the first of Ephesians, and there you shall find it: where Paul saith, Blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with all manner of spiritual blessings, in heavenly things by Christ: according as he hath chosen us in him, before the foundation of the world was laid, that we should be holy and without blame before him, through love; and thereto were we predestinated. These be the words of Paul: and I believe they be most true. And therefore it is my faith in and by Jesus Christ that saveth: and not you, nor any man else.

"*The fat Priest.* What! Faith without works? St. James saith, Faith without works is dead. And we have the free-will to do good works

"*Woodman.* I would not that any of you should think that I dissallow good works: for a good faith cannot be without good works. Yet not of ourselves: it is the gift of God. It is God that worketh in us both the will and the deed (*n*)."

What could the Popish free willers and merit-mongers do with this inflexible heretic? Convince him they could not. The shortest expedient, therefore, was to burn him out of the way: which they accordingly did.

Let me now introduce Mr. John Clement to my readers; a man of great grace, and dis-

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 684. (*k*) *Ibid.* p. 686. (*l*) *Ibid.* p. 691. (*m*) *Ibid.* (*n*) Fox, *Ibid.* p. 692.

tinguished usefulness; concerning whom, Mr. Strype thus writes:

"There were now, [*viz.* in the year 1556] abundance of sects and dangerous doctrines; whose maintainers shrouded themselves under the professors of the gospel [*i. e.* they affected to pass for Protestants]. Some denied the godhead of Christ: some denied his manhood. Others denied the godhead of the Holy Ghost, original sin, the doctrine of predestination and free election, the descent of Christ into hell (which the Protestants here generally held), the baptism of infants. Others held free will, man's righteousness, and justification by works: doctrines, which the Protestants, in the times of king Edward, for the most part disowned. By these opinions, a scandal was raised on the true professors [*i. e.* on those who had suffered, and who were then suffering persecution and death for their attachment to the Protestant Church of England]. Therefore it was thought fit now, by the orthodox, to write and publish summary confessions of their faith, to leave behind them when they were dead: wherein they should disclaim these doctrines, as well as all Popish doctrines whatsoever.

"This was done by one John Clement, this year (1556), laying a prisoner in the King's Bench for religion: (whose declaration is) entitled, A Confession and Protestation of the Christian Faith. In which it appears, the Protestants thought fit (notwithstanding the condemnation and burning of Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Rogers, Saunders, Bradford, for heretics), to own their doctrine" (*viz.* "the doctrine of Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Rogers, Saunders, Bradford, &c.") as agreeable to the word of God, and "them as such as sealed the same with their own blood. This confession may be looked upon as an account of the belief of the professors" [*i. e.* of the Protestant Church of England-men] in those days. Copies thereof were taken, and so dispersed, for the use of good men: one whereof is in my hands. Thus we see how industriously they [the Protestants of those days] disowned all Arians, Anabaptists, and such like, who being not of the Roman faith, the Papists would fain have joined them with all the Protestants, to disgrace and disparage the holy profession (*o*)."

Before I quote the confession itself, let me observe from the above passage, 1. That, so far as appears, Arians, Socinians, and such like, were the only protestants who, in those times, denied the "doctrines of predestination and free election:" and that the protestants, "in the times of king Edward," did for the most part "disown the doctrines of free-will, man's righteousness, and justification by works." And no wonder: "for the most part" of the then Protestants were sincere members of the Church of England: which church then did, and still does, assert "predestination and free election;" and deny "free-will, man's righteousness, and justification by works." 2. 'Tis evident, that such as dissented from the Church of England in those points strove to take advantage of the afflicted, persecuted state which the Church was in, under the reign of Mary; and to palm themselves upon the world, as churchmen: labouring to persuade the ignorant, that the doctrines, for which the martyrs bled, were the same doctrines which were held by these same Arians, free-willers, and workmongers. With as much audacity, and with as little truth, as Wesley, Sellon, and others of that stamp, now affect to shelter their Pelagianism under the wing of our present establishment. 3. The surviving Protestants, who were imprisoned for the faith, and had not yet (as many of them soon afterwards were) been brought to the stake, took no small alarm at the impudence and falsehood of these free-willers: and thought it incumbent upon themselves, as well they might, to clear the suffering Church of England and her godly martyrs, from the unjust insinuations of the Arian and Pelagian party. They deemed it, says Mr. Strype, "a scandal," to be numbered with those few, but insolent fanatics, who "denying predestination and free election," held "free-will and justification by works." 4. The more openly to "disclaim" and the more effectually to "disown," all connexion with these intruding free-willers, "the orthodox," says Mr. Strype, "thought fit to own," *i. e.* publicly and unanimously to avow, "the doctrine of Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Rogers, Saunders, and Bradford, as agreeable to the word of God," and to the faith of the reformed Church of England: and to own "them," *i. e.* to own the said martyrs, Cranmer, &c. to have been "such as sealed the same [doctrines] with their blood." To this end, 5. It was resolved on, by the evangelical prisoners, to draw up, and publish, an explicit confession of faith, prior to their own martyrdom: which confession might remain "behind them, when they were dead," and be a standing proof of their union and communion in matters of doctrine, with Cranmer, Ridley, &c. and the other foregoing martyrs of the Church of England. 6. Framing this confession, and the digesting of it into form, was committed to Mr. John Clement: who executed his trust with such care, fidelity, and ability, that (says Mr. Strype) the said confession may be looked upon as an "account of the belief of the professors in those days:" *i. e.* of the "Protestants in the times of king Edward," thousands of whom were afterwards persecuted, and hundreds of whom were put to death, under the succeeding tyranny of Mary.

So much by the way of preliminary to this

(*o*) Strype's Eccles. Mem. vol. iii. p. 364—365.

famous confession. Now for a concise view of the confession itself. The reader that pleases to peruse the whole of it may see it in Strype (*p*).

It observes, towards the beginning, the manifold subtlety of Satan in corrupting the human mind from the glorious gospel of the blessed God: "Some denyinge the doctrine of Gode's firm predestination and free election in Jesus Christe: which is the very certayntie of our salvation. And as he" [*i. e.* the devil] "hathe caused them to denye all these thinges, even so hathe he made them to affirm many madde and foolish fantasyes, whiche the worde of God dothe utterlye condempne: as free-will, man's righteousnesse, and justifying of workes; withe dyvers suche lyke; to the great dishonoure of God, to the obscuringe of his glorye, the darkeninge of his truthe, to the great defacynge of Christe's deathe; yea to the utter destruction of many a simple soule that cannot shifte from these subtill sleightes of Satan, excepte the Lord shewe his great mercye upon them. I do undoubtedlye beleve in God the Holy Ghoste, who is the Lorde and gever of lyfe, and the sanctifier of all Gode's elect. Futhermore, I do confesse, and undoubtedlye beleve, that I, and every lyvely member of this Catholyke church, is and shall be redeemed, justified and saved, oneley and solye by the free grace and mere mercye of God in Jesus Christe, throughe his moste precyious deathe and bloudsheaddinge: and in no part by or forany of our owne good workes, merites, or deservings, that we can do or deserve. Notwithstandinge, I confesse, that all men ought, and are bownde by the worde of God, to doe good workes, and to knowe and kepe God's commandmentes: yet not to deserve any part of our salvations thereby; but to shewe their obedience to God, and the frutes of faythe unto the worlde. And this salvation, redemption, and justification, is apprehended or receaved of us, by the onely faithe in Jesus Christe: in that sence and meanynge, as is declared in the homilye of justification, which was appoynted to be reade in the peculiar Church of Englande, in good kynge Edward's dayes the syxte. Which homilye, with all the reaste, then set furthe by his authoritie, I do affirme and beleve to be a true, holesome, and godlye doctryne for all Chrystian men to beleve, observe, kepe, and folowe.

"Also I do beleve and confesse, that the last boke, which was geven to the Churche of Englande by the authoritie of good kynge Edwarde the syxte and the whole parliament, contayninge the manor and fourme of Commen Prayer, and ministration of the blessed sacramentes in the Churche of Englande; ought to have been receaved with all readynes of mynde, and thankfullnes of harte. Also I do accepte, beleve, and alowe, for a very truthe, all the godlye articles that were agreed upon in the Convocation-house, and published by the kynge's majesties authoritie (I meane, kynge Edwarde the syxte), in the last yeare of his most gracyous reigne.

"I doe confesse and beleve, that Adam, by his fall, lost, from himself and all his posterity, all the freedome, choyce and power of man's will to doe good: so that all the will and imaginations of manne's harte is onelye to evil, and altogether subject to synne, and bonde and captive to all manner of wickednes. So that it cannot once thinke a good thought, much lesse than doe any good deede, as of his owne worke, pleasaunte and acceptable in the syght of God, untill suche tyme as the same" [*i. e.* until such time as the will] "be regenerate by the Holy Ghoste. Until the spirite of regeneration be given us of God, we can neither will, doe, speake, nor thinke, any good thynge that is acceptable in his sight. As a man that is deade cannot rise up himselfe, or worke anye thynge towards his resurrection; or he that is not, worke towardes his creation; even so the naturall man cannot worke any thynge towards his regeneration. As a bodye, without the soule, cannot move but downewardes; so the soule of man, without the Spirite of Christe, cannot lyfte up himselfe. He must be borne agayne, to doe the workes that be spirituall and holye. And by ourselves we cannot be regenerate by any meanes: for it is onlye the worke of God. To whom let us praye, with David, That he will take away our stonye hartes, and create in us new hartes, by the mighty operations of his Holye Spirite.

"I do now acknowledge, confesse, and undoubtedlye beleve, that God, our eternal Father (whose power is incomprehensible, whose wisdome is infinite, and his judgments unsearchable) hath, onelye of his greate aboundant mercye, and free goodnesse, and favoure, in Jesus Christe, ordeyned, predestinated, elected, and appointed, before the foundation of the worlde was layd, an innumerable multitude of Adam's posteritie, to be saved from their synnes throughe the merites of Christe's deathe and bloudsheaddinge onelye; and to be (throughe Christ) his adopted sonnes, and heres of his everlasting kingdome, in whom his great mercye shall be magnified for ever: of which moste happye number, my fyrme faith and stedfast beleve is, that I, althoughe unworthye, am one; onelye throughe the mercye of God in Jesus Christe our Lorde and Savyour.

"And I beleve, and am surely certified, by the testimonye of Gode's good Spirite, and the unfallyble truthe of his most holye worde, that neither I, nor any of these his chosen children, shall fynally perishe, or be dampned: althoughe we all (if God should entre into judg-

(*p*) *Ibid.* Append. No. lxi. from p. 210 to 225.

ment with us, according to our dedes (have iustly deserved it. But suche is Gode's greate mercye towards us, for our Lorde Jesus Christe's sake, that our synnes shall never be imputed unto us. We are all geven to Christe to kepe, who will lose none of us: neither can any thinge pluck us furthe of his handes, or separate us from him. He hathe maryed us unto him by faythe, and made us his pure spouse without spot or wrincle in his sight, and will never be devorced from us. He hathe taken from us all our synnes, myseries, and infirmities; and hathe put them upon himselfe: and hathe clothed us with his righteousness, and enriched us with his merits, and mercyes, and most loveinge benefites. And he hathe not onelye done all this, and much more, for us: but also, of his greate mercye, love, and kyndness, he dothe styll kepe the same most surelye safelye for us, and will doe so for ever; for he lovethe us unto the ende. His Father hathe committed us unto his safe custodye, and none can ever be able to plucke us furthe of his hands. He hathe regesterd our names in the boke of lyfe, in suche sorte that the same shall never be raced out. In consideration whereof, we have good cause to rejoice, to thanke God, and hartelye to love him; and, of love, unfaynedlye to doe whatsoever he willeth us to doe: for he loved us firste.

"Fynallye, Christe testifyethe, himselfe, That it is not possible that the elect shoulde be deceaved. Verelye then, can they not be dampned" [*i. e.* damned]: "Therefore I confesse and beleve, with all my harte, soull, and mynde, that not one of all Gode's elect children shall fynallye perishe or be dampned. For God, who is their Father, both can and will preserve, kepe, and detende them for ever. For, seynge he is God, he wanted no power to do it: and also, seynge he is their moste deare lovynge Father, he lacketh no good will towardes them, I am sure. How can it be, but he will perfourme their salvation to the uttermoste, sythe he wanteth neither power, nor good will to do it?

"And this moste heavenlye, true, and comfortable doctrine dothe not bringe with it a fleshelye, idell, carnall, and careless lyfe, as some men unjustlye doe report of it: whose eyes God open, and pardon their ignorance and rashe judgmentes. But rather it dothe mayntayne and bringe with it all true godlynes, and Christain purite of lyfe, with moste earneste thankefullnes of harte, in respecte of Gode's greate mercye and lovynge kyndnes onlye.

"As for reprobation, I have nothinge to saye of it: for Sainte Paul saythe, What have we to doe with them that are without? The Lorde encrease our faythe and true feelynnge of our election. Notwithstanding, as" [the gospel] "is unto some the savor of lyfe unto lyfe; even so is it, unto other some, the savor of death unto death: as Christe himselfe is, unto some, a rocke to ryse bye; and to other some, a stone to stumble at."

Thus believed the primitive members of the Church of England. Thus held, and thus taught, those Protestant worthies, who, when the truths of God were at stake, loved not their lives unto death.

Let me once more observe (the remarks are very important, or I would not repeat them) that, by the acknowledgement even of Mr. Strype himself, 1. This confession of faith was drawn up by Mr. Clement, at the desire of the imprisoned Protestants in general: 2. That it was a declaration of their common belief: 3. That "Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Rogers, Saunders, and Bradford, sealed the same" [*i. e.* the same doctrines which this confession asserts] "with their own blood." 4. That this confession "may be looked upon as an account of the belief of the Protestants in the times of king Edward, and of the professors in those days." Would to God, that the same creed was as generally held, in the days that are now!

Mr. Clement, whose pen was particularly employed in this laudable service, has, in the concluding part of the above confession, an observation or two, respecting himself, which breathe almost the very spirit of an apostle, "I doe not depende upon the judgment of any man, farther than the same dothe agree with the true touchstone, which is the Holye Scriptures: wherein (I thanke my Lorde God) I have bene continuallye exercised, even from my youth up; as they that have knowne my bringynge up can tell: and some persecution I have suffered for the same. And now it hath pleased God to make me a prisoner for the testimonye thereof; and I thynke, that shortelye I must give my life for it, and so confyrme it with my bloude; whiche thynge I am well contented to doe. And I moste heartelye thanke my Lorde Gode therefore: that is to saye, for this his specyall gifte of persecution for righteousness sake. And thoughe, for my synnes, God might justlye have condempned me to hell-fyre for ever, and also have caused me to suffre bothe shame and persecution in this lyfe, for evyll doynge; yet hathe he (of his greate mercye in Jesus Christe, according to his owne good-will and purpose) dealte more mercyfulle with me: as to geve me this grace and favour in his sight, that I shall suffre persecution of the wicked, with his elect people, for the testymonye of his truthe (*q*)."

This was dated in April, 1556. The good man did not long survive. It was one of the last services, which he rendered to the Church

(*q*) Strype, *u. s.* p. 223.

of God. He supposed, at the time of his writing the above, that he should very speedily be literally a burnt-offering to Christ: and he was ready to become so. But God had determined otherwise. His "burning was prevented, by his death in prison; and he was buried at the back-side of the King's-bench, in a dunghill, June 25, [1556]. Where, two days before, one Adheral was buried, who likewise died in the same prison, and in the same cause. And, in the same prison and cause, five days after, died John Careless; who was contumeliously buried where the two others were (*r*)" Precious, in the sight of the Lord, is the death of his saints.

Thus have I given a sample (and it is but a sample) of those authentic attestations, which our martyrs bore to the doctrines of the Church of England. And, even from these instances, 'tis manifest, that those of our present clergy and laity, who have fallen in with Arminianism, have palpably revolted from those grand truths for which our martyrs bled, and which our Church still continues to assert in her liturgy, articles, and homilies.

Nor was the belief of the Calvinistic principles confined to our bishops, clergymen, and martyrs only. It was common to the main body of Protestants: *i. e.* to all who were not open, professed dissenters from the church. The Norfolk and Suffolk supplication, addressed to queen Mary's commissioners, may serve for one instance. In it, the Protestants of those counties term the late king Edward "A most noble, virtuous, and innocent king; a very saint of God;" adding, that "The religion, set forth by him, is such, as every Christian man is bound to confess to be the truth of God." Again: "We certainly know, that the whole religion, set out by our late most dear king, is Christ's true religion, written in the Holy Scripture of God, and by Christ and his Apostles taught to his Church. O merciful God have pity upon us! we may well lament our miserable estate, to receive such a commandment, to reject and cast out of our churches all these most godly prayers [meaning the English liturgy], instructions, admonitions, and doctrines [meaning the homilies and articles] (*s*)." This religious remonstrance, though it produced no good effect on the Popish queen and her commissioners; yet tends to shew, how tenaciously the members of our church embraced and held fast her excellent principles.

An anonymous letter, sent to Bonner, shews that the writer of it was (and, at that time, what Church of England-man was not?) a Calvinist. After dissuading that inhuman prelate from persisting to imbrue his hands in the blood of the saints, it follows: "I say not this, for that I think thou canst shorten any of God's elect children's lives before the time that God hath appointed by his divine will and pleasure: but because I would fain see some equity, &c. (*t*)."

I cannot better conclude the foregoing extracts from our martyrs, than by inserting part of that admirable prayer, which seems to have been generally used by those who poured out their souls in defence of the gospel. It is intitled, "A Prayer, to be said at the stake, of all them that God shall account worthy to suffer for his sake." In it are these words: "I most humbly pray thee, that thou wouldst aid, help, and assist me with thy heavenly grace; that, with Christ thy Son, I may find comfort; with Stephen, I may see thy presence and gracious power; with Paul, and all others who for thy name's sake have suffered affliction and death, I may find so present with me thy gracious consolations, that I may by my death glorify thy holy name, confirm thy church in thy verity, convert some that are to be converted, and so depart forth of this miserable world, where I do nothing but daily heap sin upon sin. Dear Father, whose I am, and always have been, even from my mother's womb; yea, even before the world was made (*u*)."

(*r*) Strype, *Ibid.* p. 364.
(*s*) Fox, vol. iii p. 579, et *seq.*
(*t*) Strype *u. s.* Append. p. 163.
(*u*) Fox, *u. s.* p. 498. Let it be observed, that, of those who were imprisoned for the faith, all were not crowned with martyrdom: some were by the good providence of God, reserved to see better times.

Among these, was Mr. John Lithall: whose examination, before the bishop of London's Chancellor, is related by Mr. Fox.—"You boast very much, every one of you," said the chancellor to this holy prisoner, "of your faith and belief. Let me hear, therefore, how you believe." "I believe, answered Lithall, 'to be justified really by Christ Jesus, without either deeds or works, or any thing that may be invented by man." The chancellor replied, "Faith cannot save, without works."—"That,' rejoined Lithall 'is contrary to the doctrine of the Apostles.'

The reverend Mr. John Melvin was also of the number, who, I believe, by some means or other, escaped burning. He was however, a prisoner in Newgate: and dated, from that prison, a very valuable letter to his Christian friends; in which he expressed himself as follows. "Most certain it is, dearly beloved, that Christ's elect be but few, in comparison of that great number which go, in the broad way, into everlasting perdition.——Most certain it is also, that our Saviour Jesus Christ hath and knoweth his own, whose names are written in the book of life; redeemed with the most precious blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. So that the eternal Father knoweth them that are his.——Our Saviour loseth none of all them whom the eternal Father hath given him.——[He died] the death of the cross, for the ransom and sins of God's elect."—See Fox, iii. 763. 845.

So unanimous were the Protestant Church of England-men, those who were burned, and those who escaped, (in believing, professing, and holding fast, the precious Calvinistic doctrines of the Bible and of the Church.

SECTION XVIII.

The Re-Establishment of the Church of England, *by Queen* Elizabeth.

QUEEN Mary's death, in November, 1558, quite changed the face of religious affairs in England. The princess Elizabeth, during the reign of her half-sister, was so obnoxious to the latter, both on a domestic and a religious account, that her life had been in perpetual

danger. Mary, whose politics were as contemptible, as her cruelty and superstition were detestable; would, more than once, have very willingly dispatched Elizabeth to the other world. But this design was constantly overruled by king Philip. That Prince is supposed, by some, to have screened Elizabeth, from a hope of marrying her himself, in case of Mary's death, whose state of health grew continually worse and worse. This might possibly be one motive, to the protection which he gave the princess: for, after the decease of queen Mary, Elizabeth was hardly seated on the throne, before Philip actually solicited her hand. But, probably, what operated most strongly in Elizabeth's behalf, was, the close connection that subsisted between France and Scotland. So far back as the beginning of the reign of Edward VI. the plan seems to have been laid, for the Dauphin's marriage to Mary queen of Scots: which projected marriage took effect in 1558. Philip knew, that, on the demise of his own queen, none (*x*) stood between Mary of Scots and the crown of England, but Elizabeth. It was necessary, therefore, to preserve Elizabeth alive; lest France, in right of the Dauphiness, should be aggrandized by the addition of England and Ireland: which would have been throwing too much weight into the French scale. It was, probably, owing to a similar consideration of policy, that, in the succeeding century, Charles I. when prince of Wales, was suffered to return hither from Spain. In all likelihood, Philip IV. would have made the prince pay very dear for his romantic ramble to that court, if the king of Bohemia had not, in right of his consort, been next heir to the crown of England. Thus does the secret, but efficacious, direction of divine providence, make even the political wisdom of this world instrumental to the accomplishment of the divine decrees!

When Elizabeth mounted the throne, the Church of England, with all its doctrinal Calvinism, became, once more, the pure religion of this nation. The proofs are so numerous, that I must only abstract a few.

I. The Liturgy, the XXXIX Articles, and the supplementary Homilies added to those of king Edward, are such glaring evidences on the side of (*y*) Calvinism, as might well supply the place of all evidence beside. These being so well known, I shall carry my appeal to other facts, which lie more out of the way of common notice.

II. The only commentary on the 39 articles, which was published in the reign of Elizabeth, is that of Mr. Thomas Rogers, rector of Horninger, in Suffolk. He dedicated it to archbishop Whitgift: by whom (says Fuller) it was countenaced (*z*)." A subsequent edition

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(*x*) The duchess of Suffolk's descent is no exception to this remark: as her mother was but the younger daughter of Henry VII.

(*y*) If it be possible for any reasonable being seriously to question, whether those ecclesiastical standards are truly and thoroughly Calvinistic; let him only peruse, with more attention, the standards themselves. I shall here make no extracts from them: having already done it, partly, in my Caveat against Unsound Doctrines; and more largely, in my Vindication of the Church from Arminianism. However, as I am now on the subject, let the remarks of Dr. Peter Heylyn (than whom a more outrageous Arminian never existed) stand, as a striking monument of that irresistable force, with which truth is sometimes found, during certain intervals of sober reflection, to irradiate and compel even the most perverse and profligate minds. The remarks, which I here subjoin, consist of inferences, deduced from the seventeenth article, which treats of predestination and election. If such a writer, as Heylyn, should be found to acknowledge, that the said seventeenth article speaks the undoubted language of Calvin; our wonder will be, not that the article should speak that language (for, of this, no considerate person can sincerely doubt), but that so virulent a party-man, as Peter, should, by any transient gleam of regard to veracity, publicly avow some of his real convictions, and transmit that avowal to posterity.

"Predestination to life," (says he,) "is defined, in the 17th article, to be the everlasting purpose of God, whereby, before the foundations of the world were laid, he hath constantly decreed, by his counsel, secret to us, to deliver from damnation those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation [as vessels made to honour]. In which definition," (adds Heylyn,) "there are these things to be observed: 1. That predestination doth pre-suppose a curse, or state of damnation, in which all mankind was presented to the sight of God. 2. That it [*viz.* predestination to life, or the decree of election] is an act of his from everlasting; because, from everlasting, he foresaw that misery into which wretched man would fall. 3. That he founded it, and resolved for it, in the man and mediator Christ Jesus, both for the purpose and performance. 4. That it was of some special ones alone; elect, called forth, and reserved in Christ, and not generally extended unto all mankind. 5. That, being thus elected in Christ, they shall be brought by Christ to everlasting salvation. And, 6. That this counsel is secret to us: for though there be revealed to us some hopeful signs of our election and predestination to life, yet the certainty thereof is a secret hidden in God, &c." Life of Laud, Introd. p. 29.

Though the above concessions are not entirely without their flaws, (or, at least a few small Arminian cracks;) yet it is amazing, that the cracks are so few and slight, when we consider by what hand the six beads were strung.

But the seventh bead is the most wonderful of all. "Such," says the stringer, "is the Church's doctrine, in the point of election, or predestination unto life. But in the point of reprobation, or predestination unto death, she is" [to wit, in the seventeenth article] "utterly silent: leaving it to be gathered upon logical inferences from that which is delivered by her in the point of election. For *contrariorum contraria est ratio*, as logicians say. Though that which is so gathered ought rather to be called a dereliction, than a reprobation." *Ibid.* p. 30.

We will not quarrel with Peter, about the term reprobation. Dereliction includes as much reprobation as need be contended for. And I wish Dr. Heylyn may not be reprobated by Mr. Wesley, for conceding, that "reprobation, or predestination unto death," is to be "gathered" by "logical inferences," from the seventeenth article.

To make up a round number, Peter shall annex an eighth bead to the preceding seven. He very justly observes, that the prayer, in which our Church beseeches God "to accomplish the number of his elect," doth "conclude both for a number, and for a certain number, of God's elect." Miscel. Tr. p. 559. Query: Was not Peter, during some luminous moments, "dereli ted" by Arminianism, and taken captive by truth? I wish, Mr. Wesley and his man Sellon may profit by the example, be seized in like sort, and permanently experience the same "dereliction."

(*z*) Church Hist. b. IX. p. 173.

of it, in 1607, the author dedicated to archbishop Bancroft, whose chaplain he was. As it is not a very scarce book, I shall make no transcripts from it: but only intimate that the Commentary does not (as is too often the case) vary from the text, but is perfectly and judiciously Calvinistical, from beginning to end. The only people to whom it gave offence in those days were Papists, Presbyterians, and such as leaned to either of those extremes. Now, I would ask, whether a professedly predestinarian analysis and exposition of the 39 Articles, dedicated to two archbishops of Canterbury, and approved by both of them, is not one conclusive proof that doctrinal Calvinism was, all through the reign of Elizabeth, and in the beginning of James I., considered as the true and undoubted system of the church of England?

III. The marginal notes, which occur in the Bibles that were published during Elizabeth's reign, unanswerably prove the same point. Observe, I speak not of the Geneva Bible, translated, commented on, and published by the English who had been exiles in that city: which edition, however valuable on some accounts, was never received as authentic by the Church and State of England. But I speak of such Bibles, and of such only, as passed the review of the leading ecclesiastics at home, and came out by the warrant and under the sanction of "the queen's most excellent majesty."

Of these warranted Bibles there were, principally, three kinds. The first was commonly denominated, The Great Bible. Another went by name of The Bishop's Bible. The third was the Quarto Bible for the use of families.

(1.) Of the Great Bible, otherwise called Archbishop Cranmer's Bible, there had been more than one edition, antecedently to the accession of queen Elizabeth. It was completed for the press, A. D. 1537, in or about the 28th year of the reign of Henry VIII. It was by lord Cromwell's interest with the king that Cranmer obtained the royal license to translate and publish the Scriptures: and this was the first English Bible that was printed by authority. The care of the translation lay wholly on Cranmer; assigning little portions of this holy book to divers bishops and learned men to do. And, to his inexpressible satisfaction, he saw the work finished in this year (1537), about July or August (*a*)." When the care of the translation is said to have lain wholly on archbishop Cranmer, we must understand no more, by that expression, than that Cranmer, on this occasion, revised and corrected the translation made, six or seven years before, by Mr. William Tyndal, the martyr. This appears, not only on comparing the text of Cranmer's, or the great Bible, with the text of Tyndal's; but is also noted, by the exactly careful compiler of Cranmer's History. The Bible, of Fox speaks, had been printed in the year 1532, and reprinted again three or four years after. The printers were Grafton and Whitchurch, who printed it at Hamburgh. The corrector (of the press) was John Rogers, a learned divine, afterwards a canon of St. Paul's, in king Edward's time, and the first martyr in the next reign (*viz.* in the reign of Mary). The translator was William Tyndal, another learned martyr; with the help of Miles Coverdale, afterwards bishop of Exeter, but, before all this second edition was finished, Tyndal was taken and put to death for his religion, in Flanders, in the year 1536, and his name then growing into ignominy, as one burnt for a heretic, they [*i. e.* the printers] thought it might prejudice the book, if he should be named for the translator thereof; and so they used a feigned name, calling it Thomas Matthews's Bible. In this Bible were certain prologues (prefixed at the head of the respective books) and a special table collected of the common places in the Bibles, and texts of Scripture for proving the same; and chiefly the common places of the Lord's Supper, the marriage of priests and the mass: of which [*i. e.* of the mass] it was there said, that it was not to be found in Scripture. This Bible giving the (Popish) clergy offence, was gotten to be restrained. Some years after, came forth the Bible aforesaid [*i. e.* the Great Bible, otherwise termed, Cranmer's], wherein Cranmer had the greatest hand; which, as I suppose, was nothing but the former [*i. e.* Tyndal's] corrected; the prologues and tables being left out (*b*)."

So much for the origin of Cranmer's Bible. Let us now consult that Bible itself; which (besides the light it will throw on our general argument) will contribute, not a little, to confirm what has been already asserted and proved, concerning the Calvinism of that great and good archbishop.

Though Cranmer's, or the Great Bible, was prepared for publication in 1537, I cannot find that it was actually published till 1539. It is a very scarce and curious book; of which, however, I have been able to procure a sight. It is entitled, "The Byble in Engliyshe, &c. prynted by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, 1539." It is a large folio, on a black letter, ornamented with small wooden cuts; and divided into chapters, but not into verses. The margin has Scripture references, but no expository notes. The deficiency of notes is remedied by a summary of contents, placed at the head of each chapter. From a sample of which summaries, archbishop Cranmer appears to have been, even at that early period, much enlightened into the doctrines of grace.

The contents to Rom. iii. run thus: "Both the Jewes and Gentyls are under synne, and are justyfyed only by the grace of God in Chryst."

Contents to Rom. iv "He [*i. e.* St. Paul;

(*a*) Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, p. 57.

(*b*) Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, p. 58, 59.

declareth, by the example of Abraham, that fayth justyfyeth, and not the lawe, nor the workes thereof."

In the prefixed "summe and content of all the Holy Scripture," good Cranmer observes, that God is he "Of whom all thinges proceade; and without whom ther is nothynge which is ryghteous and mercyful; and who worketh all thyngs in all, after hys wyll: of whom it may not be demaunded, wherefore he doth thys or that." The reader will not consider the above extracts as an absolute digression from the times of queen Elizabeth, when he recollects that the Great Bible, and two others which are next to be mentioned, were the current Bibles in the beginning of her reign; 'till the scarcity and dearness of these occasioned the publication of what was called the Bishops' Bible.

The other two, which appeared before Elizabeth's accession, were, the folio edition of 1549; and the quarto edition of 1552. Both printed in the reign of king Edward VI. and under the care of archbishop Cranmer. These, likewise, I have consulted; and from them I copy the passages hereafter given.

That of 1549 is on a small, neat, slenderly-blackish letter, somewhat approaching toward the saxon style of character. It is dedicated to king Edward, and has prologues to the respective books of both Testaments. The marginal notes being exceedingly few, I shall give proof of the pure divinity which then obtained among the Protestants of the Church of England from the valuable "table of the principal matters," which runs alphabetically, and is prefixed to the Old Testament. Under the head of election we thus read: "Our eleccyon is by grace, and not by workes. Few are electe, or chosen. We are electe of God the Father, thorow his good wil, before the construcyon of the world, that by the grace and merite of Christ, we should have health [*i. e.* salvation], serving al men by charitie. The elect cannot be accused, forasmuch as God justifieth them" Under the head of predestination, we read thus: "The predestinate are sainctes, or holy people, made lyke to the image of the sonne of God, and called, justifyed, and glorifyed by him. God had predestynate, before the makyng of the world, for to redeme us by the bloud of his sonne, for to save and make us hys chyldren by adopcyon, accordynge to the purpose of his wyl. The carnal and sensual people cannot comprehende the eleccyon and predestinacyon of God: because they stryve for to save themselves, by theyr owne workes and merites; which cannot be." Under the article of will, it is affirmed that the will of God is immutable, and the which no man can resist. And, under the head of perseverance, or continuance in grace, it is asserted that perseverance in the truth is geven of Christ unto the faithful. Thus speaks Cranmer's Bible of 1549.

The quarto edition, of 1552, is on a black letter with wooden cuts; divided into chapters, but not into verses. The translation appears to be Tyndal's. In this curious Bible (which was re-printed under Elizabeth, in 1566), a note, subjoined to the 3d chapter of Romans, runs thus: "God, in his lawe, doth not onely requyre of us an outward ryghtewesnes, but also an inward perfection. That is to saye, we are not onely bounde to fulfyll the workes of the lawe, outwardly, in our lyvinge; but, also, inwardly, in our heartes: to be most syncere; to love God entirely, above all thinges; and our neyghbours as ourselves. But our nature is so corrupted, that no man living is able to do the same. Wherefore no man can be justified by the workes of the lawe." The note to Rom. ix. is this: "It is evident by this texte, that our workes or merytes do not justifye us, but that our salvation doth wholly depende upon the free election of God; whiche, beynge the ryghtewesnes itselfe, doth chose whome it pleseth hym unto lyfe everlastynge." The note to Rom. xi. is: "God doth preserve his elect, even in the middest of thousandes of idolaters." Thus wrote Cranmer, and our other bishops, in 1552.

(2.) Come we now to the Bishops' Bible: emphatically so called, because it was set on foot, promoted, and completed, chiefly under the auspices of Parker, the first Protestant archbishop of Canterbury after Cranmer. A beginning was made in it, A. D. 1565, and the seventh of Elizabeth: but the work was not published, 'till 1568. The other principal prelates concerned in this edition were, Sandes, then bishop of Worcester; Guest, bishop of Rochester; Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich; Davies, bishop of St. David's; and Cox, bishop of Ely (*c*). This is supposed to have been the first English Bible whose chapters were subdivided into verses. It is a large folio, on a black letter; and, in fact, no more than an improved edition of Cranmer's or the Great Bible, already mentioned. I have not had it in my power to see the original edition of this the Bishops' Bible, printed in 1568. What I have consulted is a re-publication of it, six years afterwards; *viz.* the edition of 1574, illustrated with archbishop Parker's arms and preface, and Cranmer's original preface annexed.

Queen Elizabeth's prelates did by no means warp from the doctrinal purity of their Protestant predecessors under the blessed king Edward. Witness the following passages, which occur in the preface to the New Testament of the Bishops' Bible. "By him [*i. e.* by Christ] hath he [*i. e.* God the Father] decreed to geve, to his elect, the lyfe everlasting." And again, "Here may we behelde the eternal

(*c*) See Strype's Life of archbishop Parker, p. 208, 209.

legacies of the New Testament, bequeathed from God the Father, in Christe his sonne, to all his electes."

In what is entitled, "the Summe of the whole Scripture," prefixed (as it was also to Cranmer's own edition of 1539), it is observed, that God is he "from whom al thinges do come; without whom there is nothing at al: who also worketh al in al, after his owne wyl; to whom it is not lawful to say, wherefore he doth thus or thus."

On Rom. iii. 20, the note is, "He includeth here the whole lawe, both ceremonial and moral; whose workes cannot justifie, because they be imperfect in al men."

On Rom. ix. 11. "The wyl and purpose of God is the cause of the election and reprobation: for his mercy and calling, through Christ, are the means of salvation; and the withdrawing of his mercy is the cause of damnation."

On Rom. x. 4. "Christ hath fulfilled the whole lawe; and therefore, whosoever believeth in him is counted just before God, as wel as (if) he had fulfilled the whole lawe himselfe."

On Rom. xi. 35. "By this the apostle declareth, That God, by his free wyl and election, doth geve salvation unto menne, without any desertes of theyr owne."

On 1 Pet. i. 2. "The free election of God is the efficient cause of our salvation: the material cause, is Christe's obedience."

On 2 Pet. i. 10. "Albeit it [*viz.* election] be sure in itselfe, forasmuche as God cannot change; yet we must confirm it in ourselves" [*i. e.* we should get a subjective assurance of our election] "by the fruite of the Spirite: knowing that the purpose of God electeth, calleth, sanctifieth, and justifieth us." So spake these excellent prelates, in the famous Bishop' Bible.

(3.) The Quarto Bible, published in queen Elizabeth's reign, apears to have been designed as a still farther improvement on the preceding. Though the explicatory notes are more numerous and diffuse, yet the reduction of the type, and the consequent reduction of the size, rendered it cheaper than the former editions; and of course, better calculated for private and domestic use.

Of this Bible, the first edition (according to Strype) appeared in 1576 (*d*). Another in 1582 (*e*). That which I have now before me is the edition of 1602, published by Barker, the queen's own printer. The marginal remarks, and some other matters, with which this presents us, will prove that Calvinism continued to flourish in the Church of England (*i. e.* the church continued to abide by her own fundamental principles), to the very close of Elizabeth's life: for the reader need not be reminded that 1602 was the last year of that queen's reign.

From this Bible I extract the following notes, in lieu of a multitude which might be cited.

On Matth. xi. 26, the remark is: "Faith cometh not of man's will, nor power; but by the secret illumination of God, which is the declaration of his eternal counsel."

On Matth. viii. 31. "The devil desireth ever to doe harme; but he can do no more than God doeth appoint.

On Matth. ix. 37. it is observed, that Christ compares "The number of the elect to a plentiful harvest."

On Matth. xxi. 33. "The vineyard is the people whom he had elected."

On Matth. xxv. 34. "Hereby God declareth the certainty of our predestination; whereby we are saved because we were chosen in Christ before the foundations of the world."

On the 35th verse of the same chapter: "Christ meaneth not that our salvation dependeth on our works, or merits; but teacheth what it is to live justly according to godlinesse and charitie; and that God recompenseth his, of his free mercy, likewise as he doth elect them."

Matth. xxvi. 24. "To the intent his diciples might know that all this" [*viz.* the sufferings and crucifixion of Christ] "was appointed by the providence of God."

Mark iv. 9. "God doth not open all men's hearts to understand his mysteries." And 'tis presently after added that there are some, meaning the reprobate, who, "attaine not to the pith and substance" [of religion], "but onely stay in the outward rinde and barke."

Mark xiii. 22. "The elect may waver and be troubled, but they cannot utterly be deceived and overcome."

Mark xiv. 21. "This declareth that nothing can be done without God's providence."

On the 49th verse of the same chapter: "Which declareth, that no man can do any thing contrary to God's ordinance."

Luke i. 30. "Not for her merits, but onely through God's free mercy, who loved us when we were sinners, that whosoever rejoiceth should rejoice in the Lord."

On verse 32. Christ "is the true Sonne of God, begotten from before all beginning; and manifested in the flesh at the determinate time."

Luke vii. 35. "He [*i. e.* Christ] sheweth that the wicked, altho' they turne from God, shall nothing hinder the elect to continue in the faith of the Gospel."

Luke viii. 3. "Whereby they acknowledged they had received of him; and also shewed their perseverance, which prooved their knowledge to be of God." Such, therefore, as do not persevere were never made wise with the knowledge that cometh from God.

Luke x. 21. "He [Christ] attributeth it to the free election of God, that the wise and worldlings know not the gospel, and yet the poore base people understand it."

(*d*) Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 458. edit. 1735.

(*e*) *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 157.

On verse 31, the phrase "by chance" is thus interpreted: "so it seemed to man's judgment; altho' this was so appointed by God's counsel and providence."

Luke xvii. 37. "Nothing can hinder the faithful to be joined to their head, Jesus Christ."

Luke xxii. 22. The text says, Truely the Sonne of man goeth as it is appointed: the commentary adds, "by the secret counsel of God."

Luke xxiii. 35. The text calls Christ the chosen of God. On which the marginal note thus remarks: "whom God hath before all others appointed to be the Messias. Otherwise the Scripture calleth them the elect of God, whom hee hath chosen, before all beginning, to life everlasting."

Luke xxiv. 16. "This declareth, that we can neither see nor understande, 'till God open our eyes."

Verse 28. "Christ did both shut their eyes, and open them: he would keepe them in suspence, 'till his time came to manifest himself unto them."

John iv. 14. "He" [*i. e.* the true believer] "shall never be dried up, or destitute."

John vi. 37. "God doeth regenerate his elect, and causeth them to obey the gospel."

John vii. 33. Christ "sheweth unto them, that they have no power over him, 'till the time come that his Father hath ordained."

John x. 15. "As the Father cannot forget him" [*i. e.* cannot forget Christ himself,] "no more can he forget us."

Verse 17. "Christ, even in that he is man, hath deserved his Father's love and everlasting life, not to his flesh onely, but to us also, who, by his obedience and perfect justice" [*i. e.* perfect righteousness,] "are imputed righteous."

Verse 26. The text says, Ye believe not, for yee are not of my sheepe; *i. e.* because ye are not in the number of my elect. The marginal note judiciously says, "The cause wherefore the reprobate cannot believe."

John xiv. 21. "He" [*i. e.* the assured believer] "shall sensibly feele, that the grace of God abideth in him."

John xvii. 3. The text runs, That hee should give eternal life to all them that thou hast given him. The margin says: "Which are the elect."

Verse 6. "Our election standeth in the good pleasure of God, which is the only foundation and cause of our salvation; and is declared to us in Christ, through whom we are justified by faith, and sanctified."

Verse 12. The text styles Judas a child of perdition. The marginal note says, that "He was so called, not only because he perished, but because God had appointed and ordained him to this end."

Verse 19. "Christ's holinesse is our's."

On Acts ii. 23, the observations are: "God caused their wickednesse" [*i. e.* the wickedness of Christ's betrayer and crucifiers] "to set foorth his glory, contrary to their mindes. As Judas's treason, and their crueltie toward Christ, were most detestable; so were they not only knowen to the eternall wisdome of God, but also directed, by his immutable counsel, to a most blessed ende."

On chap. iv. 21. "God hath put a ring thorow the wicked's noses, so that he stayeth them from their mischievous purposes." Was it not a little unmannerly in queen Elizabeth's bishops, to represent sovereign free-willers as a company of bears, restrained by the decree, and led captive by Providence, with rings in their noses?

On the 28th verse of the same chapter, the right reverend commentators scruple not to affirm, that "All things are done by the force of God's purpose, according to the decree of his will."

Chap. xiii. 48. "None can beleeve, but they whom God doth appoynt, before all beginnings, to be saved."

In a short, but excellent, preface, prefixed to the Epistle to the Romans, and entitled, "The Argument;" the heads of the Church of England thus expressed themselves: "The great mercie of God is declared towards man in Christ Jesus, whose righteousnesse is made our's by faith. For, when man, by reason of his owne corruption, could not fulfil the law; yea, committed most abominably, both against the law of God and nature; the infinite bountie of God ordeined, that man's salvation should only stand in the perfit obedience of his Sonne Jesus Christ. And to the intent that none should thinke that the covenant which God made to him [*i. e.* with Abraham] and his posteritie was not performed; either because the Jewes received not Christ, or els beleeved not that he was the true Redeemer; the examples of Ismael and Esau declare, that all are not Abraham's posteritie, which come of Abraham according to the flesh: the very strangers and Gentiles, grafted in by faith, are made heires of the promise. The cause whereof is the only will of God; forasmuch, of his free mercy, he electeth some to be saved, and, of his just judgment, rejecteth others to be damned: as appeareth by the testimonie of the Scriptures."

From these introductory remarks, the reader may sufficiently ascertain the complexion of those subsequent notes on the epistle itself, with which the Calvinistic prelates enobled its margin. For brevity's sake, let the few following stand for all.

Rom. ii. 11. There is no respect of persons with God: "As touching any outward qualitie" [such as high birth, learning, riches, &c.]. "But, as the potter, before he make his vessels, he doeth appoynt some to glory and others to ignominie."

Chap. iv. 4. Now to him that worketh not, &c. "That dependeth not on his

works, neither thinketh to merite by them."

Ibid. ver. 25. Christ was raised "To accomplish and make perfect our justification."

Chap. v. 17. "The justice" [*justitia, i. e.* the righteousness] "of Jesus Christ, which is imputed to the faithful."

Chap. viii. 35. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? "Wherewith he loved us, or God in Christ: which love is grounded on his determinate purpose; and Christ is the pledge thereof."

Chap. xi. 29. "To whom God giveth his Spirit of adoption, and whom he called effectually, he cannot perish; for God's eternal counsel never changeth."

1 Cor. iii. 3. "The hardnesse of man's heart, before he be regenerate, is as a stonie table, Ezek. ii. 19. and xxxvi. 26. But, being regenerate by the Spirit of God, it is as soft as flesh; that the grace of the gospel may be written in it, as in new tables."

Ibid. verse 9. "The gospel declareth, that Christ is made our righteousness."

Ibid. verse 13. "The Jews' eyes were not lightned, but blinded; and so could not come to Christ."

Chap v. 21. The text says, That we are made the righteousness of God in Christ: the margin adds, "by imputation."

On Gal. i. 7. "What is more contrary to our free justification by faith, than the justification by the law; or [by] our workes? Therefore, to joyne these together, is to joyne light with darknesse, death with life; and doeth utterly overthrow the gospel."

Ibid. iii. 12. "The law ——— condemneth all them which in all points doe not fulfil it." And how is this condemnation to be escaped? By our own righteousness? Certainly not. For our own works do not "in all points fulfil" the law. But by the imputation of Christ's righteousness, who actually did "fulfil" the law, and that "in all points."

Ephes. i. 4. "This election, to life everlasting, can never bee changed. But, in temporal offices, which God hath appointed for a certaine space, when the term is expired, he changeth his election: as we see in Saul and Judas."

Ibid. verse 23. "That is the great love of Christ toward his church, that he counteth not himself perfect without us which are his members: and therefore the church is also called Christ [*i. e.* Christ mystical], as 1 Cor. xii. 12, 13."

Titus iii. 5. "God doth not justify us for respect of any thing which he seeth in us: but doeth prevent us [*i. e.* he is before hand with us] with his grace, and freely accepteth us." So, chap. i. 2. God hath promised eternal life before the world began. "Of his meere liberalitie, without forseeing our faith or works as a cause to move him to this free mercie."

On James ii. 14, the note is: "St. Paul, to the Romanes and Galatians, disputeth against them which attributed justification to works; and here St. James reasoneth against them which utterly condemne workes. Therefore Paul sheweth the causes of our justification; and James, the effects. There [*i. e.* in Paul's Epistles] it is declared, how we are justified: here [*i. e.* James's Epistle], howe wee are knowen to be justified. There, works are excluded as not the cause of our justification: here, they are approoved, as effects proceeding thereof. There, they [*i. e.* good works] are denied to go before them that shall be justified: and here they are sayd to follow them that are justified."

Ibid. verse 22. "The more his [*i. e.* Abraham's] faith was declared by his obedience and good works, the more was it knowen to men to be perfect; as the goodnesse of a tree is knowen by her good fruite: otherwise, no man can have perfection in this world; for every man must pray for remission of sinnes, and increase of faith."

2 Pet. i. 10. Give diligence to make your calling and election sure: "Albeit it be sure in itselfe, forasmuche as God cannot change; yet we must confirme it in ourselves, by the fruits of the Spirit: knowing, that the purpose of God electeth, calleth, sanctifyeth, and justifyeth us."

Jude 4. "He confirmeth their heart, against the contemners of religion, and apostates; shewing, that such men trouble not the church at all adventures, but are appointed thereunto by the determinate counsel of God."

Thus speak the excellent prelates, who were concerned in the editions of our Protestant Bibles, published *cum privilegio Regiæ majestatis.*

IV. The professed Calvinism of our church may be farther argued, from the learned and orthodox Francis Junius's Commentary on the Book of Revelation, bound up with the Bibles of those times. One citation from which commentary shall here suffice. Rev. xiii. 8. Whose names are not written in the book of life, &c. "That is," says Junius, "such as are not, from everlasting, elected in Christ Jesus." Let it be observed that this was the same Junius, who overthrew Arminius, in a debate concerning free-will; the particulars of which debate were transmitted, at large, to posterity (*f*).

V. The questions and answers concerning predestination, inserted into the authorized Bibles of that age, are another proof that the doctrines of Calvin were owned to be the doctrines of our establishment.

Mr. Strype was able to trace up the inser-

(*f*) Arminius's children, of whom nine survived him, were so unaccountably weak, as to insert this dispute into their father's works. Vide Arminii Opera, à p. 445. ad pa. 610. Edit. Lugd. 1629.

tion of these questions and answers into queen Elizabeth's Bibles, as far as the year 1582 (*g*) (and I myself have lately seen an edition of 1583, wherein those questions and answers stand); a period twenty years earlier than that, in which the edition, which I am now making use of, was printed. That historian, whose fidelity, in his relation of facts, is unimpeachable, is not always very happy in his conjectures. The questions and answers, says he, were "joined to the Bible without any public licence and authority, as it seems (*h*)." I am persuaded, that, had the vast multitude of materials, which this industrious compiler was digesting into an orderly series, allowed him leisure for due consideration, it would have "seemed" even to himself, utterly impossible for the said questions and answers to have crept into these editions of the Bible, "without public licence and authority," under the government of a queen so tenderly jealous of her ecclesiastical supremacy, and amidst that unrelaxing vigilance for which both her council and her bishops were so remarkable. Can any body coolly suppose that, at such a time, her majesty's own publisher would have ventured to fly in the face of church and state, by foisting in these questions, without proper authority? "Oh, but the authority is no where recorded." Nor was there any reason why it should, in a case so palpably plain. The simple circumstance of their being admitted there at all is proof enough that they were admitted by authority. But, supposing it even possible, that they might have stolen in at first: would not the instrusion have been presently detected? And would not the questions and answers, if real interlopers, have been displaced from the subsequent editions? Would they have been permitted to keep their station, all through the remainder of queen Elizabeth's reign (for more than twenty years elapsed, from their first insertion, to the death of that princess), if they had not been introduced by due license? And would they have been, moreover, continued in all the editions of the Bible, which were published, after her decease, during the first twelve years (at least) of her successor king James?

Come we now to the questions and answers themselves.

In the editions of 1583, 1602, and 1614, I find them prefixed to the New Testament. The title they bear, is,

"Certaine questions and answeres, touching the doctrine of predestination, the use of God's word, and sacraments."

They begin thus:

"*Question.* Why do men so much vary in matters of religion?

"*Answere.* Because all have not the like measure of knowledge, neither do all beleeve the gospel of Christ.

"*Quest.* What is the reason thereof?

"*Answ.* Because they only beleeve the gospel and doctrine of Christ, which are ordained unto eternall life.

"*Quest.* Are not all ordained unto eternal life?

"*Answ.* Some are vessels of wrath, ordained unto destruction; as others are vessels of mercie prepared to glory.

"*Quest.* How standeth it with God's justice, that some are appointed unto damnation?

"*Answ.* Very well: because all men have in themselves sinne, which deserveth no less. And therefore the mercy of God is wonderfull, in that he vouchsafeth to save some of that sinfull race, and to bring them to the knowledge of the trueth.

"*Quest.* If God's ordinance and determination must of necessitie take effect; then, what need any man to care? for hee that liveth well must needs be damned, if hee be thereunto ordained; and hee that liveth ill must needs be saved, if hee be thereunto appointed?

"*Answ.* Not so: For it is not possible, that either the elect should alwayes be without care to doe well; or that the reprobate should have any will thereunto. For, to have either good will, or good worke, is a testimonie of the Spirit of God, which is given to the elect onely; whereby faith is so wrought in them, that, being graft in Christ, they grow in holinesse to that glory whereunto they are appointed. Neither are they so vaine, as once to thinke that they may doe as they liste themselves, because they are predestinate unto salvation; but rather they endeavour to walke in such good workes as God in Christ Jesus had ordained them unto, and prepared for them to bee occupied in, to their owne comfort, stay and assurance, and to his glory.

"*Quest.* But how shall I know myself to be one of those whom God hath ordained to life eternal?

"*Answ.* By the motions of spirituall life, which belong onely to the children of God: by the which, that life is perceived, even as the life of this body is discerned by the sense and motions thereof.

"*Quest.* What meane you by the motions of spirituall life?

"*Answ.* I meane remorse of conscience, joined with the lothing of sinne, and love of righteousnesse; the hand of faith reaching unto life eternall in Christ; the conscience comforted in distresse, and raised up to confidence in God, by the worke of his Spirit; a thankfull remembrance of God's benefits received; and the using of all adversities as occasion of amentment sent from God.

"*Quest.* Cannot such perish, as at some time or other feele these motions within themselves?

"*Answ.* It is not posible that they should: for, as God's purpose is not changeable, so hee repenteth not of the gifts and graces of his

(*g*) Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 157.

(*h*) *Ibid.*

adoption; neither doth hee cast off those whom he hath once received.

"*Quest.* Why then should we pray, by the example of David, that he cast us not from his face, and that hee take not his Holy Spirit from us?

"*Answ.* In so praying, we make protestation of the weaknesse of [our] flesh, which mooveth us to doubt: yet should not wee have courage to aske, if wee were not assured, that God will give, according to his purpose and promise, that which we require.

"*Quest.* Doe the children of God feele the motions aforesaid alwayes alike?

"*Answ.* No, truly: for God, sometime, to prove his, seemeth to leave them in such sort, that the flesh overmatcheth the spirit; whereof ariseth trouble of conscience, for the time. Yet the spirit of adoption is never taken from them that have once received it: else might they perish. But as, in many diseases of the body, the powers of bodily life are letted; so, in some assaults, these motions of spirituall life are not perceived, because they lye hidden in our manifold infirmitys, as the fire covered with ashes. Yet as, after sicknesse, cometh health; and, after cloudes, the sunne shineth cleare; so the powers of spirituall life will, more or lesse, be felt and perceived, in the children of God.

"*Quest.* What if I never feele these motions in myself? Shall I despaire, and thinke myself a cast-away?

"*Answ.* God forbid. For God calleth his, at what time hee seeth good: and the instruments, whereby he usually calleth, have not the like effect at all times. Yet, it is not good to neglect the meanes, whereby God hath determined to work the salvation of his. For as waxe is not melted without heate; nor clay hardened but by meanes thereof; so God useth meanes, both to draw those unto himselfe, whom hee hath appoynted unto salvation, and also to bewray the wickednesse of them whom he justly condemneth." The remainder of these learned and masterly questions and answers well deserves to be transcribed: but what have been now alleged are sufficient to prove the purpose for which I bring them.

VI. A judicious little tractate (the work, originally, of pious bishop Cranmer), bound up likewise with the Bibles of this reign, still continued to demonstrate the Calvinism of the church. It is entitled, 'The Summe of the whole Scripture of the Bookes of the Old and New Testament.' Under the article God, this valuable compendium of scripture-doctrine expressly asserts, as usual, that he "worketh all in all, after his owne will; to whom it is not lawful to say, Wherefore doth hee thus or thus?" It affirms, that in consequence of Adam's original transgression, "We, which be sprong from him by the flesh, bee in nature the children of wrath, made subject to thrall and death, to damnation, to the yoke and tyranny of the devill." It maintains, that, by Christ's oblation of himself, "All sinne" is "blotted out, and quite put away:" and, that the Spirit of God, and the Scriptures of truth, are given, in order to lead us to Christ, "that wee, believing, mought have, in his name, life everlasting."

VII. Nor can I omit the mention of some excellent prayers, designed for private use, and then bound up at the end of the liturgy. Two of these shall here answer for the rest. The collect for Sunday was this: "O Almightie and mercifull Lord, which givest unto thy elect people the Holy Ghost, as a sure pledge of thy heavenly kingdome; grant unto us, O Lord, thy Holy Spirit, that he may beare witnesse with our spirit that we be thy children, and heires of thy kingdom: and that, by the operation of this Spirit, we may kill all carnal lustes, unlawfull pleasures, concupisences, evill affections, contrary unto thy will; by our Savior and Lord Jesu Christ. Amen."

The other, which I shall cite, is part of that most admirable supplication, entitled, 'A Prayer to be said at the Houre of Death.' And I beseech God, that Mr. Wesley, Mr. Sellon, and myself, may be enabled, at that important crisis, to expire under the full impression of the gracious sentiments with which it is fraught. "I, wretched sinner, give and submit myself wholly to thy most blessed will: and being sure that the thing cannot perish which is committed unto thy mercy, willingly now I leave this fraile and wicked flesh, in hope of the resurrection, which, in better wise, shall restore it to me againe. I see and knowledge that there is, in myselfe, no helpe of salvation: but all my confidence, hope, and trust, is in thy most merciful goodnesse. I have no merits, nor good workes, which I may alledge before thee. Of sinnes, and evill workes, alas! I see a great heape. But, through thy mercy, I trust to be in the number of them, to whom thou wilt not impute their sins; but take and accept me for righteous and just, and to be the inheritour of everlasting life. Thou, merciful Lord, wast born for my sake; thou diddest both hunger and thirst for my sake; thou diddest preach and teach, thou diddest pray and fast, for my sake; thou diddest all good workes and deedes for my sake: thou sufferedst most grieveous paines and torments for my sake; and, finally, thou gavest thy most precious body to die, and thy blood to be shed on the crosse, for my sake. Let thy blood cleanse and wash away the spots and foulness of my sinnes. Let thy righteousness hide and cover mine unrighteousnesse. Let the merites of thy passion and blood bee the satisfaction for my sinnes."

VIII. If ever there was a Calvinistic confession of faith since the world began, the two Helvetic, or Swiss confessions (the smaller, drawn up A. D. 1536, the larger, A. D. 1566.) have a right to be so termed. Even the vindicator of Mr. Wesley's minutes will hardly,

I should imagine, venture to contest the doctrinal Calvinism of those excellent Creeds, which do honour to the ancestors of his Protestant countrymen.

In that valuable collection, entitled, *Corpus et Syntagma Confessionum Fidei*, which comprizes the several confessions of faith avowed by all the Protestant churches (among which confessions, the 39 articles of our own church shine with a lustre as bright as any); the Helvetic system leads the van: in a short preface to which, the editor (p. 4.) affirms, that the last and larger of the two was "subscribed by the divines of Zurich, Bern, Shaffhausen, St. Gall, Grisonny, Basil, Bienne, and Geneva," and that "The Church of England, the Church of Scotland, the reformed churches in France, all the Dutch churches, together with many of the Protestant churches in Poland, Hungary, and Germany, testified their approbation of the said Helvetic confession (*i*)." What I quote this passage for is to prove that the Church of England, after its restoration by queen Elizabeth, acknowledged its approbation of the doctrines contained in that thoroughly Calvinistic declaration of faith: which approbation our church would by no means have testified, had not her own principles been as thoroughly and confessedly Calvinistic as were the principles of the said Swiss churches.

Object not, that the truth of this circumstance rests on the authority of the foreign compiler of the *Syntagma Confessionum*. For the very same circumstance is affirmed and in still stronger terms, by a most respectable English historian. His words are these, under the year 1566, "There was lately a confession of faith set forth by Bullinger and others, for the churches of Helvetia: which our church did then heartily consent to and own. This I take from the pen of one that well knew, *viz.* Grindal [at that time] bishop of London [and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury]: for there is a letter of his, to the said Bullinger, wherein, among other things, speaking of our church [*i. e.* the Church of England's] affairs, he [the bishop] shewed, how that many did endeavour to bring into the [English] church a doctrine different from that pure and sincere profession which was embraced by the churches of Helvetia: But [added the good prelate], *ad hunc usque diem, cum vestris ecclesiis, vestraque confessione super edita plenissimi consentimus (k)*:" *i. e.* 'down to this very day, we [*viz.* we bishops and clergy of the Church of England] do perfectly agree with your [*i. e.* with the Switz] churches, and with your confession of faith lately set forth.'

Is the reader desirous to see a specimen of the Helvetic confession? He shall have it. The whole is very long: consisting of no fewer than thirty Sections, or chapters. It is drawn up with wonderful candour, piety, and judgment. The sixth chapter treats of Divine Providence: concerning which it thus speaks: "Every thing whatever is destined of God to some certain end, or purpose. He it is, who hath ordained both its commencement, and the means by which the end shall be attained. The heathens, indeed, attributed things to blind fortune, and to precarious chance: but St. James directs us to say, If the Lord will, we'll do this or that. So speaks St. Austin: all things whatever, even those things not excepted, which, to us vain mortals, seem to come to pass rashly and without design; do in reality, accomplish nothing but the command of God: for at his command it is, that they come to pass at all (*l*)."

The eighth chapter treats of original sin: and justly observes, that, "When God is, in Scripture, said to blind, to harden, and deliver men over to a reprobate mind; the meaning is, that God doth so, in a way of just judgment, as a righteous judge and avenger. Moreover, as often as Scripture affirms God to be the worker of any evil, it does not mean that evil is not of man's own committing; but that God, by his just judgment, permits evil to be wrought, and doth not hinder it, though it be in his power to hinder it if he so pleased. Or, it may be understood thus; that God makes a good use of men's evil actions; as he did of the sins committed by Joseph's brethren (*m*)."

The ninth chapter treats of free-will. Part of it runs thus: "The regenerate are active, as well as passive, in their choice and performance of what is good. For they are acted upon by God, in order to their doing what they do (*n*)." Again: "The will itself is not only changed by God's Holy Spirit; but is

(*i*) "Sed quum illa [scil. prima confess. Helvet.] brevior esset gravissimis de causis accuratiùs scripta fuit. A.D. 1566. Cui Tigurini. Bernenses, Shaffusiani, Sangallenses, Rhætii, Mylhusiani, Biellenses, item Genevenses, subscripserunt. Eandem et comprobarunt ecclesiæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, Galliæ, Belgii omnes; Polonicæ, quoque, Hungaricæ, atque Germanicæ ecclesiæ multæ." Chartula, confess. Helv. præfix. Apud Syntagm. Confess. Edit. Gen. 1612.

(*k*) Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 254. chap. 48.

(*l*) "Deus enim, qui cuibet rei suum destinavit finem, is et principium, et media, per quæ ad finem usque perveniur, ordinavit. Ethnici fortunæ res attribuuut cæcæ, et incerto casui. S. Jacobus, 4, non vult ut dicamus, hodiè et cras in illam urbem proficiscemur et negociabimur: sed addit, pro eo quod dicere debueritis Si Dominus voluerit, &c. Et Augustinus: omnia quæ vanis videntur in rerum naturâ temerè fieri, non faciunt nisi verbum ejus: quia non fiunt, nisi jussu ejus."——Confess Helvet. Apud Syntagm. p. 24.

(*m*) "Proinde, quando dicitur in Scripturis Deus indurare, ex cæcare, et tradere in reprobum sensum; intelligendum id est, quòd justo judico Deus id faciat, tanquam judex et ultor justus. Denique, quotiescunque Deus aliquid mali in Scriptura facere dicitur atque videtur, non ideò dicitur, quòd homo malum non faciat; sed quòd Deus fieri sinat, et non prohibeat, justo suo judicio, qui prohibere potuisset, si voluisset. Vel, quòd malo hominum benè utatur; ut peccatis fratrum Josephi." *Ibid.* p. 27.

(*n*) "Duo observanda esse docemus primum, regeneratos, in boni electione et operatione, non tantùm agere passive, sed active. Agunter cum a Deo, ut agant ipsi quod agunt." *Ibid.* p. 29.

also furnished with ability, freely to will and do that which is good (*o*)."

I shall only add another paragraph, from the tenth chapter, which treats of God's predestination. "God hath, from eternity, predestinated, or elected, freely, and of his own absolute grace, without any respect of man [*i. e.* without any respect of man's goodness], the saints whom it is his will to save in Christ: according to that of the Apostle [Eph. i.], God hath chosen us in him, before the foundations of the world. And, again: Who hath saved us, and called us with an holy calling, not according to our works, but according to his own purpose, and grace, which was given us in Christ, before the eternal ages, but is now made manifest by the appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ [2 Tim. i. 9, 10] (*p*)." So speaks the Helvetic confession: with which, the Church of England doth so "perfectly agree."

IX. Something has already been said, concerning what is commonly called bishop Ponet's catechism, drawn up in the reign of king Edward VI. The same famous catechism will supply us with an additional proof of the continued Calvinism of our church, under the reign of queen Elizabeth. For, that catechism was not only revived, but enlarged, in the year 1562; and allowed by the same identical convocation which resettled our 39 articles upon their present footing. That I may not seem to advance any thing rashly, I shall, as usual, produce the authorities on which I go.

"One considerable thing more passed the hands of this convocation: *viz.* The catechism in Latin, for the use of schools, and also for a brief summary of religion, to be owned and professed in this reformed church. And this is the same with that which is commonly known, to this day, by the name of Nowell's Catechism. The occasion was this. Upon secretary Cecil's advice, Nowell, dean of St. Paul's, drew up a catechism in elegant Latin: yet making much use of the catechism set forth towards the latter end of king Edward's reign. This, when the dean had finished, he dedicated to the same secretary who set him on work. And the clergy of the convocation thought fit to peruse it: and, having well considered it, and making some corrections, gave it a more public character, as proceeding from them, and so allowing and approving the use of it.

"This catechism lay in Cecil's hand for above a year: and then was returned to Nowell again, with some learned man's notes: remaining with him, 'till 1570. And then it was called for again, by both archbishops, in order to the publishing of it: and, by Cecil's consent (to whom it was dedicated before) being dedicated now by the author to the two archbishops and the bishop of London, by name, and to all the rest of the bishops, it was printed. And printed again, 1572. And again, 1578. Bearing this title, *Christianæ Pietatis prima Institutio, ad Usum Scholarum Latine scripta.* This catechism was translated also, by the same dean's procurement, into English and Greek, for the use also of young learners.

"This catechism seems to be the same with that set forth a month or two before king Edward's death, and licensed and recommended by the said king's letter set before it. For the two persons that hold the dialogue, in both catechisms, are *magister* and *auditor*. In that letter, it is said to have been written by a certain pious and learned man; and to have been, moreover, diligently perused by certain bishops, and other persons of learning, to whom the king had committed it. And (it was) likewise the same (catechism) which, in queen Mary's first convocation was much quarrelled with" (and no wonder; for Popery and Calvinism are but wet friends); "and, lastly, which the Popish bishops brought with them, when they came to Mr. Philpot's examination: which Philpot (the arch-deacon and martyr, of whom before), very probably, was one of those learned men in convocation, that king Edward had committed this catechism to their perusal of." Poor Mr. Wesley thought, I suppose, that he had long ago taken leave of bishop Ponet's ghost; but we see, the ghost is so unceremonious us to appear again: nay, enhances the terrors of its appearance, by stalking hand-in-hand with additional ghosts; even the ghosts of Philpot, Cranmer, Ridley, and other "certain bishops and learned men" of king Edward's convocation. But I return to the historian.

"It was thought fit (namely, in the reign of Elizabeth) that ministers should converse in this catechism, and learn true divinity from it. But this some [*viz.* some of the rigid Puritans], conceited of their own learning, afterwards thought much of. Thus Thomas Cartwright, in his Admonition, complained, that now, ministers, like young children, must be instructed, and learn catechisms: where, in the margin, he placed these words, Ministers of London enjoyned to learn Mr. Nowell's catechism. To which, thus arch-bishop Whitgift made answer: "That catechism, which you, in derision, quote in the margin, is a book fit for you to learn also. And I know no man so well learned, but it may become him to read and learn that learned and necessary book." Such was the esteem of this catechism, upon its coming abroad, that, at some visitation, as it seems, in London, the reading of it was recommended to the ministers: and

(*o*) "Voluntas ipsa non tantùm mutatur per spiritum; sed etiam instruitur facultatibus, ut sponte velit et possit bonum." Confess Helvet. Apud Syntagm. p. 24.

(*p*) "Deus, ab æterno, prædestinavit, vel elegit, liberè, et merâ suâ gratiâ, nullo hominum respectu, sanctos, quos vult salvos facere in Christo: juxta illud Apostoli, Deus elegit nos, &c. Et iterum, qui salvos fecit nos, &c." *Ibid.* p. 20, 31.

that with good reason; having passed the synod.

"Let me add, that, many years after, concerning this catechism, thus it was writ by a great bishop (Cowper, bishop of Winchester), in answer to (a pamphlet entitled) Martin Mar Prelate. For a catechism (said the bishop), I refer them to that which was made by the learned and godly man, Mr. Nowell, dean of St. Paul's; received and allowed by the Church of England, and very fully grounded and established upon the word of God. There may you see all the parts of true religion received; the difficulties expounded; the truth declared; the corruptions of the Church of Rome rejected (*q*)."

Thus do not only the ghosts of king Edward's bishops, and of queen Mary's martyrs; but the ghosts also of queen Elizabeth's prelates, and of the whole convocation which passed the book of articles, unite with the ghost of John Calvin, to frighten the vaunting Mr. Wesley and the quaking Mr. Sellon. Both the knight and the squire are haunted by the merciless train, who are perpetually holding up Ponet's catechism to view.

But that catechism, though materially, was not exactly, the same with Nowell's. So, at least, I learn from the annalist; for I have never been able to procure a sight of dean Nowell's edition. But, that the Calvinistic doctrines suffered no injury, nor amputation, by passing through the hands of that learned editor, and of the convocation of 1562, I am fully satisfied. Should it be asked, on what grounds I am convinced that those doctrines continued with full force to predominate in Nowell's improved edition? My answer would be, Let us attend to what Heylyn himself observes, concerning Nowell's catechism. Whence an additional advantage will also arise: for the quotations from it, which the Arminian brings, will remedy, in some measure, the inability I am under of quoting it myself.

"It is objected," says Heylin, "that Mr. Alexander Nowell, dean of St. Paul's, who was prolocutor in this convocation, maintaineth in his catechism a doctrine contrary to that which the Arminians, as some call them, do now contend for; and that it is not to be thought, that he and others, engaged with them in the same convocation, were either so ignorant, as not to know what they put into the [39] articles; or so infatuated by God, [as] to put in things quite contrary to their own judgments: which being supposed, or took for granted, we are directed to his catechism, written in the English tongue, and dedicated to the two archbishops." The sum of the argument is this. The self-same bishops and clergymen in convocation, who revised and allowed the XXXIX articles, as we have them at this very day, did also revise and allow Nowell's improved edition of Ponet's catechism: and the said houses of convocation cannot, with any shew of reason and justice, be supposed to have been either so ignorant, or so infatuated, as to approve two contrary systems of religion, at one and the same time. Consequently, the Calvinism of the catechism is an additional argument that the articles are Calvinistic; and the Calvinism of the articles is an additional argument to prove the Calvinism of the catechism. Say not, that this kind of reasoning is circular, and therefore inconclusive. For, as contraries are often admitted to illustrate each other; so may correlatives.

Heylyn found himself extremely hampered by the above argument: which indeed proved a circle, that hemmed him tightly round. His subsequent concessions, and subsequent twistings, demonstrate, that this was a circle which, on his own Arminian principles, he knew not how to square. For his twistings, I refer my readers to his book itself. But his concessions merit a place here.

He confesses, that the two following passages are a part of Nowell's catechism. "To the Church do all they properly belong, as many as do truly fear, honour, and call upon God, altogether applying their minds to live holily and godly, and with putting all their trust in God, do most assuredly look for the blessedness of eternal life. They that be stedfast, stable, and constant in this faith, were chosen and appointed, and (as we term it) predestinate, to this so great felicity." The other passage which Heylyn cites is: "The Church is the body of the Christian commonwealth: that is, the universal number and fellowship of the faithful, whom God, through Christ, hath, before all beginning of time, appointed to everlasting life."

Heylin observes, that those passages have been alledged, from Nowell's catechism, "to prove that Mr. Nowell had no communion with Arminians." And what says Heylin, in answer to this? He was forced to acknowledge the justness of the inference: which he does, in the following remarkable words: "To say truth, he [*i. e.* Nowell] could have no communion with the Arminians, as some please to call them, though he had desired it: Arminius being not born, or but newly born, when Mr. Nowell wrote that catechism. And Mr. Nowell had been dead some years before the name of an Arminian had been heard in England (*r*)."

So much having been said, concerning this good man's catechism, it may not prove disagreeable to the reader, to be informed of some particulars relative to the good man himself: which I have therefore subjoined, in the note (*s*) below.

(*q*) Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 352—354.

(*r*) This, and the preceding quotations from Heylyn, occur in his Miscel. Tracts, p. 599.

(*s*) "Dr. Alexander Nowell was born, A.D. 1510, of a knightly family, at Read, in Lancashire. At thirteen, he was admitted of Brazen-Nose, Oxford:

X. The great, the general, the just alarm, occasioned by the surreptitious publication of such books (which now and then made shift to steal from the press) as tended to countenance the doctrines of man's free-will, and the possibility of sinless perfection in this life; is another glaring proof, how totally those corrupt tenets were then supposed to deviate from the pure system of the Church of England. Let one example stand for several.

"The free-will men," says Mr. Strype, under the year 1581, "at this time, gave some disturbance by their doctrine. And now they had procured Castalio's books to be printed here, or brought over hither (*t*)." This Castalio was, by birth, a Frenchman: extremely poor, but very learned and ingenious. Though he always continued a layman, he was yet a perpetual dabbler in divinity: his peculiar notions in which, he sought to obtrude upon other people, with much bigotry, and sometimes with little decency. While he kept within any tolerable bounds of moderation, he experienced a generous and affectionate patron in Calvin: but, by degrees, his impatient, dogmatizing zeal put him upon running to such blasphemous lengths against predestination, as obliged Calvin to turn him adrift. Such, however, were Calvin's benevolence and candour, that, if Castalio's own account is to be relied on, he was dismissed from Geneva with a very favourable attestation to his character. Retiring to Basil, he obtained a Greek professorship: and died there, in 1563. His professorship was far from yielding him a maintenance. It is even said, that he was forced to divide his time between study and manual labour. His mornings were appropriated to literature: his afternoons to digging, like a common workman. But all would not afford him and his numerous family a competent support. He wanted necessaries to the very last. Hence his melting complaint, to an opulent friend: You distill your oyl but by drops, into my lamp. How discommendable soever his heterodoxies might be deemed, the reflections of candid posterity must for ever bear hard on the learned men of that age, for suffering a person of Castalio's fine acquirements to languish under the pressure of such complicated difficulties.

When the writings of this classical free-willer began to appear publicly in England, the friends of our established Church took immediate alarm. Among these, was Sir. Francis Knollis, treasurer of the queen's household: "who," says Strype, "thought it highly convenient to have the book searched for, and the reading of it hindered (*u*)." With this view, he wrote a letter to the lord treasurer, and to the earl of Leicester. His letter seems to have had the intended effect. It ran thus:

"My very good lords,

"Your hableness and readiness to do good, in these perilous days of traiterous practices both against God and against her majesty, doth embolden me to presume to remember your good lordships, that, by your good means, order may be taken, that the true authors and favourers of the setting forth of Castalio's book, with the (*x*) abuses of the bishop of London in that behalf, may be diligently examined and bolted out: that, the hypocrisy therein used, being known, the pestilent doctrine thereof may be the more soundly suppressed. For it seemeth to me, that these free-will men, or Anabaptistical sectaries, do follow the same scopes that the deified men of the Family of Love (afterwards known by the name of Ranters) do follow: saving that the same perfection which the Family of Love do pretend to obtain by virtue of love, the same perfection do Castalio's sectaries pretend to obtain by the virtue of faith (*y*). But it is not by faith, in believing to be saved

where he took his bachelor's, master's, and doctor's degrees, and obtained a fellowship. He was, successively, school-master of Westminster, canon of Westminster Abbey, canon of Windsor, and dean of St. Paul's.

"He was so fond of fishing, that his picture, kept in Brazen-Nose College, represents him surrounded with his hooks, lines, and other apparatus of the same sort. During the reign of Edward VI. he distinguished himself much, as a promoter of the Protestant religion. But after the accession of Mary, while Nowell indulged himself in his favourite amusement of catching fishes, Bonner was catching of Nowell, and designed him for the shambles: whither he had certainly been sent, had not a friend of Nowell's safely conveyed him beyond the seas. Without offence (says Fuller), it may be remembered, that Nowell, after one of his fishing expeditions, happening to leave a bottle of ale in the grass, he found it some days after, no bottle, but a gun, so loud was the sound at opening thereof: and this is believed to have been the original of bottled ale in this kingdom.

"Queen Mary being dead, and Elizabeth having ascended the throne, Nowell returned from Germany to England, and was the first of the exiled Protestants, who, on that happy change, revisited their native country. Soon after his arrival, he was chose member of Parliament for a borough in Cornwall; but his election was declared void, on account of his being in deacon's orders.

"Elizabeth quickly raised him to the deanry of London; and (adds Dr. Fuller) for his meek spirit, deep learning, prudence, and piety, the then parliament, and convocation both, chose, enjoined, and trusted him to be the man to make a catechism for public use; such a one, as should stand a rule, for faith and manners, to their posterity. For thirty years together, he preached the first and last sermons in Lent, before the queen; wherein he dealt plainly and faithfully with her, and yet never incurred her displeasure. He was a learned man; charitable to the poor, especially if they had any thing of the scholar in them; and a great comforter of afflicted consciences. He died in 1602, aged more than ninety years. But, like another Moses, his eyes were not dim, nor did he ever make use of spectacles to read the smallest print. A man of most angelical life; a great defender of justification by faith alone, and yet a great practiser of good works." Wood's Athenæ, i. 271. Fuller's Worthies, p 115, *et ejusd.* Church Hist. book x. p. 4.

(*t*) Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 60

(*u*) Strype. *ubi supra*

(*x*) As is very observable, that, in those days, all the free-willers were, to a man (so far as appears), open revilers of the Church of England, and virulent defamers of the bishops.

(*y*) Mr. Wesley has improvad upon the plan both of the Ranters and of Castalio, by associating the principle of each. The Methodistical perfection pretends to be composed of faith and love together.

in the merits of Christ; but by a faith in believing that every man is able to fulfil the law of God; and that the cause why men do not fulfil the law, is the want of this Castalio's belief. Now both these sects [*i. e.* both the Familists, or Ranters; and the followers of Castalio] do serve the turns of the Papists: as all free-will men, and justiciaries, or justifiers of themselves, do. Yet, this difference is betwixt the Papists and these sectaries (I do mean touching their practices here in England): for these sectaries [*i. e.* the free-will men and perfectionists] are more hypocritical, and will sooner deny their doctrines and assertions, to avoid punishment, than the Papists will.

"London, September 29, 1581 (*z*)."

Such were the sentiments, then entertained, concerning the poisonous nature and dangerous tendency of the principles advanced by the free-will men!

XI. Mr. Sellon's impertinence obliges me to repeat a very remarkable incident in the Religious History of queen Elizabeth's reign, which I have had occasion to mention in a former (*a*) publication: namely, the case of Thomas Talbot, parson of St. Mary Magdalene's, in Milk-street, London. This Talbot presented a petition to the bishops and clergy assembled in convocation; which petition set forth, that the said parson Talbot, and some private persons who concurred with him in opinion, were "mightily cried out against" by the members of the Church of England, because the said Talbot and his associates believed that God doth only foreknow, but not predestinate, any "evil, wickedness, or sin." For thus believing, the petitioners complained, that they were "esteemed and taken, of their brethren the Protestants, for fautors of false religion; and are constrained, hitherto, to sustain at their hands, daily, the shameful reproach and infamy of free-will men, Pelagians, Papists, Epicures, Anabaptists, and enemies to God's holy predestination and providence; with other such like opprobrious words; and threatnings of such like, or as great punishments and corrections, as, upon any of the aforesaid errors and sects, is meet and due to be executed." The petitioners next entreat, that they may enjoy their opinion of 'God's not being the author and predestinator of man's sin and damnation,' "Without any prejudice or suspicion, to be had towards them, of the opprobrious infamy of such heretical names above named: and, that none of those corrections, punishments and executions, which the clergy hath in their authority, already, and hereafter, by the authority of this present parliament, from henceforth shall have in their authority, to exercise upon any of the aforesaid errors and sects, or any other, shall in no wise, extend to be executed upon any manner of person or persons, as do hold of predestination as is above declared: except it be duly proved, that the same person or persons do, by their express words or writings, affirm, or maintain, that man, of his own natural power, is able to think, will, or work, of himself, any thing that should, in any case, help or serve towards his own salvation, or any part thereof (*b*)." Hence, among several other conclusions, I inferred, and still infer, that our Protestant bishops and clergy were, in Elizabeth's reign, more highly Calvinistical, than perhaps, the Scripture itself will warrant: for they roundly affirmed God to be the author both "of man's sin and damnation:" That such persons, as did not hold this, were looked upon as "differing from the rest" of our Protestant Churchmen: That those few people, who supposed God "not to be any cause of man's sin and damnation," were "mightily cried out against," by the main body of our reformed Church, as "fautors" or "favourers of false religion:" that "free-will men" were ranked among "Pelagians, Papists, Epicures, Anabaptists, and enemies to God's holy predestination and providence: that, to be called "a free-will man," was looked upon as a "shameful reproach" and "opprobrious infamy:" yea, that a free-willer was deemed "heretical;" and not only so, but exposed to the "corrections, punishments, and executions" of the civil magistrate: that the few opposers of predestination were then both more modest, and more orthodox (or, rather, less heterodox), than the generality of our modern Arminians. More modest: in that the Milk-street parson only requested a bare toleration for himself and his Semipelagian brethren; which request argued both a consciousness, and an acknowledgement, that he and they dissented from our established Church. More orthodox: in that, as we have seen from the very phraseology of their own petition, they were ready to consent, that any ecclesiastical censure or civil penalty should be inflicted on such of their number, as should "affirm and maintain, that man, of his own natural power, is able to think, will, or work, of himself, any thing that should in any case help or serve towards his own salvation, or any part thereof." I, therefore, ask, again; where is now the Arminian, who would make such a concession as this? Nay, where is now the Arminian, who does not stoutly maintain the very reverse? Whence I infer, that our new Anti-calvinists are as much degenerated from the decency even of their Pelagian fore-fathers, as those Pelagian fore-fathers were degenerated from the purity of the Protestant faith in general, and from that of our own national Church in particular.

And now, what say Mess. Wesley and Sellon, by way of answer to my argument for the Calvinism of the Church of England, drawn

(*z*) Strype, *u. s.* p. 70.

(*a*) See my Church Vindicated from Arminianism.

(*b*) See the whole of this memorable petition, in Strype's Annals, sub An. 1562, vol. i. chap. 28. p. 331—333.

from the tenor of the above-cited petition? Instead of answering, the astonished Arminians descant as follows: "Good God! To what a pitch of tyranny and wickedness was the Calvinistic faction gotten, in Elizabeth's days! It is plain that Dr. Heylyn says true, when he tells us, It was safer for any man, in those times, to have been looked upon as an heathen or publican, than an Anti-calvinist. This shews, what a deplorable state the Church was at that time in: reformed from bad to worse; from Popish superstition to Calvinistic blasphemy. These bishops and clergy" [*viz.* the bishops and clergy in the convocation of 1562, to whom Talbot's petition was presented; who were also the very identical bishops and clergy that then settled the present liturgy, and framed the present XXXIX Articles of the Church of England], "These bishops and clergy were a company of silly men, to say no worse (*e*)." The Church is much obliged to Mr. John and his man Wat, for their complaisance to her. Unhappily, however, for themselves and their cause, they have, in the ferment of their scurrilous heat, unwarily set their seal to the whole of the argument I plead for. They acknowledge (who could ever have thought it?) even John Wesley and Walter Sellon do, themselves, acknowledge, that the Church of England was "reformed from Popish superstition to Calvinistic" principles; and that, in good queen Bess's golden days, when Calvinism had no harm in it, "it was safer for any man to have been looked upon as an heathen or publican, than an Anti-calvinist." Granted. And what is this, but the very point for which I contend (*d*)?

XII. I must repeat another instance, than which it is hardly possible, perhaps, to allege an incident more strong, striking, and conclusive, in favour of the absolute Calvinism of the Church of England: I mean, the advice, offered and recommended by queen Elizabeth's bishops themselves, that "Incorrigible Arians, Pelagians or free-will men, be sent into some one castle, in North Wales, or Wallingford; and there to live of their own labour and exercise; and none other be suffered to resort unto them, but their keepers: until they be found to repent their errors (*e*)."

This most remarkable paper of advice is thus introduced by Mr. Strype: "Another thing also was now drawn up in writing, by the archbishop [Parker], and bishops, for the further regulation of the inferior clergy. This paper consisted of interpretations and further considerations of certain of the queen's injunctions, for the better direction of the clergy, and for keeping good order in the church. It was framed, as it seems to me, by the pen of Cox, bishop of Ely; and revised by the archbishop (*f*)." Let it be noticed, that dean Nowell's catechism, together with the "second book of homilies, as we have them at this day in our homily book (*g*)," was compiled and published; as also the "articles of faith to be subscribed to by ministers, and the form of declaration" [*i. e.* the declaration of conformity to the liturgy and rites] "to be by them openly spoken and professed were likewise framed," about (*h*) the same time, and by the self-same bishops who advised the queen to shut up all incorrigible free-will "men in some one castle in North Wales, or Wallingford."

From my former Vindication of the Church of England, permit me to transcribe a brief remark or two, which I then made, on this extraordinary advice offered by queen Elizabeth's bishops and clergy in convocation assembled. I observed, I do not quote this mortifying paragraph [mortifying indeed, to Arminians and Arminianizers], from any approbation I entertain of the expedient recommended; for I abhor every thing that even looks like persecution, for principles merely religious. But I cannot help deducing two conclusions from this curious portion of our ecclesiastical history. 1st, That free-will men were considered, by the Church of England, when in her purity, as some of the most dangerous recusants she had to grapple with: else, she would never have advised the confining of them in a remote prison, where none should be permitted to have access to them, their keepers only excepted. 2ndly, That free-will men were, at that time, very few in number: otherwise, "One castle," however spacious, would not have been thought large enough to contain them. I heartily congratulate our present free-willers, on their living in an age of liberty.

And I still congratulate them, with the utmost sincerity. Among which congratulated number, I include even Mr. Wesley and Mr. Sellon. Had the advice of the episcopal bench been followed, and had it continued in force to this day, Mr. Wesley, instead of ranging the three kingdoms, like a bird of passage; would have been caged on the dreary summit

(*e*) Sellon, p. 55—57.
(*d*) The compliment, which this brace of Methodists pass on the bishops, &c. who threw our 39 articles into their present form: *viz.* that "they were a company of silly men, to say no worse" of them, yea (p. 56) that the said bishops and clergy were "an herd of persecutors;" reminds me of another very elegant compliment offered, by the said brace, to the memories of those great and good men who translated the Holy Scripture into English version now used: *viz.* that they were "blunderers and blaspheмers," (p. 110). And yet, one of these railers, *viz.* Mr. Wesley himself, tells us, in the preface to his wretched bundle of plagiarisms on the New Testament, that there is something in the very diction of our English translation which is, in his estimation, peculiarly venerable. That is, blunders and blasphemies are, in Mr. W.'s judgment, peculiarly venerable! I should have imagined as much, without his information: they being, literally, two species of commodities, in which he drives a larger traffic than any other blunder-merchant this island has produced.
(*e*) See Strype's Annals, vol. i. chap. xvii. p. 314.
(*f*) Strype, *u. s.* p. 213,
(*g*) Strype, *u. s.* p. 216.
(*h*) Strype, *Ibid.*

of a Welsh mountain: or, compelled to fix his nest in some hole of Wallingford Castle, must have beat time to the music of the winds. The melodious Mr. Sellon, likewise, instead of improving and ravishing the public with his mellifluous notes, must have followed his master to the coop: and warbled his harmonious woes to the dull, dark, damp, solitary walls; or whistled his pensive strains to the owls and to the bats. I mean if these two Arminians had stood to their principles: of which I stand in much doubt.

I am glad the sweet singers are at full liberty to hop from spray to spray in pursuit of flies, though I cannot wish them a large capture. And whereas I had reasonably and naturally inferred, that free-willers were once very few in number, from the circumstance of a single castle's being deemed sufficient to hold them all; I am well pleased that the said nightingales should have it in their power to counter-act my inference with this sage objection (p. 39.): to wit that "One castle would have held all the avowed Protestants in England, in queen Mary's days." But this happens to be a mistake. For, though many Protestants fled, as opportunity offered, into other countries; yet the multitude of those that remained was so great, that Mary's Popish bishops were tired, and her Popish adminstration were ashamed, of the imprisonments, the sufferings, and the slaughters, by which her detestable reign was distinguished. Let Strype testify, whether "One castle would have held all the avowed Protestants in England." That authentic historian affirms, that, in London only, "The Tower, the Fleet, the Marshalsea, the King's-bench, Newgate, and the two Counters were full of them (*i*)." It was even computed, that no fewer than twenty thousand persons, who had been, from the very first, bigotted Papists, were, during the persecution, converted to Protestantism, in the course of one twelve-month only (*k*). A very elegant and masterly historian, now living, confirms the falsehood of Mr. Sellon's conjecture. "The patience and fortitude with which the martyrs for the reformation submitted to their sufferings; the heroic contempt of death, expressed by persons of every rank, and age, and sex confirmed many more in the Protestant faith than the threats of their enraged persecutors could frighten into apostacy. The business of such as were entrusted with the trying of heretics grew upon them, and appeared as endless as it was odious. The queen's ablest ministers became sensible, how impolitic, as well as dangerous, it was, to irritate the people by the frequent spectacle of public executions, which they detested, as no less unjust than cruel. Even Philip was so thoroughly convinced of her having run to an excess of rigour, that he assumed a part, to which he was little accustomed; becoming an advocate for moderation and lenity (*l*)." In supposing therefore, that "all the avowed Protestants in England, might in the days of Mary," have been comprehended in "one castle;" Mr. Sellon rashly estimates the integrity of the martyrs, by his own: but he should remember, that they were conscientious Calvinists, and himself is a prevaricating Arminian.

On the whole, it follows, that one castle would not have held all the professed Protestants in queen Mary's reign: But that one castle would have held all the Protestant free-willers in the reign of queen Elizabeth.

XIII. The avowed and undeniable Calvinism of those prelates, with whom that discerning princess took care to fill the metropolitical see of Canterbury, during the whole of her reign, supplies another argument, for the palpable Calvinism of the church. Indeed, the same care was taken of the inferior sees: witness the venerable Calvinistic names of Sandys, Hutton, and Matthew, archbishops of York; Aylmer, and Bancroft, bishops of London; Horne, Watson, and Cowper, bishops of Winchester; Cox, Barlow, Jewell, Gheast, Babington, Parkhurst, Young, Scambler, Pilkington, and many others, who were rather ornaments to the mitre, than the mitre to them.

I should expatiate on too large a field, were I (as I once designed) to enter on the proof, which history affords, of the orthodox principles of those and the other leading (*m*)

(*i*) Eccles. Mem. vol. iii. p. 140. (*k*) *Ibid.* p. 285.
(*l*) Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. Book xi. vol. iv. p. 102. Octavo.
(*m*) Let the accomplished Dr. Jewell, bishop of Salisbury, whose able defences of the Church of England have stamped immortality on his name, stand as one proof for all, of that thorough-paced Calvinism which was universally adopted by the valuable fathers who graced the right reverend bench, in those times of doctrinal purity. "God" says bishop Jewell, "hath chosen you from the beginning. His election is sure for ever. The Lord knoweth who are his. You shall not be deceived with the power and subtlety of antichrist. You shall not fall from grace. You shall not perish. This is the comfort which abideth with the thful, when they behold the fall of the wicked; when they see them forsake the truth and delight in fables; when they see them return to their vomit, and wallow again in the mire. When we see these things in others, we must say, Alas they are examples for me, and lamentable examples. Let him that standeth take heed that he fall not. But God hath loved me, and hath chosen me to salvation. His mercy shall go before me, and his mercy shall follow in me. His mercy shall guide my feet, and stay me from falling. If I stay by myself, I stay by nothing; I must needs come to ground. He hath loved me; he hath chosen me; he will keep me. Neither the example nor the company of others, nor the enticing of the devil, nor my own sensual imaginations, nor sword, nor fire, is able to seperate me from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. This is the comfort of the faithful. Whatsoever falleth upon others, though others fall and perish, although they forsake Christ and follow after antichrist, yet God hath loved you and given his Son for you. He hath chosen you, and prepared you unto salvation, and hath written your names in the book of life. But how

bishops in that reign. I must therefore, confine myself to the prelates of Canterbury: who were Parker, Grindal, and Whitgift.

(1.) Dr. Matthew Parker was consecrated archbishop, Dec. 17, 1559, in Lambeth chapel. Almost immediately afterwards, his grace received a letter from Calvin: which letter he communicated to the queen's privy council, who, when they had seriously considered its contents, ordered the archbishop to transmit their thanks to Calvin for his pains and kindness. I shall recite this matter more at large, in the historian's own words.

A letter was sent, this year (1560), to archbishop Parker, "From the hands of a great divine, John Calvin: importing, how he [*viz.* Calvin] rejoiced in the happiness of England, and that God had raised up so gracious a queen to be instrumental in propagating the true faith of Jesus Christ, by restoring the gospel, and expelling idolatry, together with the bishop of Rome's usurped power. Calvin then made a serious motion of uniting Protestants together, as he had done before (*n*) in king Edward's reign. He [now] intreated the archbishop to prevail with her majesty to summon a general assembly of all the Protestant clergy, wheresoever dispersed; and that a set form and method [*i. e.* of public service, and government of the church] might be established, not only in her dominions, but also among all the reformed and evangelical churches abroad.

This was a noble offer: and the archbishop soon acquainted the queen's council with it. They took it into consideration, and desired his grace to thank Calvin, and to let him know, they liked his proposals, which were fair and desirable: yet, as to the government of the church, to signify to him, that the Church of England would still retain her episcopacy (*o*)." And it was Calvin's desire that she might. Nay, that great reformer (as hath been already observed) wished for the introduction of Protestant episcopacy into the reformed churches abroad. Witness, farther, what Mr. Strype immediately subjoins:

"This was a great work, and created serious thoughts in the archbishop's mind, for the framing a proper method to set it on foot: but he had considered but a little while of these matters, when news arrived at court that Calvin was dead. How Calvin stood affected in the said point of episcopacy, and how readily and gladly he and other heads of the reformed churches would have received it, is evident enough from his writings and epistles. In his book of the necessity of reforming the Church, he hath these words: *Talem nobis Hierarchiam exhibeant, &c.* Let them give us such an hierarchy, in which bishops may be so above the rest, as they refuse not to be under Christ, and depend upon him as their only head; that they maintain a brotherly society, &c. if there be any that do not behave themselves with all reverence and obedience toward them, there is no Anathema, but I confess them worthy of it (*p*)." Calvin's opinion being

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may we know that God hath chosen us? how may we see this election? or how may we feel it? the Apostle saith, Through sanctification, and the faith of truth. These are tokens of God's election. This [*viz.* the Holy Spirit] comforteth us in all temptations; and beareth witness with our spirit that we be the children of God; that God hath chosen us: and doth love us, and hath prepared us to salvation; that we are the heirs of his glory; that God will keep us as the apple of his eye; that he will defend us; and we shall not perish." Bishop Jewell's Exposit. of the Epistles to the Thessalonians, p. 143, 144. Lond. 1611.

(*n*) "The sentiments of the foreign Protestants concerning the present English state" [*viz.* concerning the church and condition of England under the government of king Edward VI.] "deserves a particular remark. They took such great joy and satisfaction in this good king, and his establishment of religion, that Bullinger, Calvin, and others, in a letter to him, offered to make him their defender, and to have bishops in their churches, as there were in England; with a tender of their service, to assist and unite together." (Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, p. 207.) Nothing could be more wisely, or more benevolently planned than this excellent scheme. It was, however, frustrated. And frustrated by whom? By the Papists of that time: who were, to the last degree, stung and alarmed at the prospect of a general union among the reformed. The council of Trent was then sitting: some artful members of which undertook, by dint of collusive management, to discomfort a measure so formidable to the interests of Rome. For thus the historian goes on: "This" [proposal of Calvin's to king Edward and the Church of England] "nettled the learned at the council of Trent, who came to the knowledge of it by some of their private intelligencers; and they verily thought, that all the heritics, as they called them, would now unite among themselves, and become one body, receiving the same discipline exercised in England: which if it should happen, and they should have heretical bishops near them in those parts, they concluded that Rome and her clergy would utterly fall. Whereupon were sent two of their emissaries from Rotterdam into England, who were to pretend themselves Anabaptists, and preach against baptizing infants, and preach up rebaptizing, and a fifth monarchy upon earth. And, besides this, one D. G. authorized by these learned men [*i. e.* by the Popish synod assembled at Trent], dispatched a letter, written in May, 1549, from Delft in Holland, to two [of the Popish deprived] bishops [here], whereof [Gardiner, bishop of] Winchester was one; signifying the coming of these pretended Anabaptists, and that they should receive them, and cherish them, and take their parts, if they should chance to receive any checks: telling them, that it was left to them to assist in this cause, and to some others whom they knew to be well affected to the mother church. This letter is lately put in print. Sir Henry Sidney first met with it in queen Elizabeth's closet, among some papers of queen Mary's. He transcribed it into a book of his, called, The Romish Policies. It came afterwards into the hands of archbishop Usher; and was transcribed thence by Sir James Ware." (Strype, *u. s.* p. 207, 208).

The Romish church had reason to dread the projected coalition of Protestants: and the restless intrigues of her emissaries, who, under various characters and appearances, went about, sowing divisions, and seeking to unsettle the minds of the people; doubtless, contributed much to impede and dissipate the intended salutary union. It would, however, in all probability, have taken effect, at the long run; if the state-animosities and factions, which divided king Edward's court, together with the early death of the good king himself, had not superseded the excellent design.

See more of Cranmer's corresponden ce with Calvin, in Mr. Strype's above-quoted Memorials, from p. 409, to p. 413.

(*o*) Strype's Life of Parker, p. 69.

(*p*) Life of Parker, p. 69, 70. The historian mentions another very remarkable proof, both of Calvin's regard for episcopacy, and of the manner in which a

so favourable to the English episcopacy, it was no wonder that he and the archbishop of Canterbury were on terms of most friendly and intimate correspondence. The truth is, they were reciprocal admirers of each other, and agreed no less in matters of discipline than of doctrine.

In the year 1563, Musculus's Common Places, which contain a complete and very excellent system of Calvinistical divinity, were translated into English, and the translation dedicated to the said archbishop Parker. Nay, in the opinion of Mr. Strype, the archbishop himself honoured the book with the prefatory admonition to the reader, concerning Church-discipline and ceremonies. "Musculus's Common Places came forth, this year, in folio; translated out of Latin into English, for the use of English divines and others, in order to instruct them in a body of sound divinity purged from the errors of Popery. The author [*viz.* Musculus] was a learned professor of divinity, in Bern, Switzerland; and reckoned among the most profound doctors that had written in the Church of God. The translator was Mr. Man, head of Merton College, Oxford; who dedicated the book to our archbishop." (Strype's Life of Parker, p. 150.) In this book, the doctrines of absolute predestination and grace are wrought up to the highest standard. I have the Latin edition by me, and number it among my choicest literary treasures. Let me ask, whether the archbishop would not only have permitted the English version of it to be dedicated to himself, but also have prefixed to it a "preface of his own," if his grace had not indeed looked upon that performance as, what Mr. Strype justly terms it, "a body of sound divinity?"

The extraordinary countenance afforded by the same archbishop to the Geneva Bible, is a strong accessory proof of his doctrinal Calvinism. One Mr. John Bodleigh began to prepare a new edition of that Bible, in 1569, and, "applied himself to the queen's secretary, Cecil. But the secretary suspended giving his furtherance, till he had heard the advice of the archbishop, and the bishop of London. Both the archbishop and bishop willingly gave their letters to the secretary, in Bodleigh's behalf; writing to him, that they thought so well of the first impression, and the review of those who had since travelled therein, that they, [*viz.* the bishops of Canterbury and London] wished it would please him [secretary Cecil] to be a means, that twelve years longer term might be, by special privilege, granted him [*i. e.* to Bodleigh], in consideration of the charges, by him

seeming difference arose between the plan of ecclesiastical government adopted by that reformer, and the plan of episcopal government adopted by the Church of England. A curious paper, in archbishop Abbot's own hand-writing, found among archbishop Usher's manuscripts, and published by Mr. Strype, ran as follows: "Perusing some papers of our predecessor, Matthew Parker, we find, that John Calvin, and others of the Protestant Churches of Germany and elsewhere, would have had episcopacy, if permitted. And whereas Calvin had sent a letter, in the reign of Edward VI., to have conferred with the clergy of England, about some things to this effect; two [Popish] bishops, *viz.* Gardiner and Bonner, intercepted the same: whereby Mr. Calvin's offerture perished, and he received an answer [from Gardiner and Bonner] as if it had been from the reformed divines of those times; wherein they checked him, and slighted his proposals. From which time John Calvin and the Church of England were at variance in several points [respecting Church government]: which, otherwise, through God's mercy, had been qualified, if those papers of his proposals had been discovered to the queen's majesty [*viz.* to queen Elizabeth] during John Calvin's life. But, being not discovered until, or about, the sixth year of her reign, her majesty much lamented, they were not found sooner: which she expressed before her council, in the presence of her great friends Sir Henry Sidney and Sir William Cecil." Strype's Life of Parker, p. 70. So wrote that most respectable prelate, Archbishop Abbot; whose evidence may be thus summed up: Calvin's last letter concerning episcopacy, sent to the ruling clergy of England in the reign of Edward VI. was craftily intercepted by Bonner and Gardiner; who (to quash Calvin's scheme for episcopizing the foreign Protestant Churches) forged a surly, snappish answer to Calvin, in the names of the divines to whom his letter had been addressed, but whose hands it had never reached. Calvin, being disgusted at the rudeness with which he supposed his overture had been received here, dropt all thoughts of making any further advances on the subject. And thus, had not the fraudulent malice of two Popish extinguishers put out the design, Calvin had admitted the discipline of the Church of England, with as much zeal and heartiness as the Church of England actually adopted Calvin's doctrines. Let me add, that queen Elizabeth's "much lamentation before her council," on the detection of the above Popish fraud, demonstrated how fair Mr. John Calvin stood in her majesty's esteem.

A very remarkable passage occurs, likewise, in the examination of Mountagu's Pelagian and Arminian appeal, written by the excellent bishop Carleton, who had been one of the representatives of the Church of England at the ever memorable synod of Dort. A passage, which demonstrates, that the affection of the foreign reformed Churches, to a Protestant and primitive episcopacy, did not expire with the life of Calvin. "When we (*i. e.* when we English divines, who attended that synod) were to yeeld our consent to the Belgic confession at Dort; I made open protestation in the synode, that whereas, in that confession, there was inserted a strange conceit of the parity of ministers to be instituted by Christ, I declared our dissent utterly in that point. I shewed, that, by Christ, a parity was never instituted in the Church. And herein I appealed to the judgment of antiquity, and to the judgment of any learned man now living; and craved herein to be satisfied, if any man of learning could speak to the contrary. (My lord of Salisbury is my witness; and so are all the rest of our company, who spake also in the same cause.) To this there was no answere made by any. Whereupon, we conceived that they yeelded to the truth of the protestation. And somewhat I can say, of my own knowledge: for I had conferences with divers of the best learned in that synode. I told them, that the cause of all their troubles [*viz.* of all the dissentions occasioned and fomented in the Dutch Churches by the Arminians] was this, that they had not byshops among them: who, by their authoritie, might represse turbulent spirits that broached novelties. Their answer was, that they did much honour and reverence the good order and discipline of the Church of England; and, with all their hearts, would be glad to have it established among them: but that could not be hoped for, in their state. Their hope was, that, seeing they could not doe what they desired, God would be merciful to them, if they did what they could. This was their answere. The truthe is, they grome under that burden [*viz.* the burden of ministerial parity,] and would be eased, if they could. This is well knowne to the rest of my associates there." Bishop Carleton's Examination, &c. p. 111, 112. Lond. 1630.

and his associates, in the first impression, and the review sithence sustained (*q*)." Thus, though the Geneva Bible never had the express authority of the state to recommend it, it had the approbation of the principal ecclesiastics in the Church of England.

But the translation, called, the Bishops Bible, mentioned above, and from which some striking extracts have been given, put sthe Calvinism of archbishop Parker (who had the chief hand in that version) beyond all controversy. "The archbishop took upon him the labour to contrive, and to set the whole work a going in a proper method; by sorting out the whole Bible into parcels, and distributing those parcels to able bishops, and other learned men, to peruse and collate each the books allotted them: sending, withal, his instructions for the method they should observe, and they to add some short marginal notes for the illustration or correction of the text. And all these portions of the Bible being finished, and sent back to the archbishop, he was to add the last hand to them, and so to take care for printing and publishing the whole (*r*)." All which was accordingly done. History records many other proofs of archbishop Parker's orthodoxy (the modelling of the XXXIX Articles, for instance; and his concurrence with the rest of the bishops, in the proposal for confining "incorrigible free-will men," to hard labour and discipline, "in some one castle;" with various particulars besides, all tending to the same point): but the few, already specified, shall, at present, suffice. This good archbishop, dying in 1575, was succeeded, in the see of Canterbury,

(2.) By the learned and pious Dr. Edmund Grindal: a prelate, in whose breast the entire assemblage of Christian graces met, and in whose life every moral virtue shone. A remarkable incident is related of him, when a boy. He was, from his infancy, biassed by a strong propensity to literature: and used to make some valuable book or other the constant companion of his solitary walks. Passing, one day, through a field, with his coat or waistcoat buttoned half-way up, and a volume resting in his bosom, an arrow, from some unknown quarter, lighted on his breast, and must have killed him immediately, if the book had not intercepted the point of the weapon in its way to his heart (*s*).

Being transplanted from his native county of Cumberland, to Cambridge; he there became fellow of Pembroke Hall; and, in consideration of his distinguished abilities and merit, was nominated by bishop Ridley to be one of his chaplains; his other two being Mr. John Rogers and Mr. John Bradford, who were both (as was their lord, the bishop himself) afterwards martyred in the reign of Mary. Dr. Grindal would, probably, have been baptized with the same fiery baptism, had not that watchful Providence, whose care he eminently experienced from his earliest years, enabled him to escape into Germany; where he stayed till Elizabeth became queen. On his return to England, he was, successively, bishop of London, archbishop of York, and at last of Canterbury. He died A. D. 1583, and lies buried in the chancel of Croydon Church. Pious king Edward VI., sensible of Grindal's worth, had nominated him to a bishopric, a little before his [the king's] decease, but Providence reserved our prelate's advancement to the more fixed and settled times of Elizabeth.

His attachment to the Calvinistic principles has never, so far as I can find, been disputed. And, indeed, his extraordinary zeal for that pure, Protestant system, was the reason why this good archbishop has been so maliciously pecked at, by more than one Arminian traducer; particularly, by the infamous Peter Heylin.

A person need but look into Mr. Fox's inestimable Martyrology, and he will presently perceive, that predestination and its connected doctrines are the threads of gold and scarlet which pervade the whole of that performance. The venerable author was indebted, for much assistance in his work, to the pains and care of Grindal (*t*). "Many accounts of the acts and disputations, of the sufferings and ends, of the godly men under queen Mary, came, from time to time, to Grindal's hands: and, as they came to his hands, he conveyed them to Fox. Nor did he only do this; but, withal, frequently gave Fox his thoughts concerning them, and his instructions and counsels about them. I find Grindal, soon after Bradford's martyrdom, sending Fox his history, together with many of his holy letters. Grindal wrote him likewise, that he had a great heap of such papers: to whom Fox [replied], he doubted not that he would, with the like vigilancy and faithfulness, peruse and digest them. Indeed, Grindal had greater opportunities of knowing Bradford, and getting his papers, than others [had]: they two having been fellow chaplains together to [Ridley] the bishop of London, and to the king [*viz.* Edward VI.], and fellow-prebendaries of St. Paul's; and I might add also, fellows of the same college (*u*)." Doctor Grindal also furnished Fox with the accounts of Cranmer, Ridley, and others of the eminent martyrs. By which it appears, "How earnest an assistant Grindal was to Fox, in compiling his Martyrology; both by his continual counsel, and by supplying him with materials for it: much whereof he sent him drawn up and methodized by his own pen, in English (*x*)."

I have already proved, that Peter Martyr

(*q*) Strype's Life of archbishop Parker. p. 206, 207.
(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 208.
(*s*) Strype's Life of archbishop Grindal, p. 4.
(*t*) Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 9. 13.
(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 18.
(*x*) *Id.* p. 21.

was a Calvinist of the truest dye: and under his ministry it was, that Grindal sat, during the exile of the latter in Germany, while Mary swayed the sceptre in England. For, thus wrote Grindal, in a letter to the imprisoned bishop Ridley: "We [*i. e.* the Protestant refugees] be here dispersed in divers and several places. Certayne be at Tigurye; good students, of either University, a number; very well entreated of Maister Bullinger, &c. Another number of us remayne at Argentine, and take the commodity of Maister Martyr's lessons, who is a very notable father (*y*)."

On his return to England (which was in the very next month after queen Elizabeth's accession), he was one of the principal commissioners, appointed to the revisal of the Book of Common Prayer. The Calvinism therefore, of the liturgy, evinces the Calvinism of Grindal. The review of the Common Prayer was quickly finished: and it was read, for the first time after its restoration, on Sunday, May 12, 1559, in the queen's chapel; and on the succeeding Wednesday (May 15), it was solemnly read in St. Paul's church, after a prefatory sermon, preached by Grindal.

No reader, at all versed in the History of the Reformed Churches, need be told, that the famous Jerom Zanchius subscribed to some Lutheran peculiarities, concerning the Lord's Supper, under certain salvoes and restrictions of his own framing, and which he explicitly avowed. On this occasion, Zanchy wrote to his old friend, Dr. Grindal, then bishop of London. "Grindal answered Zanchy's letter, in one dated in August [1563], from Fulham: wherein he [bishop Grindal [signified, that, ——for his own part, he attributed so much to Zanchy's piety and prudence, that he had a good opinion of all his actions; especially, since he had the opinion of such a learned man as Calvin, in what he had done. This, the bishop said, much confirmed him: being apt to attribute much to his [*i. e.* to Calvin's] judgment." The excellent prelate concluded with commending Zanchy to God, "Who, he doubted not, would give him a mouth and wisdom which the adversaries of the truth could not resist (*z*)."

In a foregoing (*a*) part of this work, I have taken some notice of one Justus Velsius, a Duch free-willer, who, (A. D. 1563,) made much noise in London. He was what would now be called an Arminian-perfectionist. "The bishop of London [Dr. Grindal] was concerned with this man, both as he was of the Dutch congregation, and had made disturbance there, over which our bishop was superintendent; as also because his opinions came as far as the ears of the court. For he [Velsius] presumed in the month of March, to write bold letters to the secretary [of state]; nay, to the queen herself: superscribing to the queen, *Ad proprias manus*: sending withal his book unto them. Which he did, also, two months before, to the bishop: avowing it to be by him conceived and writ from the enlightening of the spirit of Christ.

"The bishop, therefore, thought very fit, and that upon the secretary's advice, to write shortly some animadversions upon it [*i. e.* upon Velsius's hetorodox book]. Therein he [the bishop] observed, 1. That he [Velsius] set forth no confession of faith, as he ought; but prescribed a rule, according to which he would have all consciences to be tried. Nor was there any mention of faith. And that he craftily passed over justification by faith; and what he thought of the powers in man, and free-will, and what concerning works. (2.) That, in those things, it was most certain, he had, in foreign parts, desperately erred, and disquieted men's consciences, and taught matters contrary to orthodox doctrine; and that there were witnesses then in England of it (*b*)." Beside the tenet of free-will, and justification by works, wherein the bishop affirmed this Pelagian to have "desperately erred;" there were several other monstrous opinions, for which that able prelate severely censured the said Velsius: such as the doctrine of a two-fold regeneration, to wit, of the outward man, and the inward; and that a believer is godded into God. But the bishop's judgment, concerning Velsius's mad tenet of sinless perfection, deserves particular notice: "Hence it appeared, why he [Velsius] had said before, we are that which Christ is, and Christians are gods in men: because he had a mind to affirm perfection, which he feigned to be in a Christian, and that all Christians were gods, that is, free of all spot and fault. Which arrogance, how detestable it is, there is no pious man but sees. He could not more openly reject the doctrine of faith, and the remission of sins, and so set up a new gospel (*c*)." Nothing could be more wild, and remote from truth, than Velsius's corrupt doctrines: nothing more sober, sound, and scriptural, than good bishop Grindal's Calvinistical animadversions. In conclusion, Velsius was "Cited before the ecclesiastical commission; where the bishop of London [Dr. Grindal], and the bishop of Winchester [Dr. Horne], and the dean of St. Paul's [Dr. Alexander Nowell], conferred roundly with him, exposing the errors of his book before mentioned: which he stubbornly endeavouring to vindicate, they at last charged him, in the queen's name, to depart the kingdom (*d*)." This was the same Velsius, with whom Calvin himself had held a public disputation, concerning free-will at Frankford, in 1556 (*e*). I will not venture to say, that another divine (named Horne), who likewise

(*y*) *Ibid.* p. 12.
(*z*) Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 76.
(*a*) See above, Sect. 6.

(*b*) Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 92.
(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 93. (*d*) *Ibid.*
(*e*) Bayle, vol. v. p. 450.

disputed against Velsius at the same place, in the same year, and on the same subject, was our English Dr. Horne, afterwards the bishop of Winchester, just mentioned: though, to me, it seems extremely probable. Certain it is, that bishop Horne was then an exile in Germany, for the Protestant faith; and that he continued so, all through the reign of queen Mary (*f*).

Another evidence of Grindal's Calvinism presents itself, under the year 1566. "Theodore Beza, late assistant to Calvin, and now the chief minister of Geneva, made a present, this year, to bishop Grindal, of his Annotations on the New Testament: and the same reverend father [*i. e.* the bishop] soon after sent him [*i. e.* sent Beza] a letter thanking him for the book; and withal a gratification. What it [*i. e.* what Grindal's present to Beza] was, I cannot tell: perhaps, it was the bishop's picture, or his ring. But Beza called it, *Longe maximum gratissimumque tui μνημοσυνον*, *i. e.* A very great and most acceptable remembrance of himself, which he would keep for his sake. The bishop, in his letter, had much commended his [Beza's] annotations, as accurate and learned: but Beza modestly declined the praise, and added, that then they might seem such as the bishop had charactered them, when they should be critically corrected by him, and by such learned men as he (*g*). How "much" soever the bishop "commended" Beza's annotations, hardly any strain of commendation could exceed the merits and value of those admirable notes; or the learning, judgment, and piety, of that eminent supralapsarian writer.

Geneva, though never episcopized since its reformation from Popery, was nevertheless regarded and cherished by queen Elizabeth, by her statesmen, and by the English bishops, as a sister-church, harmonizing with our own in doctrinals; though not consentaneous to it in ceremonials. Some time in the year 1581, that famous Protestant city had like to have been enslaved by an enterprizing Popish neighbour (the duke of Savoy); but was relieved by a seasonable accession of forces from the Swiss Cantons. The expenses, however, to which the necessary preparations for defence had put the citizens, obliged them to have recourse to the benevolence of other Protestant communities. Amongst the rest, England was applied to, through the intervention of the queen's ambassador in France, and of good Dr. Grindal at home. The ambassador's importunate letter, written, on this occasion, to Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state, may be read in Strype (*h*). The matter being laid before the queen, her majesty and privy council dispatched circular letters to all the bishops of England, desiring them "To promote a liberal charity upon this occasion, through their several dioceses:" and styling it "a needful service for the church (*i*)." The queen and council farther observed in their letter to each bishop respectively, that the town of Geneva seemed to have "Deserved the fruits of Christian compassion, by former courtesies and favours, shewed to sundry her majesty's subjects, during the late persecution in queen Mary's time: wherein, as they shall render charity for charity, and give good demonstration to the world, that, in their wealth and peace, they are not careless of the afflictions of Joseph; so shall you give us cause to think, that you not only care, as in Christian compassion you are bound, to relieve the present distress of that poor town, which, through God's goodness, hath served, in this latter age, for a nursery unto God's church; but also to satisfy this our request: to the end we may continue that good opinion we have of your lordship (*k*)."

Thus was Geneva considered a "nursery to God's church;" and her distresses were termed, "the afflictions of Joseph." A letter, issued, soon after by archbishop Grindal, as metropolitan, to the prelates of his province, breathed the same spirit of tenderness and brotherly affection for the said city and church of Geneva. "Considering," said his grace, "that under her majesty, and their lordships of her most honourable privy council, the immediate charge of the province doth appertain to me; and, especially, of the clergy; and the consideration of this pitiful relief, tending to the defence of so notable and sincere a church; I thinke it my part and bounden duty, to recommend the furtherance of so good a cause to your lordship (*l*)."

I am not insensible, that this excellent primate has been maliciously charged with leaning to puritanism: which charge, were it proveable, might go far towards invalidating that branch of my argument for the doctrinal Calvinism of the church, drawn from the doctrinal Calvinism of this her good archbishop. But by whom is the bill filed against him? Chiefly, by that historic knight of the post, Peter Heylyn: a writer, who had long taken a final leave of truth, whenever it stood in his way; and who was quite petrified to every feeling of shame. There are accumulated proofs, that Grindal was rather a bigot to the constitution and discipline of the church, than that his attachment to either was lax and cool. Instances occurred, in the course of his administration, wherein his zeal for the exteriors of our ecclesiastical fabric, out-weighed, perhaps, that due proportion of moderation and temper, which he has been falsely represented as possessing to an extreme. A short testimony, or two, from judicious and dispas-

(*f*) "Ubi. [in Germania, scil.], Mariâ regnante vixerat in exilio." Godwin. De Præsulib. Angl. p. 288.
(*g*) Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 112.
(*h*) *U. S.* p. 278.
(*i*) Strype, *Ibid.* 279.
(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 280.
(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 281.

sonate writers, shall, at present, suffice to support the remark now made. Should future occasion require more solid proofs, I can carry my appeal to some prolix, but most conclusive and incontestible facts.

Dr. Grindal had, at first, his scruples respecting conformity. But 'tis no less true, that he did not accept of preferment in the church, 'till those scruples were solved to the satisfaction of his own mind. The satisfactory solution of which scruples rendered him, afterwards, (I will not say, a fiercer, but) a much warmer churchman, than if he had conformed, hand over head, without previously examining matters for himself.

"Upon his first coming over from his exile, queen Elizabeth being possessed of the crown, when preferment in the church was to be laid upon him, his dread of Popery created him some demur in accepting the same: fearing to comply with the very appearances and shadows of it, in the habits and some other rites appointed, 'till he had satisfaction, partly by serious consideration with himself, and partly by the advice of certain foreign divines; chiefly Peter Martyr and Henry Bullinger, men of the greatest learning in divinity that age afforded. And, therefore, afterwards, when some, for these external matters in religious worship, made seditions, and brake the church's quiet; he [Grindal] thought himself bound, as a faithful and careful overseer of the church of Christ in England (when all his mild persuasions and arguments proved ineffectual), to prosecute the refusers, and to use the severer methods, warranted by the laws, against them (*m*). His zeal and affection to the state of the reformed Church of England shewed itself, as on every occasion, so, particularly, in endeavouring to reclaim those they styled Precisians and Puritans; who, for some few ceremonies, made a breach in Christian communion. Though his spirit was easy and complaisant, and liked not of rigour; yet, when he saw that no other means would bring them to obedience, he approved of restraint: especially of the heads of the faction; whom he styled fanatical and incurable (*n*)." Even Collier, it seems, vindicates our prelate from Heylyn's charge. "He was," says Jeremy, "no negligent governor, nor a person of latitude, or indifference for the ceremonies of the church (*o*)." In the judgment of the famous lord Bacon, Dr. Grindal was "the greatest and gravest prelate of this land (*p*)." And amidst all the insults he suffered from his contemporary aspersors, and all the malicious dirt with which his venerable memory has been pelted since his decease it reflects no small ray of honour on his name, to add, that he had "A great respect to Calvin, Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, Peter Martyr, Bulinger, Zanchy, and the rest of the pious foreign reformers (*q*)."

(3.) Dr. John Whitgift succeeded Grindal in the metropolitical chair, A. D. 1583. He was a prelate of great abilities, and of warm piety; sound in the faith, and very zealous for the church. If any branches of his conduct tended to shade, in some degree, the brightness of his acknowledged virtues, the extreme rigour which the non-conformists experienced at his hands, and the perpetual incense of profuse adulation which he seldom failed to offer at the shrine of secular power, seem the most (perhaps, the only) vulnerable parts of his character. And yet, on one hand, truth obliges us to confess, that some, among the then Puritans, were persons of the most intractable and exasperating perverseness, whose separation from the establishment was formed on the narrowest principles of prejudice, and whose outrageous zeal against the hierarchy and ceremonies of the church transported them beyond all bounds of moderation and decency. While Protestants, agreeing in doctrinals, were thus biting and devouring one another about rituals, Rome, the common enemy to both, laughed and enjoyed the sport. On the other hand, let it be remembered, in extenuation of Whitgift's lavish complaisance to the court, that he lived under the jealous eye of a high-spirited queen, who was constantly on the watch for every occasion of screwing up her ecclesiastical supremacy to the utmost height.

Strong and numerous are the evidences of this archbishop's orthodoxy. I shall briefly select a few.

Some time in the reign of Elizabeth, one Peter Baro, or Baron, born at Estampes, a city of Gastinois, in France, thought proper to visit England, in quality of a Protestant refugee. A protester, 'tis true, he was: for he had not been long settled at Cambridge, before he publicly entered his protest against some eminent doctrines of the church established, which had so generously sheltered him in her bosom.

Our Universities were, at that time, like our monarchs, defenders of the faith. Cambridge was all in alarm at the heterodoxies vented by the French divinity professor. Complaint was made, that he "Taught the Popish doctrine of the co-operation of faith and works to justification: that he laboured to make men believe that the reformed church's doctrine was not so differing from Popish doctrine, but that, by distinctions, they might be reconciled: with other strange matters, which they" [*viz.* the complainants, who were the heads of the University] "looked upon as damnable errors; being the highway, not only to Popery, but to Atheism (*r*)."

Dr. Fuller (*s*) gives us some other pro-

(*m*) Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 295.
(*n*) *Ibid.* (*o*) See the Biog. Dict. vol. vi. p. 157.
(*p*) Strype, *u. s.* p. 360.
(*q*) Strype, *Ibid.* p. 307.
(*r*) Wood's Fasti, i. 741.
(*s*) Hist. of Camb. p. 145

positions, maintained by Baro: which propositions, though moderately orthodox (at least, the heterodoxies were so decently wrapped up, as to elude a superficial eye), were deemed of ambiguous construction, and therefore branded in due season.

The transactions at Cambridge, relative to Baro, could not long escape bishop Whitgift's notice. This wakeful and discerning guardian of the church appears to have been doubtful of Baro, from the first; and never to have rightly relished the unsuspecting patronage, afforded by lord Burleigh, to that artful foreigner. The event proved, that Whitgift could better see into church matters, with one eye, than Burleigh could, with two. The good prelate thought, among other particulars, that Baro was not so tight a predestinarian, as the Church and Universities of England then expected a divinity-professor to be. Whitgift, says Mr. Strype, had his "Objections against Baro, for some tenets, differing, as was thought, from the true doctrine of the decrees of God concerning the final state of man (*t*)." Nor did his lordship prove mistaken.

It was not 'till the year 1595, that Baro ventured to unmasque his batteries against the established doctrine of predestination, in his sermon *ad clerum*. This sermon gave vast and deserved offence, both to the church and to the court of England: for not only the bishops and the leading clergy were displeased, but, as Mr. Strype expressly affirms, "The queen also shewed herself particularly angry with Baro, in some discourse she had of these matters with the archbishop (*u*):" to whom her majesty justly observed, that Baro, "Being an alien, ought to have carried himself quietly and peaceably in a country where he was so humanely harboured, and where both he and his family had been infranchised (*x*)." The archbishop, though he equally disapproved both the Pelagianism and the contentious proceedings of Baro, candidly endeavoured to soften the queen's resentment against him; and was probably the means of restraining it from falling with weight on the French delinquent's head.

Baro and William Barrett distinguished themselves, about one and the same time, as opposers of predestination, in the University of Cambridge: and Heylin himself gives us to understand, that they, and one Harsenet, were the first Protestant divines, since the Reformation, by whom the Calvinistic system was publicly attacked. Mr. Tyndal, the historian, has the same remark; "The predestinarian controversy" [*i. e.* the controversy agitated against predestination] "was begun in 1595, by Barrett, fellow of Caius College, Cambridge, who preached against Calvin's doctrine of predestination, &c. for which he was censured by the University, and forced to retract in St. Mary's church. He was afterwards sent to Lambeth, and examined before archbishop Whitgift; who enjoined him to confess his errors, and not teach the like doctrines for the future: but he chose rather to quit the University [and openly declare himself a Papist beyond sea]. This gave occasion for the famous Lambeth articles: in which the Calvinistical sense of predestination, election, and the other controverted points, is strongly asserted; and to which the scholars in the Universities were strictly enjoined to conform (*y*)."

Though Whitgift, as already observed, generously interceded with the queen, in behalf of Baro's person yet was he warmly displeased with the innovating insolence of that pragmatical Frenchman, who, presuming too far on the tenderness and moderation with which he had been hitherto forborne, dared, at length, to broach the following doctrines; which being too grossly Pelagian for any farther tolerance, raised a storm against him, that all his craft and interest could never afterwards compose.

"*Docuit, Deum omnes et singulos, absolutâ voluntate, ad vitam æternam creasse.*

"*Voluntatem Dei duplicem esse, viz. antecedentem, et consequentem. Antecedente quidem voluntate, Deum neminem rejecisse.*

"*Christum mortuum esse pro omnibus et singulis.*

"*Promissiones Dei ad vitam universales esse: et æque spectre ad Cainum et Abelem, Esavum atque Jacobum, Judam atque Petrum; et Cainam non magis a Deo fuisse rejectum, quam Abelem, antequam se excluserat (z).*"

That is: "God created all and every individual of mankind, with a real will to save them.

"The will of God is two-fold: antecedent, and consequent. God reprobates no man, by his will of antecedence.

"Christ died for all and every individual of the human race.

"God's promises, respecting eternal life, are universal: and were made equally to Cain and Abel, to Esau and Jacob, to Judas and Peter. Nor, 'till Cain excluded himself, was he any more rejected of God than was Abel."

These were the four monstrous propositions, for which Baro was prosecuted in the vice-chancellor's court. In an age, when even a slack predestinarian, or a Half-Calvinist, was started at, as a shocking phænomenon, a gross free-willer, a palpable universalist (who preached up an ignorant, a dependent, a disappointed, and a changing deity, as an object of rational worship), might well be shunned and exclaimed against, as a

Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum.

Lord Burleigh was then chancellor of

(*t*) Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 94.
(*u*) Life of Whitgift, p. 464. (*x*) *Ibid* p. 465.
(*y*) Contin. of Rapin's Hist. vol. iii. p. 280.
(*z*) Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 470.

Cambridge. Partly, through his lordship's bad state of health at that time, which would not permit him to treat University matters with his usual attention; and, partly, from a principle of compassion to the heterodox foreigner as a foreigner; Baro was not (as Barrett, the English Pelagian, had just been) violently displaced, but allowed to resign. The archbishop however, in a previous conversation with him, took him severely to task: of which his grace gave some account, in a letter to Doctor Goad, the vice-chancellor; in which letter the archbishop informed Goad, "That he was very sorry that Doctor Baro, notwithstanding all the advertisements [or admonitions] which had been given to him, and his [*i. e.* Baro's] faithful promise made to him [*i. e.* to himself the archbishop], did nevertheless continue his troublesome course of contending. That he [the archbishop] had of late, by Dr. Neville, signified to him [to Baro] how hardly her majesty had been informed against him for these causes: and how unfit it was, that he, being a stranger, and receiving such courtesy and friendship here, of good will, and not for any need we had of him; should be so busy in another commonwealth, and make himself as it were author of new stirs and contentions in this church. That at his last being with him, he [the archbishop] shewed to him [to Baro] the propositions [*i. e.* the Lambeth articles], and demanded his opinion of every one of them severally, and that at two several times: and although, the latter time, Baro seemed to make some frivolous and childish objections against some one or two of them only; yet did he confess that they were all true, and that they did not impugn any of his assertions (*a*)."

What a frontlet of brass must Baro have possessed, ere he could go about to face down archbishop Whitgift with this most gigantic of untruths, that none of his (*i. e.* of Baro's) assertions were impugned by any thing contained in the Lambeth articles! No other possible overstrain of falsehood can transcend the enormity of this. I know but of one, that can any way pretend to come up with it: *viz.* the declaration of those modest Arminians who affirm that there is nothing in the XXXIX Articles, which any way impugns the doctrines of Pelagius and Van Harmin. The fellow, who averred, that he once drove a ten-penny nail through the moon; and his companion, who added, that he remembered it very well, for he himself stood on the other side and clinched it; were but dwarfs in the art of audacious falsification, when compared with Baro the first, and with those numerous swarms of modern Baros, who have, since, so plentifully overspread the face of the Church of England.

The most important of Baro's "assertions," as he called them, for which he lost his preferments, have been already specified. Let the reader only compare those assertions, with the Lambeth articles; and he will immediately perceive, with what modesty and veracity, Baro would have persuaded the archbishop, that there was no contrariety between the two systems.

The articles of (*b*) Lambeth (so called, because drawn up at Lambeth palace, under the eye, and with the assistance, of archbishop Whitgift himself; in concert with Bancroft, then bishop of London, afterwards translated to Canterbury; together with Vaughan, bishop of Bangor; Tindal, dean of Ely; Dr. Whitaker, the queen's divinity professor; and other eminent dignitaries of the church; the articles of Lambeth, drawn up, as aforesaid, by these great prelates and divines) exhibit also an irrefragable proof of the primate's Calvinism. Translated into English, they run thus.

"1. God hath, from eternity, predestinated certain persons to life; and hath reprobated certain persons unto death.

"2. The moving, or efficient cause of predestination unto life, is not the foresight of faith, or of perseverance, or of good works, or of any thing that is in the persons predestinated: but the alone will of God's good pleasure.

"3. The predestinate are a pre-determined and certain number, which can neither be lessened, nor increased.

"4 Such as are not predestinated to salvation shall inevitably be condemned on account of their sins.

"5. The true, lively, and justifying faith, and the Spirit of God justifying, is not extinguished, doth not utterly fail, doth not vanish away, in the elect, either finally, or totally.

"6. A true believer, that is, one who is endued with justifying faith, is certified, by the full assurance of faith, that his sins are forgiven, and that he shall be everlastingly saved by Christ.

"7. Saving grace is not allowed, is not imparted, is not granted, to all men, by which they may be saved if they will.

"8. No man is able to come to Christ, unless it be given him, and unless the Father draw him: and all men are not drawn by the Father, that they may come to his Son.

"9. It is not in the will or power of every man to be saved (*c*)."

Such were these famous articles; concerning which, his grace of Canterbury expressed himself in the following very remarkable terms: "I know them to be sound doctrines, and uniformly professed in this Church of England, and agreeable to the articles of religion established by authority (*d*)." Under

(*a*) Strype's Whitgift, p. 468, 469. *ubi. plura.*
(*b*) For a fuller account of those articles and the occasion of them, see my Church vindicated from Arminianism.
(*c*) See Strype's Whitgift p. 461. (*d*) *Ibid.* p. 459.

this just persuasion, he communicated them to his brother of York, Doctor Matthew Hutton: who returned them, with some judicious remarks (which see in Strype), and with this remarkable subscription:

Hæ theses ex Sacris literis vel apertè colligi, vel necessaria consecutione deduci, possunt; et ex scriptis Augustini.

Matth. Ebor.

That is: "These positions are gatherable from the Holy Scriptures, either expressly, or by necessary consequence; and also from the writings of St. Austin.

Matthew York."

The Lambeth articles, thus approved by the archbishops of both provinces, were forwarded to Cambridge: accompanied by a letter, from Whitgift himself, to that University: wherein he requested the heads of houses, "To take care, that nothing be publicly taught to the contrary," *i. e.* conrtary to those articles: adding, that he thought the said nine articles "to be true, and correspondent to the doctrine professed in the Church of England, and established by the laws of the land (*e*)."

The reader may, possibly, wish to know what became of Peter Baro. Dr. Hutton, archbishop of York, was for having him treated with exemplary severity. Whitgift had wrote to Hutton, on the last day of February, 1595, "wherein among other things, he desired his opinion of Baro's assertions: when that prelate [*viz.* his grace of York,] in his answer, shewed how little he liked of Baro and his learning; wishing, that Baro was in his own country, and not to have disturbed the peace of our church: and would have one to be put in his place, who was learned, godly, and mild of nature; and that Cambridge afforded store of such (*f*)." Thus, in the judgment of that grave archbishop, to preach against predestination was to "disturb the peace of the church:" and the plain drift of his advice was, that Baro should be displaced from his office at Cambridge, and be banished to France, his native soil; where, without molestation, he might safely disseminate his Pelagian tares among his Popish countrymen.

But Whitgift (prompted either by his own candour, or, which is more probable, by his profound deference to lord Burleigh) was for pursuing more snug and gentle measures. He prudently deemed it sufficient, to avail himself of Baro's natural timidity, which with proper management, would make the French freewiller glad to quit the University, and sheer off into his primative obscurity. This was tossing up matters, with less noise than if he had been formally divested of his professorship; and answered, to better advantage, all the purposes of more ostensible rigour. The end of his triennial lectures drawing near, the University were determined not to re-elect him, but to turn him decently and quietly adrift. "He himself was sensible thereof, and besides, he saw the articles of Lambeth lately sent to the University; and foresaw that subscription thereunto would be expected from, yea, imposed on, him. To which he could not condescend: and therefore resolved to quit his place. So that his departure was not his free act, out of voluntary election; but that whereunto his will was necessarily determined. Witness his own return to a friend, who required of him the cause of his withdrawing: *Fugio*, said he, *ne fugarer*; I fly, that I may not be driven away (*g*)." So writes Dr. Fuller. And, matters standing thus, we cannot wonder that Anthony Wood should stile Baro's decampment, a removal: "He was," says that writer, "removed from his place of Margaret professor, about the year 1596; not without the consent of Dr. Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury (*h*)." The truth is an English University, and the Church of England herself, were then too hot to hold an Arminian. More shame for posterity, if our love to our own essential principles has, since, waxed so cold (though the said principles themselves, unchanged to this day, are alive to stare us in the face); that not a few Arminian salamanders, basking in the rays of our ecclesiastic and academic sunshine, can say, with some certain good people of old, Aha, I am warm: I have seen, and can stand, the fire (*i*) of subscription, conformity, assent, and consent; yea, I can even pass through the fire, so dextrously, as not to singe a hair of my Pelagian Moloch's head.

Such casuists remind me of an anecdote, or two, related, with much simplicity, by honest Whiston.

He mentions an acquaintance of his (one Dr. Cannon), "Who would join with the church in signing the 39 articles, without believing them, as legal qualifications for preferment only." Every body knows, that Mr. Whiston was a violent enemy to the doctrine of the Trinity; and, in particular, proclaimed eternal war against that admirable form of sound words, commonly called the Athanasian Creed. Whence, he thus proceeds in his information concerning the aforesaid Dr. Cannon. "He joined with the Athanasian creed itself, in the cathedral of Ely, at a time when I was there and refused it. I asked him how one that believèd so very little, could join in a thing so absurd? His answer was, what is one man's meat is another man's poison. He also told Mr. Jackson, that, if he were at Paris, he would declare himself a Roman Catholic; and, if he were at Constantinople, he would declare himself a Mussulman. He was ready to wonder at Mr. Jackson, for believing St. Paul before himself, when they [*viz.* St. Paul and Dr. Cannon] were of contrary sentiments. So great an opinion had he of his own sagacity (*k*)."

(*e*) Strype's *Ibid.* p. 402. (*f*) Strype, *Ibid.* p. 476. (*g*) Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge, p. 152, 153.

(*h*) Fasti Oxon. 1, 741. (*i*) Isaiah xliv. 16.
(*k*) Whiston's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 112.

'Tis some little comfort, to consider, that protean casuistry, like that by which Dr. Cannon regulated his motions, is not peculiar to some who wear gowns and cassocks. Who would have suspected, so great a man, as the lord chancellor King, could have deviated into the same slippery path of Jesuitical evasion? "I must," says Whiston, "tell a melancholy story, of my own knowledge. When I was once talking with the [then] lord chief justice King, we fell into a debate about signing articles, which we did not believe, for preferment: which he openly justified; and pleaded for it, that we must not lose our usefulness for scruples. Strange doctrine," adds Whiston, "in the mouth of one bred up among dissenters, whose whole dissent from the legally established church was built on scruples! I replied, That I was sorry to hear his lordship say so: and desired to know, whether in their courts [*viz.* the temporal courts of law], they allowed of such prevarication, or not? He answered, they did not allow of it. Which produced this rejoinder from me: Suppose God Almighty should be as just, in the next world, as my lord chief justice is in this? where are we then? To which he made no answer. And to which the late queen Caroline added, when I told her the story, Mr. Whiston, no answer was to be made to it (*l*).

"I conclude this matter, with that very pertinent and emphatical reply, which a fellow of Emmanuel College, in Cambridge, made to a friend of his, of the same college. The latter, at the restoration, had been representing the great difficulties" [as they seemed to him] "of conformity, in point of conscience: concluding, however, with these words, But we must live. To which the other answered only, with the like number of words, But we must [also] die. Than which, a better answer could not possibly be given (*m*)." Let those of the sacred order, whom it may concern, weigh the answer well.

Peter Baro, though a Pelagian in grain, yet had not lost all sight of moral honesty. Hence, he recoiled at subscribing the Lambeth articles: yea, though he had, before, so far strained his veracity, as to tell archbishop Whitgift, that those articles did not contravene any of the doctrines he had been teaching at Cambridge. What a contrast, between the archbishop's faith, and that of the outed professor! On the one hand, Whitgift affirmed, that the Lambeth articles "were undoubtedly true, and not to be denied of any sound divine (*n*)." On the other, Baro chose rather to forsake the University, than subscribe them.

Let me just observe, that Monsieur Baro was, at one time, a man of a most acrimonious spirit, and would very willingly have persecuted those from whom he differed in opinion. For, this was the same Baro, who, some time before his own downfall, had the insolence to style the learned, holy, and laborious Mr. Perkins, of Cambridge, "*homuncio quidam*," in a letter to archbishop Whitgift: and even importuned (but without effect) Dr. Andrews, to exert his influence, that Mr. Perkins and Dr. Some might be displaced and silenced. How justly was the haughty, malicious Pelagian taken, himself, in the net which he had spread for others!

After his disgraceful retreat from Cambridge, he settled in London: where (for a burnt child dreads the fire) his subsequent behaviour was so orderly and peaceable, that, dying three or four years after, his funeral in St. Olave's, Hart-street, was attended by a respectable appearance of city divines, whose favour his dutiful submission to authority had deservedly conciliated. Thus quietly did the once boisterous Dr. Baro finish his course; and thus were his latter days better than the former: as having the negative merit of raising no farther storms in the academical atmosphere, but of gliding gently and inoffensively away within the peaceful banks of silent obscurity.

Another remarkable instance of archbishop Whitgift's Calvinism appears, in an injunction, which he issued, enjoining all clergymen, having care of souls, and not having taken the degree of Master of Arts, to provide themselves with a Bible, and with Dr. Bullinger's Decads: which they were carefully to study and make extracts from. The reader must be reminded, that Henry Bullinger, Author of the Decads abovementioned, was a most learned Protestant divine of Switzerland, a deep predestinarian, and a disciple of the famous Zuinglius: on the (*o*) death of whom in 1531, Bul-

(*l*) Whiston, *Ibid.* p. 162 (*m*) *Ibid.* p. 169.

(*n*) Strype's Life of Whitg. p. 463.

(*o*) Ulricus Zuinglius was the reformer of Switzerland, and may, as a prodigy of parts, grace, and usefulness, be numbered among the most illustrious ornaments of the sixteenth century. In the year 1531, five of the Popish Cantons came to open hostilities with the two Protestant Cantons of Bern and Zurich. It has been affirmed, that Zuinglius was literally fighting for his faith and for his country, when he received the wound from the Popish forces, which deprived him of life. But the accurate Melchior Adamus, who was best qualified to know, positively denies that Zuinglius attended the Protestant camp in a military character: and affirms, that he only accompanied his heroic fellow citizens in quality of chaplain or pastor [Vid. Theol. Germ. p. 38]; deeming it ungenerous and dishonourable, that his flock should expose their lives, in defence of the truths they had received from him, without his participating the common danger. A resolution the more magnanimous, as he had, from the very first, a conviction, strongly impressed on his mind, that he should not survive the battle of that day.

The compilers of the Biographical Dictionary [vol. xi. p. 523.] in translating some of Zuinglius's dying words, have been guilty of an oversight, which does no more honour to their precision, than justice to the Christian heroism of that great man. "Upon receiving his death's wound," say they, "and falling, he was heard to utter these words, What a misfortune is this? &c." Rather, what a misfortune is it, when fine sentiments are murdered in the relating! The fact was this. During the hurry of the fight, Zuinglius, overwhelmed by the press of the rushing enemy, was thrice thrown down, and recovered his feet as

linger succeeded to the pastoral care of the church of Zurich. So highly was this eminent foreign Calvinist accounted of in our Church of England, that archbishop Whitgift, and the rest of the bishops (for a whole convocation of them concurred in the direction given), thought the Bible, and Bullingers's Decads, a necessary and sufficient library for two parts in three of the established clergy. My authority follows:

"Orders for the better increase of learning, in the inferior ministers; and for more diligent preaching and catechising, agreed upon by the archbishop and other bishops in convocation [1586].

"Every minister, having cure, and being under the degrees of master of art, and bachelor of law, and not licensed to be a public preacher, shall, before the second day of February next, provide a Bible, and Bullinger's Decads in Latin or English, and a paper book: and shall, every day, read over one chapter of the Holy scriptures; and note the principal contents thereof, briefly in his paper book: and shall, every week, read over one sermon in the said Decads; and note likewise the chief matters, therein contained, in the said paper book. And shall, once in every quarter, *viz.* within a fortnight before or after the end of the quarter, shew his said notes to some preacher near adjoining, to be assigned for that purpose. Item, Such as shall refuse to perform the exercises, or shall be negligent therein; and shall not, after admonition by the bishop or arch-deacon, or other ordinary aforesaid, reform himself; if he be beneficed, [he] shall be compelled thereunto, by ecclesiastical censures: if he be a curate, [he] shall be inhibited to serve within the jurisdiction (*p*)."

One word more, and I take my leave of Whitgift. Soon after the archbishop's decease, Dr. Benjamin Carier (who had been his grace's chaplain) publicly apostatized to the Church of Rome: and, with great virulence, fell foul on the memory of Calvin. Dr. George Hakewell, chaplain to prince Henry, was appointed to answer this shameless renegado. And, says Strype, "I cannot but add one passage, wherein the answerer put the apostate in mind of the archbishop, his old master; giving Carier a rebuke on his account, in regard of his [*i. e.* of Carier's] reproaching of Calvin and his writings: Your old master [said Hakewell], archbishop Whitgift, was of another mind: labouring always, when any occasion was offered, to countenance his own writings with Calvin's authority; and especially out of that book which you most dislike [*viz* Calvin's Institutions]: yielding him the title of a famous and learned man (*q*)." Such was that great and good prelates's veneration for the great and good Mr. John Calvin.

Thus have we seen, of what principles and spirit were the archbishops of Canterbury, all through the reign of Elizabeth, the illustrious re-foundress of the Church of England. They were, in matters of doctrine, true Calvinistic sons of the Church; as they were, by station, its venerable fathers and guardians.

A farther proof or two, out of many which remain yet unmentioned, shall be added to the evidences, already given, of the incontestible Calvinism of our Church during that queen's memorable reign.

XIV. Every body knows, that, when Mary of Scotland was brought to the block, in Fotheringay Castle, Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, was present, to offer that princess his spiritual services. Though she would not permit him to pray with her, the dean was determined to pray for her; and, of the prayer he made, the following remarkable paragraph is preserved: "That it would please Almighty God to send her his holy Spirit and grace; and also, if it were his will, to pardon all her offences, and of his mercy to receive her into his heavenly and everlasting kingdom (*r*)." A petition, evidently formed on the highest principles of Calvinism, and, of course, in exact harmony with the prevailing divinity of that age (*s*)

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often. At last, a weapon, doomed to extinguish one of the most valuable lives that ever added lustre to religion and learning, entering under his chin, transfixed his throat. The lofty man, falling first on his knees, and then sinking to the ground, uttered these noble sentences: "Ecquid hoc infortunii? Can this be considered as a calamity? Age, corpus quidem occidere possunt; animam non possunt: Well! they are able, indeed, to slay the body: but they are not able to kill the soul" [Melch. Ad. *u. s.* p. 37]. Could any thing be more truly Christian, more divinely triumphant, more sublimely philosophic? His body being found by the Papists, among the slain, they burned it to ashes: which occasioned these elegant verses, consecrated to his memory by Beza.

> Zuinglius arderet gemino quum sanctus amore,
> Nempe Dei imprimis, deinde etiam Patriæ;
> Dicitur in solidum se devovisse duobus:
> Nempe Deo imprimis, deinde etiam Patriæ.
> Quibo bene persolvit simul istis Vota duobus?
> Pro Patriâ exanimis, pro Patriæ Cinis!

(*p*) Strype's Whitgift. append. p. 113.
(*q*) Life of Whitgift, p. 583.
(*r*) Robertson's History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 479. octavo.
(*s*) The speech, which the dean made to her majesty of Scots, was no less Calvinistical than his prayer. In it, were these passages: "That you may be found of God, not having your own righteousness, which is defiled and unclean, but the righteousness of God, by faith in Jesus Christ, upon all and in all them that believe. The special means to attain to forgiveness of sins, is neither in man, nor by man; but by faith only in Jesus Christ crucified; in whom we, being justified, have peace with God, and all spiritual security. If you flee to the throne of God, with boldness only in Christ's meritorious obedience, and apply it to your soul with the hand of true faith, your cross shall be your life, and your death shall be your vantage. O, madam, trust not the devices which God's word doth not warrant. To Christ give all the Scriptures testimony, that, through faith in his blood, we and all God's Church shall receive remission of sins." The queen interrupted him, three or four times, in the course of his exhortation; saying, Master dean, trouble not yourself or me; for know, that I am settled in the ancient, Catholic, Romish religion. The earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, who were appointed to see her executed, made the following Calvinistical address to her: "Madam, we will pray for your grace, with master dean, [that] if it stand with God's good will, you may have your heart enlightened, &c." Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 39 — 388.

XV It was during Elizabeth's reign, that one Campneys, a restless and abusive Pelagian, sought to disturb the peace of the Church, by publishing a defamatory tract in opposition to the received doctrine of predestination.

This Campneys had, some years before, rendered himself very obnoxious to the Protestant government, in the time of king Edward VI. His affection to Popery, and his abhorrence of the reformation effected under the auspices of that prince, had been so turbulently and so indecently expressed, and were so generally known even in the succeeding century, as to wring out the following reluctant concession from the pen of Peter Heylyn himself; *viz.* that this Campneys was "of a sharp and eager spirit;" and "not well weaned from some points of Popery, in the first dawning of the day of our reformation (*t*)." The truth is, his insolencies against the reformed Church of England laid him open to the laws: and he "was made to bear a fagot at Paul's Cross, in king Edward's time; the learned and pious Miles Coverdale [bishop of Exeter] preaching a sermon when that punishment was inflicted on him."

When queen Elizabeth had restored the true religion, Campneys began to play his old pranks; *i. e.* to cause disturbance, by nibbling at such who were deservedly honoured and preferred in the Church: publishing a pamphlet, to which he had not courage enough to affix his name, against predestination. This pamphlet was encountered by Mr. John Veron, a chaplain to the queen, and reader of the divinity lecture in St. Paul's Church: as also by Mr. Robert Crowley, sometime fellow of Magdalene College in Oxford, at that time a famous preacher in London. Both these put out answers to Campneys: and their answers were both licensed and approved [by public authority]; and Veron's [book in favour of predestination] was dedicated to the queen herself. Whereas Campneys's virulent pamphlet came forth surreptitiously: neither author nor printer daring to put their names to it (*u*)."

I learn, from Heylyn, that the answer, written by Mr. Veron, and dedicated to the queen as aforesaid, was entitled, "An Apology, or Defence of the Doctrine of Predestination." Wherein her majesty's chaplain terms Campneys, "The Blind Guide of the Free-will Men: a very Pelagian, and consequently a rank Papist: the standard-bearer of the free-will men (*x*), &c." Would a chaplain to the queen, and the divinity lecturer of St Paul's Cathedral, have made so free with free-will men, in a book inscribed to his royal mistress, and published *cum auctoritate*, if the doctrinal system of the Church of England had not been deemed incontrovertibly Calvinistic?

XVI. Among the particulars which I have already, in their due place, noted, concerning Martin Bucer, the reader must be reminded of two: *viz.* that, during his life-time, it was hardly possible for man to wind up the doctrine of predestination to a greater height, than was done by that great reformer; and that, after his decease, when queen Mary introduced Popery again, his bones, together with those of the learned Fagius, were dug up, at Cambridge, and publicly burned in the Market-place there, by order of cardinal Pole.

At the time of their exhumation by the Papists, Dr. Scot, the Popish bishop of Chester, alledged, as one reason of that indecent revenge, that Martin Bucer, in particular, had drunk in the heresy of Wickliff, who asserted, "*omnia fato et absolutâ necessitate fieri: i. e.* that whatever comes to pass is the result of fate and absolute necessity (*y*)." Dr. Perne, the Popish vice-chancellor of Cambridge, preached a sermon on the occasion: wherein, "among other things, he told how Bucer held opinion, as he himself heard him confess, that God was the author and well-spring, not only of good, but also of evil: and that whatsoever was of that sort, flowed from him, as from the head and maker thereof (*z*)." Dr. Watson also, another zealous Papist, took the opportunity of making a public harangue; in which he exclaimed, "How perilous a doctrine is that, which concerneth the fatal and absolute necessity of predestination! And yet they [meaning Bucer and Fagius] set it out in such wise, that they have left no choice at all in things: as who should say, It skilleth not what a man purposeth of any matter, since he had not the power to determine otherwise than the matter should come to pass. The which was the peculiar opinion of them, that made God the author of evil: bringing men, through this persuasion, into such careless security of the everlasting eternity, that, in the mean season, it made no matter, either toward salvation or damnation, what a man did in his life. These errors were defended by them [*i. e.* by Bucer and Fagius] with great stoutness (*a*)." So spake the Romish doctors, in the reign of Mary: and thus (like too many ostensible Protestants since) did they slander and distort the holy and blessed doctrine of predestination.

Queen Elizabeth had a better opinion of Bucer and Fagius, and of the pure Protestant doctrine which they had maintained. She had not long been on the throne, when her majesty gave a very promising presage of her intention to restore the Church of England to its chastity of Calvinism, in commanding the insults, which had been offered to the remains of Bucer and Fagius, to be, as far as was practicable, publicly and solemnly reversed, in the face of the whole University; and all possible honours to be rendered to the memories of those distinguished Calvinists. For which purpose,

(*t*) Heylyn's Miscell. Tracts, p. 500.
(*u*) Hickman's Animad. on Heylyn's Quinq. Hist. p. 193, 194. edit. 1674.
(*x*) Heylyn's Misc. Tr. p. 594.
(*y*) See Fox's Acts and Mon. iii. 645.
(*z*) Fox, *Ibid.* p. 646.
(*a*) Fox, *Ibid.* 648.

letters of commission were issued to Parker, archbishop of Canterbury; to Grindal, then bishop of London: and to others.

Mr. Acworth was, at that time, public orator of Cambridge. Fox gives us the entire speech which that gentleman delivered at, what was termed, "The restitution of Martin Bucer and Paulus Fagius." In the course of his oration, Acworth observed, concerning Bucer, "We saw [*viz.* in king Edward's reign], with our eyes, this University flourishing by his [Bucer's] institutions: the love of sincere religion not only engendered, but also confirmed and strengthened, through his continual and daily preaching. Insomuch that, at such time as he was suddenly taken from us, there was scarce any man, that, for sorrow, could find in his heart to bear with the present state of this life: but that either he wished, with all his heart, to depart out of this life with Bucer, and, by dying, to follow him into immortality; or else endeavoured himself, with weeping and sighing, to call him again into the prison of the body, lest he should leave us as it were standing in battle without a captain. Oxford burnt up the right reverend fathers, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, the noble witnesses of the clear light of the gospel. Moreover at London perished those two lanterns of light, Rogers and Bradford: in whom, it is hard to say, whether there were more force of eloquence and utterance in preaching, or more holiness of life and conversation. What city is there, that hath not flamed with the burning of holy bodies? But Cambridge played the mad bedlam against the dead. The dead men (*viz.* Fagius and Bucer), whose (holiness of) living no man was able to find fault with, whose doctrine no man was able to reprove, were, by false slanderers, indicted; contrary to the laws of God and man, sued in the law; condemned; their sepulchres violated and broken up; their carcasses pulled out, and burned with fire. Bucer, by the excellency of his wit and doctrine, known to all men; of our countrymen, in manner, craved; of many others intreated and sent for, to the intent he might instruct our Cambridge men in the sincere doctrine of the Christian religion; he, being spent with age, and his strength utterly decayed, forsook his own country; refused not the tediousness of that long journey; was not afraid to adventure himself upon the sea; but had more regard to the dilating and amplifying the Church of Christ, than to all other things. So, in conclusion, he came. Every man received and welcomed him. Afterward, he lived in such wise, as it might appear he came not hither for his own sake, but for our's. For, he sought not to drive away the sickness which he had taken by troublesome travel of his long journey. Albeit his strength was weakened and appalled, yet he regarded not the recovery of his health; but put himself to immoderate labour and intolerable pain, only to teach and instruct us. Toward this so noble and worthy a person, while he lived were shewn all the tokens of humanity and gentleness, reverence and courtesy, that could be. He had free access into the most gorgeous buildings and stately palaces of the greatest princes: and, when he was dead, could not be suffered to enjoy so much as his poor grave (*b*)."

I have largely shewn, in a foregoing Section what the doctrine of Bucer was. And the particulars, cited under the present article, demonstrate, that, in the judgment of the Protestant Church and state of England, *regnante Elizabethâ*, Bucer's Calvinistic doctrine was esteemed and taken to be "sincere [*i. e.* pure, genuine] religion;" "doctrine, which no man was able to reprove;" yea, "the sincere doctrine of the Christian religion:" and that Bucer himself was a "noble" and "worthy" person; who, at his death, left our Church-of-England-Protestants almost "without a captain." Let me add, that Dr. Pilkinton, then Margaret professor of divinity, and soon after, bishop of Durham, preached the restitution-sermon, from Psalm cxi. Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord, &c. in honour of the said Bucer and Fagius: and that "the entrance and walls of the Church were all hung with verses in their praise. An account of this restitution the University, on the 3d of August [1560], sent up to the archbishop and the commissioners; acquainting them, with what great joy, and triumph, and applause, it was generally done: and that as soon as their (the commissioners) letters (enjoining this public restitution of honours to the memories of Bucer and Fagius) were read to the senate, and the injuries offered (in the foregoing reign of Mary) to the dead bodies, by them mentioned; they were all presently on fire to honour them (*c*)." The next year, in respect to the great Peter Martyr, then living beyond sea, the remains of his wife (who had died and been buried at Oxford) were transferred from a dunghill, to which queen Mary's Papists had maliciously removed them, and honourably re-interred in Christ's Church (*d*).

(*b*) Fox, *Ibid.* p. 649, 650.

(*c*) Strype's Life of Parker, p. 85.

(*d*) "On the 11th of January [1561], happened a remarkable action at Oxford: *viz.* the solemn restoring of Catherine Vermilia (sometime the pious wife of Peter Martyr) to honourable burial, after a strange indignity offered [by the Papists, in 1556] to her corpse. For our archbishop [Parker], together with Grindal, bishop of London, Richard Goodrick, Esq. and others; by virtue, as it seems, of the queen's ecclesiastical commission; deputed certain fit persons in that University to enquire into a barbarous and inhuman usage of that virtuous woman's dead body; who, [more than] two years after her burial, had been digged up, and carried away, and buried in a dunghill belonging to Dr. Marshall, then dean of Christ's Church; whereof he himself was the great actor, by authority from Cardinal Pole.

"Her restitution was accordingly performed after this manner: The persons, appointed for this business,

So careful was the restored Church of England to testify her grateful regard for whatever had any relation to her pious, learned, Calvinistical reformers.

XVII. It was in the orthodox reign of Elizabeth, that the learned Dr. Willet's inestimable book first appeared, entitled, *Synopsis Papismi*, or, A general View of Papistrie. In this performance, dedicated to the queen, and published by authority, and which is one of the very best batteries that were ever raised for the demolition of Popery, no fewer than fifteen hundred "heresies and errors" are charged on the church of Rome, and most ably refuted, by that profound and indefatigable divine.

I cannot immediately recollect the exact date of the first edition. But a third came out, in 1600. My copy is of the fifth edition, 1634. The author was a prebendary of Ely, and most zealously attached to the Church of England. Not a grain of Puritanism mingled itself with his conformity. Let us hear what Strype says, relatively to the admirable work now under consideration.

"Now also [A. D. 1600] Dr. Andrew Willet set forth a third edition of the *Synopsis Papismi*: which book gave a large account of all the controversies between the church of Rome and the Protestant reformed church; with particular confutations of that degenerate church's errors. Or, as he himself saith of it, containing the whole sum of that holy faith and religion, which the queen maintained, and the Church of England professed (*e*)."

Of that "holy faith," which was "maintained by the queen," and "professed by the Church of England," the Calvinistic doctrines were an essential and an eminent part. This will appear, by the following short passages, extracted from the Synopsis itself.

(1.) Concerning predestination. "Predestination is the decree of God, touching the salvation and condemnation of men.

"God's prescience is not the cause of predestination; for, how can the effect go before the cause? God's will is the cause of predestination.

"As he hath made all men, so hath he freely disposed of their end, according to the counsel of his own will: selecting some, to be vessels of honour; and rejecting others, to be vessels of wrath. And this very well standeth both with the mercy and justice of God, to save some, and reject others: for he might justly condemn all to eternal death (*f*)."

(2.) As to universal grace. "If God give grace unto some, to obey their calling, and thereby to be converted, and not to others; we must not be inquisitive to search, but leave it unto God, whose judgments may be hid and secret, but are always most just: for he hath mercy on whom he will.

"It cannot be literally understood, that God would absolutely have all men to be saved: for, why then should not all be saved? For who hath resisted God's will? Neither can it be answered here, as sometime by the old Pelagians, that God's will is not fulfilled,

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cited those who had been concerned in digging up the body; who, being charged, shewed them the place where she was first buried, which was near St. Frideswide's tomb, on the north part of Christ's Church. Then requiring where they had conveyed the corpse, they were conducted towards Dr. Marshall's stables: and there out of a dunghill, it was digged up, not quite consumed. Which they caused to be carefully deposited in a convenient receptacle, and so brought back therein to the said church: leaving it thus to be watched by the officers of the church, 'till they might conveniently celebrate the re-interment.

"There were, belonging to the said church, two silk bags, wherein the bones of St. Frideswide were wrapt up and preserved: which were wont, on solemn days, to be taken out, and laid upon the altar, to be openly seen and reverenced by the superstitious people. For the preventing any future superstitions with those relics (and yet that no indecency might be used towards the said saint and foundress's bones), and, withal, for the better securing of this late buried holy woman's bones from being disturbed any more; by the advice of Mr. Calfhill, the bones of both were mixed and put together, and so laid in the earth, in one grave, in the upper part of the said church, towards the east: after a speech had been made, to a very great auditory, declaring the reason of the present undertaking. And, on the next day, being the Lord's day, one of the society, named Reorerson, preached a learned and pious sermon on the occasion; and therein took notice of the cruelty exercised by Papists to the bodies of innocent and good men, which they burnt alive; and then, of the horrible inhumanity shewed to this pious matron's dead body; whose life he propounded as an excellent example to imitate. For her farther honour, the University hung upon the church doors many copies of Latin and Greek verses, composed by eminent members thereof. This is the sum of what Calfhill, one of the chief managers wrote to bishop Grindal concerning this matter.

"The Papists have been twitted, by Protestants, with the base usage of this good woman: and they, to lessen their guilt, have laboured to disparage and defame her. One of them called her Fustiluggs; being somewhat corpulent. This occasioned Dr. George Abbot [afterwards archbishop of Canterbury] in his excellent answer to that Romanist, to say some things remarkable of her: which he had the opportunity of knowing, being, himself, of the University of Oxford, and living in or near those times. She was, said he, reasonably corpulent; but of most matron-like modesty: for the which, she was much reverenced by the most. She was of singular patience, and of excellent arts and qualities. Among other things, for her recreation, she delighted to cut plum-stones into curious faces and countenances: of which, exceedingly artificially done, I once had one, with a woman's visage and head-attire on one side, and a bishop with his mitre on the other; which was the elegant work of her hands. By divers, yet living in Oxford [A. D. 1604], this good woman is remembered, and commended, as for her other virtues, so for her liberality to the poor: which, by Mr. Fox, writing how she was treated after her death, is rightly mentioned. For the love of true religion, and the company of her husband, she left her own country, to come into England, in king Edward's days. And so good was her fame here, that, when Papists, in queen Mary's time, being able to get nothing against her, being dead, would needs rage upon the bones of her, a woman, and a stranger; and took them out of her grave from Christian burial, and buried them in a dunghill. Whereupon one made these verses:

Fœmineum ecstem Romani semper amarunt:
Projicitur corpus cur mulierre foras?
Hoc vito pœnas; facilis respondio dando est:
Corpora non curant mortua, vivæ petunt."

Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 100, 101.

(*e*) Life of Whitgift, p. 543.

(*f*) Synopsis Papismi, p. 881. 883.

because man will not: for this were to make men mightier than God (*g*)."

(3.) Limited redemption. "Here we are to consider the beginning of election, the progress thereof, and the end. The beginning: in that God, according to his good pleasure elected his, in Christ, before the foundation of the world. The progress: in that he hath given the elect unto Christ, to be saved and redeemed by him. The end is, that he hath purposed to bring them unto glory.

"Christ only was given to die for the company of the elect. Not that it [*viz.* Christ's death] is not sufficient for the whole world, in itself; but because the efficacy and benefit of Christ's death is only applied by faith to believers; and faith only is of the elect. Christ died, only for those that should believe in him. But it is not given to all, to believe in Christ, except only to the elect which are ordained to life. *Ergo*, for them only Christ died (*h*)."

(4.) Concerning free-will. "They that affirm that God offereth grace and faith equally to all; and that God would have all men to believe; and if they believe not, 'tis not for want of grace, but the fault is only in themselves; do consequently hold, that, to believe, is either wholly, or in part, in man's power. The absurdity of which opinion, we declare thus:

"All cannot have faith; but such as ordained and elected thereunto: John x. 26. John xii. 39. Acts xiii. 48. Faith, and every good gift; the beginning, perfection, and end; is only of God: Rom. ix. 16. Phil. ii. 13. John xv. 5. John vi. 44. They that are drawn of God must needs come unto Christ.

"The patrons of common grace do fall into a flat point of Pelagianism, whose assertion was this: *Vitam æternam cunctis paratam esse, quantum ad Deum; quantum ad arbitrii libertatem, ab eis eam apprehendi, qui sponte Deo crediderunt*" [*i. e.* the Pelagian system maintains, that eternal life is, on God's part, provided for all men; and is, on the part of free-will, to be lain hold upon by as many as spontaneously believe in God]. "This did the old Pelagians hold; this do the new Universalists affirm (*i*).

"A freedom of will, from necessity, we grant to have been in our first parents: whereby it was in their power to have chosen either the good or the evil way. But since that by Adam's transgression, the whole power of nature was shaken, and all the [spiritual] gifts and graces of creation decayed; there remaineth no freeness of will, unto good, in man: but only a voluntary promtpness and inclination to evil without constraint (*k*)."

(5.) Hear him on justification. Under the head of "Popish subtle sleights and distinctions," he deservedly places the anti-christian doctrine of "two justifications: the first, which is only of grace; and the second, wherein we proceed daily by good works." By way of antidote against this palpable poison, Dr. Willet observes, that "The Scripture speaketh of but one justification [before God], which glorification followeth: whom he justified, them he also glorified; Rom. viii. 30. If, then, this one justification do bring us to glorification, what need a second (*l*)?

He adds, elsewhere. "Faith doth not justify us, by the worthiness and dignity thereof; or as it is a quality inherent in man, by any meritorious act, or by the work of believing; or as a proper, efficient cause; but by way of an instrument only; being as it were the hand of the soul, whereby we do apprehend the righteousness of Christ.

"Faith, whereby we are justified, is passive in apprehending the promises of God in Christ, and applying Christ with all his benefits: in which respect, faith only justifieth. It is also active, in bringing forth good fruits, and in quickening of us to every good work; but so it justifieth not [except before men]. Faith, then, is inseparably joined with hope and love, and necessarily yieldeth in us good fruit: but none of all these do concur with faith in the act of our justification: but it is the office only of faith to apply unto us the righteousness of Christ, whereby only we are made righteous before God (*m*)."

(6.) His testimony to the great doctrine of final perseverance shall close these extracts. "These patrons of universal and conditional election and grace [*viz.* the Papists and Pelagians], who affirm, that men are no otherwise elected, but with condition, if they believe; and so long are they elected, as they continue in faith; do consequently also hold, that men may both lose their election, and lose their faith: and, of vessels of honour, if they fall from faith, become vessels of wrath. Now, on the contrary, that both our election is sure before God, neither that the faith of the elect (though it may fail and impair, yet) cannot utterly be lost, we are assured by the evident testimony of Scripture.

"All that are elected shall be assuredly raised up to life eternal. And God, to such as he hath chosen, will give grace to continue. They, therefore, that finally fall away, were not elected in the beginning. And that faith which some have made shipwreck of, is not the justifying faith of the elect; but a temporary, or historical faith. Men's falling away from faith, then, cannot make God's election void, as the apostle saith: Shall their unbelief make the faith [*i. e.* the unalterable faithfulness] of God without effect? Rom. iii. 3. (*n*)

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 886.
(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 803, 894.
(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 908, 909.
(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 931, 932.
(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 993.
(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 993, 985.
(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 912, 913.

"The Papists say, a man may fall away from the faith which once truly he had, and be deprived altogether of the state of grace, so that he may justly be counted among the reprobates.

"Our sentence [*i. e.* the judgment and opinion of us church of England men] is this: that he, who once hath received a true, lively faith, and is thereby justified before God, can never finally fall away. Neither can that faith utterly perish, or fail in him. Though it may, for a while, somewhat decay, and be impaired; yet shall it revive, and he be raised up again (*o*).

Such were the doctrines which queen Elizabeth "maintained" and the "Church of England professed."

XVIII. Another conclusive argument, to the same effect, may be drawn from the learned Dr. William Fulke's confutation of the Rhemish Testament, published about the middle of this reign. The occasion was as follows:

The English Papists in the seminary at Rheims, perceiving, as Fuller observes, that they could no longer "blindfold their laity from the Scriptures, resolved to fit them with false spectacles; and set forth the Rhemish translation (*p*)", in opposition to the Protestant versions. No man fitter, in point either of learning, or of grace, to stand forth, in the name of the Church of England than Dr. Fulke, Master of Pembroke Hall, and Margaret professor of divinity, in Cambridge, He accordingly undertook, and successfully accomplished, an entire refutation of the Popish version and commentary. The late great and good Mr. Hervey (who, from an exuberance of candour, was sometimes rather too sanguine and indiscriminate, in his public recommendation of books; witness the high strains of undue panegyric, in which he condescended to celebrate Bengelius's Gnomon) passed a very just encomium on Dr. Fulke's noble performance: which he styles, a "Valuable piece of ancient Controversy and criticism, full of sound divinity, weighty arguments, and important observations." Adding: "Would the young student be taught to discover the very sinews of Popery, and be enabled to give an effectual blow to that complication of errors; I scarce know a treatise, better calculated for the purpose (*q*)."

It was dedicated to the queen, and did honour to the royal patronage. Two or three brief extracts will suffice to shew what is Popery, and what is Protestantism, in the estimation of the church of England.

1. In their note on Matt. xxv. 20, the Romish-Rhemish commentators express themselves thus: "Free-will, with God's grace, doth merit." No, says Fulke in his answer, "The will, the work, and the fruit thereof, and the faith from whence it floweth, are all the gifts of God, and no merit of man (*r*)."

The Papists affirmed that Christ "worketh not our good, against our wills; but our wills concurring." The protestant Doctor replies, "Man hath no free-will to accept God's benefits, before God, of unwilling, by his only grace maketh him willing (*s*)."

The Catholics admitted, as some moderate Arminians do now, that man "was wounded very sore in his understanding and free-will, and all other powers of soul and body, by the sin of Adam: but that neither understanding, nor free-will, nor the rest, were extinguished in man, nor taken away." Fulke answers: "Against this vain collection by allegory, the Scripture is plain, that we are all dead in sin, by the sin of Adam. So that neither the will, nor the understanding, have any heavenly life in them (*t*)."

2. 'Tis amusing to observe, what a curious hash (bishop Latimer would have said, minglemangle) the Catholic expositors tossed up, of merit and grace, free-will and predestination, in their note on Rom. viii. 30. They observe, that "God's eternal foresight, love, purpose," &c. are "the gulph," whereon "many proud persons" have founded "most horrible blasphemies against God's mercy, and divers damnable errors against man's free-will, and against all good life in religion;" but that "this said eminent truth, of God's eternal predestination, doth stand with man's free-will and the true liberty of his actions, nor taketh away the means or nature of merits, and cooperation with God to our own and other men's salvation." In opposition to which wretched jumble, our Church of England champion thus replies: The eternal predestination of God excludeth the merits of man, and the power of his will thereby to attain to eternal life: yet forceth not man's will, to good or ill; but altereth the will, of him who is ordained to life, from evil to good (*u*).

The aforesaid Papists affirmed, that "God is not the cause of any man's reprobation or damnation." On the contrary, Dr. Fulke insisted, that "God reprobateth, justly, whom he will; and condemneth the reprobate, justly, for sin (*x*)."

The Catholics would have it, that, toward the effecting of conversion and salvation, grace and free-will contribute, each, its quota: with this difference, however, that grace is the principal, and free-will the subordinate, contributor. "We may not," say they, with heretics, infer, that man hath not free-will, or that our will worketh nothing, in our conversion, or coming to God. But this

(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 1000, 1010. (*p*) See Fuller's account of Dr. Fulke, in the English Worthies; Lond. 219.
(*q*) Theron and Aspasio, vol. ii. p. 436. Edit. 1767.

(*r*) Fulke's Confutation of Rhem. Test. p. 91. Edit. Lond. 1617. (*s*) *Ibid.* p. 166.
(*t*) P. 195. (*u*) P. 462. (*x*) P. 464

only: that our willing, or working, of any good, to our salvation, cometh of God's special motion, grace, and assistance; and that it [*viz.* free-will] is the secondary cause, not the principal." Excellent, and full to the point, is Dr. Fulke's demolition of this artful but insufficient sophism; which he demolishes thus: "Our election, calling, and first coming to God, lieth wholly in God's mercy; and not either wholly, or principally, or any thing at all, in our own will, or works. But whom God electeth before time, he calleth in time, by him appointed; and, of unwilling, by his grace maketh them willing to come to him, and to walk in good works unto which he hath elected them. So that man hath no free-will, until it be freed (*y*)."

3. I shall only add a passage or two, from each side, concerning justification.

At, and soon after, the Reformation, the Papists, finding themselves hard pushed by the numerous Scriptures which assert justification without works, were driven to the false and absurd resource of there being more justifications that one. That great ornament of our reformed church, bishop Downame, seems to have considered cardinal Bellarmine as the first broacher of these multiplied justifications (*z*). But, let them have been invented by whom they would, the Romish divines caught at the multiplication, with no little eagerness. The plurality of justifications soon passed as current, in that church, as Peter-pence; and like the hunted slipper, cirulated, with all possible glibness, from hand to hand. Among the rest, thus speak the Remish translators: "Not faith alone, but good works also do justify. Therefore, St. Paul meaneth the same that St. James. The first justification [is] without works: the second, by works. St. Paul speaketh of the first, specially; St. James, of the second." Agreeably to this ridiculous distinction, they affirm the first justification to take place, "when an infidel, or ill man, is made just, who had no acceptable works before to be justified by." Which man, it seems, must, some time afterwards, be justified over again: and this second, or over-and-above justification they define to be, "An increase of former justice, which he, who is in God's grace, daily proceedeth in, by doing all kind of good works; and for doing of which, he is just indeed before God." Observe, by the way, how wretchedly these two Popish justifications hang together. The first makes us just: the second makes us just indeed. As if being just indeed was not included in being indeed just! We have heard the popish distinction, and the Popish explication of that distinction. Let me now administer Dr. Fulke's Protestant antidote against the poison of both. "Your distinction of the first and second justification before God, is but a new device, not three-score years old, [and] utterly unheard of among the ancient fathers. For whom God justifieth by faith, without works, he also glorifieth; Rom. viii. 30. And that which you call the second justification, or increase of justice, is but the effect and fruits of justification before God; and a declaration before men, that we are just. And so meaneth St. James: that Abraham, who was justified, or made just, before God, through faith, was also justified, or declared to be just, before men, by works. We affirm, that God justifieth us, when he imputeth justice [*i. e.* righteousness], to us, without works: by which imputation we are not falsely accounted, but are indeed by God truly made just, by the righteousness of Christ, which is given unto us, and which we apprehend by faith (*a*)."

XIX. I cannot help touching on another proof of that exquisite, but not undue, jealousy and care, with which the doctrinal Calvinism of our church was watched and guarded in the reign now under consideration.

So precious a palladium were the sister-doctrines of free predestination and of justification by faith only, then deemed; that whosoever lifted but a finger against either was supposed to touch the apple of the Church of England's eye. Witness what Mr. Strype relates, concerning a poor handful of free-will men, who could not assemble in a private conventicle without attracting the rod of ecclesiastical censure and suffering, by the archbishop of Canterbury's means, the rigorous penalty of imprisonment itself.

"There was a religious assembly now [A. D. 1586], taken notice of (whereof one Glover was a chief, and, as it seems, a minister), complained of, for their opinions, to the archbishop [Whitgift]: which Glover, with some others, was imprisoned. But whatsoever this society was, they seemed so excusable to the lord treasurer Burleigh, that he wrote a letter to the archbishop in their favour. In which letter may be seen, what their tenets and doctrines were: namely, about the sense of justification and predestination. Followers, perhaps, of Dr. Peter Baro and Corranus (*b*)." In all probability, lord Burleigh's humane application to the primate, in behalf of these theological delinquents, procured them a gaol-delivery, and set the free-will men corporally free. So, at least I conjecture, from the letter of thanks, written, by the said Glover, to the said lord treasurer: which letter whoso listeth to read may find in Strype's volume and page beforementioned. Thus much, however, I shall observe from it; that Mr. Glover, the free-will man, lays all the cause of his and his

(*y*) P. 465. (*z*) See Bishop Downame on Justification, p. 452 & 532. Edit. 1633.

(*a*) Dr. Fulke, *u. s.* p. 441.
(*b*) Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 431.

brethren's imprisonment, on their dissenting from Luther's doctrine of justification without works, and from Calvin's doctrine of unconditional predestination; and loudly complains of the "iniquity and tyranny" of their prosecutors: which included a tacit fling at the archbishop himself. And, to say the truth, the bishops, that then were, had just as much regard for the free-will men, as St. Paul had for the viper he shook into the fire.

XX. One proof more shall finish our review of queen Elizabeth's ecclesiastical administration. And that proof shall be drawn from the order that was issued, and which was as punctually obeyed, for the placing of good Mr. Fox's Calvinistic martyrology in all the parish churches of England, for the instruction and edification of the people at the intervals of divine service. Hence it is, that, in some of our churches, we see those inestimable volumes preserved to this day. Nor, perhaps, could our present secular and ecclesiastical governors do a more substantial service to the souls of the common people, than by renewing that well-judged command, and taking care to have every church re-furnished with those venerable records of Protestant antiquity: which with their suitable companion, the Book of Homilies, might be more conducive to the expulsion of the religious darkness that now overwhelms this land, than all the apostolic travels of a thousand Lancashire missionaries.

"This history of the church [*viz.* Fox's Martyrology] was," says Strype, "of such value and esteem for the use of it to Christian readers, and the service of our religion reformed, that it was, in the days of queen Elizabeth, enjoined to be set up, in some convenient place, in all the parish churches, together with the Bible, and bishop Jewel's Defence of the Apology of the Church of England: to be read, at all suitable times, by the people, before or after service (*c*)."

Nor was this all. By the canons of the convocation, held under archbishop Parker, in St. Paul's cathedral, A. D. 1571, it was enjoined, that each of the archbishops, and every bishop should procure the holy Bible of the largest edition, and Fox's Martyrology, and other similar books, conducive to religion; and place the said books, either in the hall of their respective dwelling-houses, or in their principal dining-room: that so those books might be serviceable both to such company as might come to visit the said dignitaries, and likewise to their own servants and domestics (*d*)."

Moreover, every dean was enjoined by the canons aforesaid, to see that each cathedral church, respectively, was furnished with the books above mentioned: which books were to be placed in such an open and convenient part of each cathedral, that they might be both heard and read by the priests, vicars, minor canons, and other ministers, and also by such strangers and travellers, as might occasionally resort to the said cathedrals. The word "heard" [*ut commodè audiri et legi possint*] seems to indicate, that Fox's Martyrology was publicly and audibly read by the clergy (in the nave, or some other capacious part of each cathedral church, at such times as divine service was not celebrating in the choir), to those persons who attended, out of church hours for that purpose. It is much to be wished that the same laudable practice was still continued.

To all this, I must add, that, by the same ecclesiastical injunctions, passed in full convocation, every dean, prebend, canon residentiary, and archdeacon, was to procure the said predestinarian Martyrology, and place it in some conspicuous and frequented room of his house, for the benefit of servants, visitors, and all comers and goers. The same order, according to Anthony Wood, (*e*) was extended to all the heads of colleges, in the two Universities; who were required to place the Martyrology in their college halls respectively.

Let us next examine, whether Fox's Martyrology be indeed a Calvinistic performance.

Proof has already been given of the ample testimony which that history bears to the Calvinism of those excellent men, whose martyrdoms it records. Nor does it bear less testimony to the Calvinism of the admirable historian himself. Witness what immediately follows:

"The secret purpose of Almighty God," says Mr. Fox, "disposeth all things (*f*)." A golden sentence, which, alone, might suffice to show what complexion his book is of. But the complexion, both of him and it, will appear, still more explicitly, from an abstract of what he delivers, in that part of his work which professedly treats on election and reprobation.

"As touching the doctrine of election," says this most venerable master in our protestant Israel, three things must be considered:

(*c*) Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 503.

(*d*) Quivis archiepiscopus, et episcopus, habebit Domi suæ Sacra Biblia, in amplissimo volumine, uti nuperrimè Londini excusa sunt; et plenam illam historiam, quæ inscribitur, Monumenta Martyrum: et alios quosdam libros ad religionem appositos. Locentur autem isti libri, vel in aulâ, vel in grandi cœnaculo; ut et ipsorum famulis, et advenis, usui esse possint.

Eosdem illos libros, quos prædixi divinus, Decanus quisque curabit emi, et locari in ecclesiâ sibi cathedrali, ejusmodi in loco, ut à vicariis, et minoribus canonicis, et ministris ecclesiæ, et ab advenis, et peregrinis, commodè audiri et legi possint.

Eosdem libros illos decanus, et primarius quisque residentiarius, quos appellant ecclesiæ dignitates, ement suo quisque famulitio; eosque, opportuno aliquo in loco, vel in aulâ, vel in cœnaculo ponendos.

Quivis archidiaconus habebit, Domi suæ, et alios libros, et nominatim eos, qui jussi fuerunt, monumenta martyrum.

See bishop Sparrow's collections, p. 227, 228.—Edit. 1684.

(*e*) Athen. I. 187. (*f*) Acts & Mon. iii. 761.

"1. What God's election is, and what is the cause thereof.

"2. How God's election proceedeth in working our salvation.

"3. To whom God's election pertaineth, and how a man may be certain thereof.

"Between predestination and election, this difference there is: predestination is as well [*i. e.* relates as much] to the reprobate, as to the elect; election pertaineth only to them that be saved.

"Predestination is the eternal decreement of God, purposed before in himself, what shall befal on all men, either to salvation or damnation.

"Election is the free mercy and grace of God, in his own will, through faith in Christ, his Son, choosing and preferring to life such as pleaseth him.

"In this definition of election, first goeth before the mercy and grace of God, as the causes thereof; whereby are excluded all works of the law, and merits of deserving, whether they go before faith, or come after. So was Jacob chosen, and Esau refused, before either of them began to work. In that this mercy and grace of God, in this definition is said to be free; thereby is to be noted the proceeding and working of God not to be bounded to any ordinary place, succession of chair, state or dignity of person, worthiness of blood, &c. but all goeth by the mere will of his own purpose. It is added, in his own will. By this falleth down the free-will and purpose of man, with all his actions, counsel, and strength of nature: according as it is written, It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy. So we see how Israel ran along, and yet got nothing. The Gentiles later began to set out, and yet got the game. So they, who came at the first hour, did labour more; and yet they, who came last, were rewarded with the first. The working will of the Pharisee seemed better; but yet the Lord's will was rather to justify the Publican. The elder son [in the parable] had a better will to tarry by his father, and so did indeed; and yet the fat calf was given to the younger son that ran away.

"Whereby we are to understand, how the matter goeth, not by the will of man; but by the will of God, as it pleaseth him to accept; according as it is written, Who were born, not of the will of the flesh, nor by the will of man, but of God.

"God's mercy and free grace bringeth forth election. Election worketh vocation, or God's holy calling. Which vocation, through hearing, bringeth knowledge and faith of Christ. Faith, through promise, obtaineth justification. Justification, through hope, waiteth for glorification.

"Election is before time. Vocation and faith come in time. Justification and glorification are without end.

"Election, depending on God's free grace and will, excludeth all man's will, blind fortune, chance, and all peradventures.

"Vocation, standing upon God's election, excludeth all man's wisdom, cunning, learning, intention, power, and presumption.

"Faith in Christ, proceeding by the gift of the Holy Ghost, and freely justifying man by God's promise, excludeth all other merits of men, all condition of deserving, and all works of the law, both God's law and man's law, with all other outward means whatsoever.

"This order and connection of causes is diligently to be observed, because of the Papists, who have miserably confounded and inverted this doctrine; teaching, that Almighty God, so far forth as he foreseeth man's merits before to come, so doeth he dispense his election. As though we had our election, by our holiness that followeth after; and not, rather, have our holiness, by God's election going before.

"If the question be asked, why was Abraham chosen, and not Nachor? why was Jacob chosen, and not Esau? why was Moses elected, and Pharaoh hardened? why David accepted, and Saul refused? why few be chosen, and the most forsaken? It cannot be answered otherwise but thus—because it was so the good will of God.

"In like manner, touching vocation, and also faith. If it be asked, why this vocation and gift of faith was given to Cornelius the Gentile, and not to Tertullus the Jew? why the beggars, by the highways, were called, and the bidden guests excluded? we can go to no other cause, but to God's purpose and election; and say, with Christ our Saviour, Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight.

"And so for justification likewise. If the question be asked, why the Publican was justified, and not the Pharisee? why Mary the sinner, and not Simon the inviter? why harlots and publicans go before the Scribes and Pharisees in the kingdom? why the son of the free woman was received, and the bond woman's son, being his elder, was rejected? why Israel, which so long sought for righteousness, found it not; and the Gentiles which sought not for it, found it? We have no other cause hereof to render, but to say, with St. Paul, Because they sought for it by works of the law, and not by faith: which faith cometh not by man's will (as the Papist falsely pretendeth), but only by the election and free gift of God.

"Wheresoever election goeth before, there faith in Christ must needs follow after. And again, whosoever believeth in Christ Jesus, through the vocation of God, he must needs be partaker of God's election.

"Whereupon resulteth now the third note, or consideration: which is, to consider, whether a man, in this life, may be certain of his election?

"Although our election and vocation simply indeed be known to God only in himself, *á priore*; yet, notwithstanding, it may be known to every particular faithful man, *à posteriore*; that is, by means: which means, is faith in Christ Jesus crucified. And therefore it is truly said, *De electione judicandum est á posteriore*: that is to say, we must judge of election by that which cometh after: *i. e.* by our faith and belief in Christ, which certifieth us of this election of God. For albeit that election be first certain in the knowledge, of God; yet, in our knowledge, faith only, that we have in Christ, is the thing that giveth to us our certificate and comfort of this election. Election [is] first known to God, and last opened to man (*g*)."

So speaks the book, with which the archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, prebendaries, and canons residentiary, were enjoined to enrich their principal apartments: which all deans were commanded to place in their Cathedrals: which all heads of colleges were required to exhibit in the public halls of each University: and which constituted part of the religious furniture of every parish church, throughout the kingdom.

Well, therefore, might bishop Davenant affirm, that Laud's parasite, Samuel Hoord the Arminian, "so farre forth as he seemeth to oppose the absolute decree of predestination, and the absolute decree of negative reprobation, or non-election; reducing them to the contrary, foreseen conditions of good or bad acts in men; he crosseth the received doctrine of the Church of England (*h*). I will," adds the bishop, "lay down such fundamental doctrines, concerning predestination or election, as I conceive are grounded upon the XVIIth Article, and have always been taken for the common received doctrine of our Church: the contradictory [doctrines, *viz.* the doctrines of Pelagius and Arminius] having been always, when they were broached, held and censured for erroneous by our Universities and reverend bishops (*i*). As for those, whom you [*viz.* you Samuel Hoord] term Sublapsarians, you should have taken notice, that in this number you must put all who embrace St. Augustine's doctrines, and who have subscribed to the XVIIth Article of our Church. So that, by joining yourself with the remonstrants [*i. e.* with the Arminians], you have as clearly forsaken the doctrine of the Church of England, as [you have forsaken the doctrine] of Beza, Zanchius, or Piscator (*k*). Our Church of England was more willing and desirous to set down expressly the doctrine of absolute predestination, I mean of predestination causing faith and perseverance, than it was of [setting down so expressly] absolute negative reprobation. It was wisdom, which made our Church so clear in the article for absolute predestination, and yet so reserved in the other [*viz.* in the point of reprobation]: easily perceiving, that [the] predestination of some men [to eternal life] cannot be affirmed, but non-predestination [to life], or preterition, or negative reprobation, (call it as you please) of some others, must needs therewith be understood. For the truth of absolute reprobation, so farre forth as it is connected and conjoined with absolute predestination; when the main intent of the remonstrants is, by opposing the former, to over-throw the latter, it importeth those, who have subscribed to the 17th article, not to suffer it to be obliquely undermined (*l*)." The learned prelate's reasoning is masterly and just. For, 1. The predestination of some to life, asserted in the 17th article of our Church, cannot be maintained, without admitting the reprobation of some others unto death. 2. This reprobation, though not expressly asserted in the article, is palpably deducible from it: yea, so necessary is the inference, that, without it, the article itself cannot stand. Consequently, 3. Whoever opposes reprobation "obliquely undermines" the 17th article. And, 4. All, "who have subscribed" to the said article are bound in honour, conscience, and law, to defend reprobation, were it only to keep the 17th article upon its legs. So argues bishop Davenant.

From the proofs, which this Section hath alledged, of the Calvinism of our established Church, through the entire reign of queen Elizabeth; it follows (no less clearly than reprobation follows from our 17th article) that the established religion of this land was, originally; remained, successively; and still continues to be, intrinsically; as remote from, and as essentially the reverse of, Pelagianism and Arminianism, in every point and respect whatsoever, as any two things, within the whole compass of existence, can be remote and different from each other.

A conviction of this most plain and certain truth made Dr. Carleton, bishop of Chichester, express himself in these positive, but not too positive, terms: "I am well assured, that the learned bishops, who were in the reformation of our Church in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, did so much honour St. Augustine, that, in the collecting of the Articles and Homilies, and other things in that reformation, they had an especial respect unto St. Augustine's doctrines (*m*)."

This I much suspect to be the chief cause of Mr. Wesley's unappeasable wrath against the memory of old queen Bess: though his ostensible reason is, the behaviour of that princess to her female neighbour of Scotland. It is curious to observe the tiffing vehemence, wherewith the petty dragon spits his harmless

(*g*) Fox's Acts & Mon. iii. 292, 293.
(*h*) Bishop Davenant's Animadversions on Hoord, p. 5.——Cambridge, 1641.
(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 7, 8. (*k*) *Ibid.* p. 28, 29.
(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 55, 56.
(*m*) Carleton's Examin. of Montague, p. 2

fire at the dead lioness. "What then was queen Elizabeth? As just and merciful as Nero, and as good a Christian as Mahomet (*n*)."

Let the following authentic account of the truly pious manner, in which that great monarch closed her life, determine what degree of credit is due to the spitting journalizer; and shew, whether she was a Mahometan or a Christian.

"She [queen Elizabeth] had several of her learned and pious bishops frequently about her, performing the last offices of religion with her. Particularly, Watson, bishop of Chichester, her almoner; the bishop of London; and chiefly, the archbishop [Whitgift]: with whom, in their prayers, she very devoutly, both in her eyes, hands, and tongue, and with great fervency, joined; making signs and shews, to her last remembrance, of the sweet comfort she took in their presence and assistance, and of the unspeakable joy she was going unto.

"Her death drawing near, the archbishop exhorted her to fix her thoughts on God; the better to draw off her mind from other secular things, concerning her kingdom and successor, which some of her court then propounded to her. To which good advice, she answered him, she did so; nor did her mind wander from God. And as a sign thereof, when she could not speak, she was observed much to lift up her eyes and hands to Heaven.

"Her Almoner rehearsing to her the grounds of the Christian faith, and requiring her assent unto them by some sign; she readily gave it, both with hand and eye. And, when he proceeded to tell her, that it was not enough, generally to believe that those articles of faith were true; but that all Christian men were to believe them true to them, and that they themselves were members of the true Church, and redeemed by Jesus Christ, and that their sins were forgiven to them; she did, again, with great shew of faith, lift up her eyes and hands to Heaven, and so stayed them long, as a testimony she gave of applying the same unto herself (*o*)."

"This queen, says lord Bacon, as touching her religion, was pious, moderate, constant, and an enemy to novelty. For her piety, though the same were most conspicuous in her acts, and the form of her government; yet it was pourtrayed also in the common course of her life, and her daily comportment. Seldom would she be absent from hearing divine service, and other duties of religion, either in her chapel, or in her privy closet. In the reading of the Scriptures, and the writings of the fathers, especially of St. Augustine, she was very frequent: and she composed certain prayers, herself, upon emergent occasions. Within the compass of one year, she did so establish and settle all matters belonging to the Church, as she departed not one hair's breadth from them to the end of her life. Nay, and her usual custom was, in the beginning of every parliament, to forewarn the houses not to question or innovate any thing already established in the discipline or rites of the Church.

"Her (*p*) stature [say Guthrie, Welwood, and Bacon] was somewhat tall, and her complexion fair. She understood the Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, French, and Dutch languages. She translated several pieces from Xenophon, Isocrates, Seneca, Boëthius, and other ancients, with taste and accuracy. The Augustan age was revived in her reign: and the true religion was so well established before she left the world, that her reign ought justly to be termed the golden age of the Church of England (*q*)."

SECTION XIX.

State of the Calvinistic *Doctrines in* England, *from the Death of* Elizabeth *to that of King* James *the First.*

JAMES the First's accession to the crown of England was, for many years, followed by no shadow of alteration in the theological principles of our ruling ecclesiastics. The king himself was a Calvinist in theory: but more, by virtue of outward and visible education, than of inward and spiritual grace. His own personal morals did by no means comport with the rectitude of his speculative system. England had seen few princes more warmly orthodox; and not very many, whose private manners were so thoroughly profligate and eccentric. A proof, that the purest set of religious tenets, when they float merely on the surface of the understanding, and are no otherwise received, than scholastically, as a science, without reaching the heart, are sure to leave the life and manners uncultivated and unrenewed. The regenerating influence of God's holy spirit on the soul, is the best door for the doctrines of grace to enter at. When they flow to us through the channel of celestial experience, they cannot fail to throw our hearts, our tempers, and our morals, into the mould of holiness. There are two sorts of persons, whose condition is eminently dangerous: those, who know just enough of the gospel system, to hate it; and those, who profess to love it, but hold it in unrighteousness.

King James, amidst all his deviations from virtue; amidst all his mental weaknesses, and political absurdities; was the most learned secular prince then in Europe. His talents as a scholar, were far from being so extremely

(*n*) Wesley's Journal from 1765 to 1768, p. 124.
(*o*) Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 560, 561.
(*p*) She was five feet and eleven inches, Whitgift, two inches taller than Agustus the Roman emperor. Dorham's Phys. Theol. p. 331.
(*q*) Rolt's Lives of the Reformers, p. 202.

despicable and superficial, as his defect of wisdom and his excess of self-opinion have led some historians to suppose. Had his judgment and his virtues borne any proportion to his acquirements, his name would have adorned, instead of dishonouring, as it does, the catalogue of kings. His two sons, prince Henry, and Charles the first, though they had not half the literary attainments of their father, yet eclipsed him totally, even as a man of parts, by force of superior genius, and by possessing a larger stock of private virtue. Vice (especially those species of it, to which James was enslaved) has a native tendency to debase, enfeeble, and diminish, the powers of the mind. To which must be added, that the erudition, as well as the whole personal and civil conduct, of this mean prince, appeared to peculiar disadvantage, after the wise, the shining, the vigorous administration of Elizabeth: who was immensely his superior, both in elegant learning, and in the art of government.

That James was a speculative Calvinist, his own writings abundantly declare. Mr. Hume gives a sort of ambiguous intimation (r) that, towards the end of his reign, he adopted the principles of Arminius. I wish that polite, but not always impartial historian, had favoured us with the authorities (if any such there be) on which that implication was grounded. I should be extremely glad, to see it proved, that James actually did apostatize, in his latter years, to the Arminian tenets. For he really was no honour to us. King as he was, the meanest Calvinist in his dominions might have blushed to call him brother. It were pity, that a man of so corrupt a heart should live and die with a set of sound opinions in his head.

But I have never been able to find, that there is the smallest shadow of foundation, for supposing, that he ever dropped, what Mr. Hume pleases to term, "The more rigid principles of absolute reprobation and unconditional decrees." On the contrary, his religious tenets, and his principles of political tyranny, seem, like flesh and spirit, to have been in perpetual conflict with each other, during the last years of his life. Let me explain myself. The point is curious: and not altogether uninteresting.

James was wicked enough to hunger and thirst after the liberties of his people. But, with all his boasted king-craft (as he called it), he was, providentially, destitute both of wisdom and spirit, to carry his wish into execution. Much of his reign was wasted, in contemptible striving to balance matters between the Protestants and the Papists; the latter of whom he affected to keep fair with, on account of their being, as he phrased it, "dextrous king-killers." Just as some Indians are said to worship the devil, for fear he should do them a mischief.

For sometime before his death, James's wretched politics took a turn, somewhat different. His royal care was to trim between the Calvinists and the Arminians (though the latter, at that time, hardly amounted to a handful): or, rather, to play them off against each other, while he buckled himself the faster into the saddle of despotism.

The Calvinists, though, even in his own judgment, religiously orthodox; were considered by him as state heretics, because they were friends to the rights of mankind, and repressed the encroachments of civil tyranny.

On the other hand, the Arminians (then newly sprung up; or rather, newly imported from the Dutch coast) were detested by James, for the novelty, and for the supposed ill tendency, of their religious sentiments. The Arminians had, therefore, but one card to play, in order to save a losing game: which was to compensate for their religious heterodoxies, by state orthodoxy. They were forced even to avoid the inconveniences of persecution itself (for James had given proof that he could burn heretics as well as any of his predecessors), to fall in with the court-measures for extending the prerogative.

This card the Arminians accordingly played. It won: and gave a new turn to the game. It not only saved them from civil penalties, but (of which, probably, at first they were not so sanguine as to entertain the most distant expectation) they even began to be regarded, at court, as serviceable folks.

Hence, from being exclaimed against, as the very pests of Christian society; they gradually obtained connivance, toleration and countenance. To sum up all: they got ground in the close of James's reign; and, in that of Charles, saw themselves, for the first time, at the top of the ecclesiastical wheel.

Every one who is at all acquainted with the history of James's administration, knows that I have not over-charged a single feature. For the sake, however, of such readers as may not be versed in this kind of inquiries, I confirm the account, already given, by the following extract of Tindal.

"Soon after the accession of king James, the canons of the church were confirmed by the king and convocation. Things were in this state, when a great turn happened in the doctrine of the church. The Arminian, or remonstrant tenets, which had been condemned by the synod at Dort, began to spread in England (s). The Calvinistical sense of the [39] articles was discouraged; and in-

(r) Hist. of Eng. vol. v. p. 572.

(s) Observe: the "Arminian tenets" did not "begin" to "spread in England," till after the said tenets had been condemned "by the synod at Dort." Which condemnation by that synod took place, A. D. 1619; about sixteen years after James's accession to the English crown, and little more than five years before his majesty's death. Of such very modern

junctions were published against preaching upon predestination, election, efficacy of grace, &c. while the Arminians were suffered to inculcate their doctrines (*t*)" without control.

So much for the conduct of James and his court. Now, for the reason of that conduct. This the above historian immediately assigns, in manner and form following:

"As Arminianism was first embraced by those who were for exalting the [king's] prerogative above law; all, who adhered to the side of [civil] liberty, and to the Calvinistical sense of the articles, tho' ever so good churchmen, were branded by the court with the name of Puritans. By this means the [real] Puritans acquired great strength: for the bulk of the people and clergy were at once confounded with them (*u*)," under the absurd, new invented names of doctrinal and state-puritans.

What, if to the testimony of this whig historian, we add that of a tory compiler? "The whole nation, was now" [*viz.* A. D. 1622.] "divided between the court and the country parties. All the Papists, and the Arminians (who were by this time formed into a sect in England), espoused the cause of the king. Those who professed the tenets of Arminius were now as much caressed as they had been formerly detested, by the courtiers. And William Laud, who had adopted this faith, was promoted to the bishoprick of St. David's (*x*)."

It is plain, then, that the reason why James I. was "insensibly engaged towards the end of his reign to favour" [for it does not appear that he ever adopted] "the milder theology of Arminius (*y*)," was, because the partizans of that new theology were much "milder" and more friendly to James's scheme of setting himself above law, than were the partizans of the established Calvinistic doctrines. The moving cause, why that weak and vicious prince laboured to ram Arminianism down the throats of his Protestant subjects, was, the innate fitness of Arminianism to subserve and promote the purposes of arbitrary power. At the very time that James manifestly appears to have abhorred the religious tenets of Arminius, considered as religious, he professedly patronised the maintainers of those identical tenets, because he regarded both the tenets and their maintainers as the best state-engines he could employ, to effectuate that plan of secular tyranny, on which he had so vehemently set his heart.

To what an unprincely and uncomfortable dilemma had James reduced himself! He could not persist in carrying on his old theological war against Arminianism, without weakening the foundations of the tyrannical fabric he intended to rear. Nor could he proclaim peace, without rendering himself, to the last degree contemptible for his inconsistencies. On one hand, conscience, religious conviction, and a regard to his own character, united to dissuade him from taking the Arminians into his alliance: and haunted him with, O my soul, go not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united. On the other hand, his "king-craft," *i. e.* the shallow cunning of a mean and vicious policy, suggested to him, in behalf of the Arminian sect he so deeply hated, If ye be come peaceably unto me, to help me, my heart shall be knit unto you.

To help him, they accordingly tried. And knit to them, as a state party, he certainly was, for the last four years of his life. Should it be asked, 'What could render the friendship of the Arminians so important in James's idea, seeing their number was then so very few?' The answer is obvious. The new and few Arminians were joined by the whole body of Roman Catholics: and it was this junction of forces which augmented their weight. Each of these two obnoxious parties lying open to the lash of the law, wished to recommend themselves to the favour of the court. Effectually to do so, they adopted and propagated the then court-maxim of unlimited obedience to princes, with all possible fervour. A coalition of interests naturally produces a coalition of parties. It was no wonder, therefore, as the Papists and the Arminians had one and the same end to promote, and promoted that end by the self-same means, that they should, as a state faction, swim hand in hand with each other. Nor was the association, considered even in a religious view, at all unnatural. Arminianism pulls up, and removes, five, at the very least, of those ancient landmarks (might I not say five and twenty?) by which Protestantism and Popery are severed from each other. Such a theological and political coincidence might well produce (as it actually did) a civil union between the partizans of Rome and the disciples of Arminius. They both aspired, in amicable conjunction, to the favour of James: and James caught at their alliance, with as great eagerness, as they aspired to his.

But the accession of such recruits, as these, reflected no honour on the king; and, in reality, did him no service. It added to the national jealousy, and quickened the national resentment. In all appearance, James died just at the time when matters were ripening to a crisis between him and his people. Had his reign been protracted much longer, 'tis probable, either that his crown would have trembled on his brow; or, that its security must have been purchased by

standing, in England, is that Arminianism, which, coming to its full growth under Charles the First,

Per populos crasum, medioque per ilicis urbem,
Ilicet ornans, dixumque dilapsa beat honores."

(*t*) Tindal's Cont. of Rapin, vol. iii. p. 279, 280. Octavo.
(*u*) Tindal, *Ibid.* 280.
(*x*) Smollett's Hist. vol. vii. p. 80. Octavo 1759.
(*y*) Hume. vol. v. p. 372.

a number of just and necessary concessions to a brave and injured nation.

With what propriety and decency this prince affected to cherish Arminianism, let the productions of his own pen testify. But, before I briefly appeal to these, let James's best historiographer, the honest Mr. Arthur Wilson, supply us with an introduction to them.

"Our neighbours of the Netherlands had" [in the beginning of the seventeenth century] "a fire kindled in their own bosoms: [namely,] a schism in the church, and a faction in the state. The first author of the schism was (*z*) Arminius: who had been divinity-professor at Leyden. He died in the year 1609; leaving behind him the seeds of the Pelagian heresy.

"This rupture in the bowels of the church [of Holland] grew so great, that it endangered the body of the state. The chief rulers and magistrates, in the several provinces, being tainted with this error, strove to establish it by power: among whom, Barnevelt was a principal agent. He, by the assistance of Hoogenberts of Leyden, Grotius of Rotterdam, and Leidenburgh, secretary of Utrecht, with others their adherents, drew on the design: which was to suppress the Protestant reformed religion, and establish the tenets of Arminius; being fomented by the kings of France and Spain, as the immediate way to introduce Popery. This went on so smoothly that the orthodox ministers were expelled out of their principal towns, and none but Arminians admitted to preach to the people: which, in some places, bred many combustions, that tended to nothing but popular confusion.

"But, long before this time, our king James I.) saw the storm coming upon them [*viz.* that was coming on the Dutch provinces]. For in the year 1611, he forewarns the States: telling them, that, by the unhappy succession of two such prodigies in one sphere, as Arminius and Vorstius, some dreadful mischief would succeed.

"For, Arminius was no sooner dead, but those that drew on the design had an eye on Vorstius, his [*i. e.* Arminius's] disciple, to make him divinity professor in his place. Which the king hearing of, and having read some of Vorstius's blasphemous writings, sends to his then ambassador, sir Ralph Winwood, resident there, to let the State know, that Vorstius rather deserved punishment than promotion: that the head of such a viper should be trod upon and crushed, which was likely to eat his way through the bowels of the State: and if, nevertheless, they should persist to prefer him, he (*viz.* king James himself) would make known to the world, publicly in print, how much he detested such abominable heresies, and all allowers and tolerators of them (*a*)."

The States, however, invested Vorstius with the professorship, lately vacated by the death of Arminius. This greatly incensed king James. It, at once, stung his pride, and gravelled his orthodoxy. True enough it was, that he had no right to dictate to the Dutch magistrates, on whom they should betsow their own preferments. "For what is it to his majesty," said his ambassador Winwood, in a remonstrance presented to the States by the king's directions, "What is it to his majesty, whether Dr. Vorstius be admitted professor in the University of Leyden or not? Or, whether the doctrine of Arminius be preached in your churches? Saving that, as a Christian prince, he desires the advancement of the gospel. Let yourselves be judges, in how great a danger the State must needs be at this present, so long as you permit the schisms of Arminius to have such vogue, as now they have, in the principal towns of Holland. The disciples of Socinus, with whose doctrine Vorstius had been suckled in his childhood, do seek him for their master, and are ready to embrace him. Let him go: he is a bird of their own feather: *Et dignum sane patellâ operculum*, a fit cover for such a dish. His majesty doth exhort you, that you would not suffer the followers of Arminius to make your actions an example for them to proclaim throughout the world that wicked doctrine of the apostacy of the saints (*b*)." Thus did James cover his own bigotry and haughtiness, with the plausible mantle of zeal for the glory of God and the good of Holland.

Mean while his majesty was not idle at home. By his express command, Vorstius's writings were publickly burnt at St. Paul's (*c*) Cross in London, and in the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. One

(*z*) For some account of this Arminius, see a Pamphlet of mine, entitled, More Work for Mr. John Wesley.

(*a*) Wilson's Life and Reign of King James I. inserted into bishop Kennet's Complete Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 714, 715.

(*b*) Complete Hist. *u. s.* p. 715, 716.

(*c*) Paul's Cross, of which so frequent mention is made in the religious history of this kingdom, was situated in the church-yard belonging to the Cathedral of St. Paul, on the north side of that church, towards the east end, where a tree now stands. (See Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's, p. 130. And the octavo edition of Latimer's sermons, vol. i. p. 32.)

It seems to have been standing till the great fire in 1666; and was of very high, but unknown, antiquity. Stowe, in his Survey of London, calls it, "A pulpit cross of timber, mounted upon steps of stone, and covered with lead: in which are sermons preached by learned divines, every Sunday in the fore-noon." Stowe died in 1605. So that it appears, by his testimony, that preaching at this famous cross, in the open air, was continued after the accession of James I.

It was usual to deliver sermons, and other public annunciations, at Paul's Cross, for some ages before the Reformation. In 1259, king Henry III. ordered a general muster of the Londoners, to be made at the Cross; all of whom, from twelve years of age, inclusive, there took the oaths of fidelity to that prince and his successors, in presence of the lord mayor and aldermen.

reason, assigned by James himself for a step so very humiliating to the new Arminian party, was, what his majesty styles, the "impudence" of Bertius; who was another chip of the said Arminian block, Vorstius's intimate friend, and who, together with Vorstius, had been Arminius's pupil.

Does the reader ask, 'Wherein the "impudence" of Bertius consisted?' King James shall answer the question. Bertius had written against the final perseverance of the elect; and, not content with barely that, was, says his majesty, "so impudent, and so shameless, as to maintain, that the doctrine, contained in his book, was agreeable with the doctrine of the Church of England! Let the Church of Christ then judge whether it was not high time for us to bestir ourselves."

But it may be worth while to hear the king's own words at full length. "Some of Vorstius's books were brought over into England; and, as it was reported, not without the knowledge and direction of the author. And, about the same time, one Bertius, a scholar of the late Arminius (who [*viz.* Arminius] was the first in our age that infected Leyden with heresy) was so impudent as to send a letter unto the archbishop of Canterbury, with a book, entitled, *De Apostasiâ Sanctorum*. And, not thinking it sufficient to avow the sending of such a book (the title whereof only were enough to make it worthy the fire), hee was moreover so shameless, as to maintain, in his letter to the archbishop, that the doctrine contained in his booke was agreeable with the doctrine of the Church of England. Let the Church of Christ then judge, whether it was not high time for us to bestir ourselves, when as this gangrene had not only taken hold amongst our neerest neighbours, [*viz.* the Dutch], so as *non solum paries proximus jam ardebat*, not only the next house was on fire, but did also begin to creep into the bowells of our own kingdom. For which cause, having first given order that the said books of Vorstius should be publicly burnt, as well in Paul's Church-yard, as in bothe the Universitys of this kingdom; we thought good to renew our former request unto the States (of Holland), for the banishment of Vorstius (*d*)."

This curious king text deserves a commentary. And let us note, 1. What a horrible opinion James entertained of Arminius himself: whom his majesty termed, an infector of Leyden with "heresy." This was neither more nor less than calling the said Van Harmin an heretic; yea, an heresiarch, or an heretical ringleader. 2. Observe, how vigorously the king asserted the doctrine of final perseverance. He denominates the contrary tenet, of the defectibility of the saints, "a gangrene:" and affirms, that the very "title page alone" of Bertius's Treatise, rendered both title and treatise "worthy of the flames." 3. His majesty stared (and well he might), with wonder and amazement, at Bertius's "impudence," in presuming to send "such"

At the same Cross, in 1262, was publicly read pope Urban the fourth's bull, absolving Henry from the oath he had taken, relative to the Oxford barons.

In 1299, about the 27th of Edward I. the dean of London solemnly excused, at Paul's Cross, some persons who, in expectation of finding a rich booty, had searched the church of St. Martin in the Fields. (See Stowe, &c. &c.)

Michael de Northburg, or Northbrooke, bishop of London, who died in 1361, bequeathed a standing fund of a thousand marks, to his church, for the accommodation of such as might be in want of small sums; payable again in one year, and for which an equivalent pledge was to be deposited by the borrower. It was an article in this bishop's last will, that "If at the year's end, payment were not made of any sum so borrowed, the preacher at St. Paul's Cross should, in his sermon, declare, that the pledge would be sold within fourteen days, if not retrieved before."

In the eleventh of Richard II. *i. e.* about the year 1388, Robert de Braybrooke, bishop of London, issued letters to the clergy of his diocese, desiring them to solicit the contributions of the people for the repair of Paul's Cross, which had been much shattered by storms. He styled it, *Crux alta, in majori cæmeterio ecclesiæ nostræ cathedralis, ubi verbum Dei consuevit populo prædicari, tunquam loco magis spectivo et insigni*. "The high cross standing in the larger burying-ground belonging to the Cathedral, where the word of God had been usually preached to the people, as a place eminently public and renowned." See Dugdale, *u. s.* 3.)

In process of time, the old Cross being much dilapidated by years and weather, a new one was erected, on the same spot, by Thomas Kempe, bishop of London, who died in 1489. *Crucem Paulinam* (says Bishop Godwin,) *quæ nunc forma cernitur, construxit*. Kempe built up Paul's Cross in the same manner as it still appears; *i. e.* as it then appeared, in 1616. (De Præs. Ang. p. 189.)

I cannot find, that this structure, while it remained, underwent any farther alterations, from that time. But, when God was pleased to visit this land with the beams of the Reformation, Paul's Cross was put to a nobler use than ever. It might be called the city fountain, from which the streams of purest doctrine replenished the metropolis, and the kingdom. Here, our great reformers preached, in the days of Edward the good: and, here, the great restorers of the reformed doctrines continued to dispense the waters of life, through the long reign of Elizabeth. Thereare three distinguished (I had almost said sacred) spots of ground, which, I think, no genuine, considerate Englishman can survey, without some emotion of awful rapture. I mean, that part of St. Paul's church-yard, which was beautified by the feet of the reformers; Smithfield, whence so many of our Protestant Elijahs ascended, in chariots of flame, to glory; and Runnemead, adjoining to Egham, where the signature of the great charter was extorted from king John.

The area of Paul's Cross was, formerly, more spacious, than that on which the tree at present stands. It commanded an extent of vacant ground, large enough to admit, with convenience, some thousands of auditors. For, bishop Jewel, in a letter to Peter Martyr, written about the year 1560, murmured his learned friend, that nothing contributed more to the visible increase of Protestantism, than the inviting the people to sing psalms: that this was begun in one church in London, and did quickly spread itself, not only through the city but in the neighbouring places; and that, sometimes, at Paul's Cross, there would be six thousand people singing together. This (added bishop Jewel) was very grievous to the Papists. It was said, White [the Popish bishop of Winchester] died of rage. (See Burnet's Hist. of Ref. vol. iii. p. 290.)

At this famous Cross it was, that the books of Vorstius, the disciple and successor of Arminius, were publicly burned, in the year 1611, by the express order of king James I. And it was almost the only act of his whole reign that reflects honour on his memory. For, could a juster sacrifice, than Vorstius's Arminian writings, be consumed at the protestant shrine of Paul's Cross?

(*d*) Works of king James I. 354.——Lond. 1616.

a book (a book which maintained that saints might cease to persevere) to an archbishop of the Church of England; who, as a father in that church (and she never had a worthier father than archbishop Abbot), could not but abhor the Pelagian dream of falling finally from grace. But, 4. Behold the royal surprize wound up to the highest astonishment, at the accumulated effrontery of Bertius. It was "impudent" in the said Arminian to make a present of his book, against perseverance, to the archbishop of Canterbury: but for the presentmaker to insinuate, that "the doctrine, contained in his booke, was agreeable with the doctrine of the Church of England," was indeed "shameless" beyond all sufferance: seeing the church herself avers, in the 17th article, that they who are endued with the excellent benefit of election, or predestination unto life, do, at length, actually attain to everlasting felicity. Observe, 5, The anxiety, with which king James marked the progress of Arminianism in Holland. He trembled, lest the "gangrene" should extend to England also. He considered the Dutch Netherlands as his next-door neighbours: and, their house being "on fire" with the Arminian heresies, he was apprehensive lest the heretical flames might, by Popish winds, be blown over to Britain. 6. He expressed a fear, that Arminianism had already "begun" to "creep" into the bowels of his kingdom. His fears, however, at that time (*e*) seem to have been premature. 7. But the king's fears, Bertius's "impudence," and Vorstius's impieties, all conspired to produce one very good effect: to wit, the burning of Vorstius's books. 8. Let it be added, that James had been almost nine years on the throne of England, when he burned the books aforesaid. A proof that he did not soon discountenance the doctrines of the Reformation. His zeal for those doctrines was red-hot, till he happened to find out that his orthodoxy and his politics stood in each other's way. Nor must I omit, that his own writings, which have supplied me with the materials whence the above conclusions are drawn, furnish me likewise with another proof that his perseverance in defending the faith was long, though not final. For, the edition of his works which I am now making use of was printed 1616, which will spin out his Calvinistic majesty's perseverance to, at least that year; and that year was the fourteenth of his reign.

We have seen that what king James entitles his Declaration against Vorstius, is not only pregnant with threatnings, and almost with slaughters, against that learned Arminian; but likewise breathes a very bitter spirit of implacable resentment against the memory of Arminius himself, who had been then dead about two years. Not satisfied with terming Vorstius a "wretched heretic, or rather atheist (*f*)," a "monster," an "Anti-St. John," and a "Samosatenian (*g*);" the king hardly gives better quarter to Arminius, from whose root Vorstius had sprung. His majesty's instructions to his ambassador in Holland have these remarkable words: "You shall repaire to the States General, with all possible dilligence, in our name: telling them, that wee doubt not, but that their ambassadours, which were with us about 2 years since, did inform them of a forewarning, that wee wished the said ambassadours to make unto them in our name, to beware, in time, of seditious and heretical preachers; and not to suffer any such to creepe into their State. Our principal meaning was of Arminius: who though himself was lately dead, yet had hee left too many of his disciples behind him (*h*)." The king added, that "the above-named Arminius" was "of little better stuff (*i*)," than his disciple Vorstius. Arminius's own writings bear full witness to the justness of James's remark. And, continued his majesty, "though [Arminius] himselfe be dead, he hath left his sting yet living among them (*k*)."

In a letter to the States themselves his majesty informs them, "It was our [*i. e.* king James's own] hard hap, not to heare of this Arminius, before he was dead, and that all the

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(*e*) It was not 'till ten or eleven years after this period, that, as Fuller quaintly expresses it, "many English souls took a cup too much of Belgic wine: whereby their heads have not only grown dizzy, in matters of less moment; but their whole bodies stagger in the fundamentals of their religion." Church. Hist. of Brit. Book x. p. 61.

By the Belgic, or Dutch wine, Dr. Fuller meant Arminianism. Which wine, though made in Holland, was pressed from the Italian grape. Rome and Socinus supplied the fruit, and Arminius squeezed out the juice.

(*f*) It must be acknowledged, that Vorstius laid himself very open to this formidable charge. Among the tenets, for which he was stigmatized by the king of England, were the following:

God is not unchangeable in his will.

God's foreknowledge is, in some sort, conjectural; as having to do with things of uncertain event.

Future contingencies may, comparatively speaking, be said to be less certain, even to God himself, than things past or present.

If all things whatever, and every event whatever, were precisely determined from eternity, God's providence would cease to be needful.

Doctor Fuller, the historian, was not mistaken in giving the following character of Vorstius and his system. "This Vorstius had both written and received several letters from certain Samosatenian heretics in Poland, and thereabouts: and it happened, that he had handled pitch so long, that at last it stuck to his fingers, and [he] became infected therewith. Whereas it hath been the labour of the pious and learned in all ages, to mount man to God, as much as might be, by a sacred adoration (which, the more humble, the more high) of the divine incomprehensibleness; this wretch did seek to stoop God to man, by debasing his purity; assigning him a material body; confining his immensity, as not being every where; shaking his immutability, as if his will were subject to change; darkening his omniscience, as uncertain in future contingents; with many more monstrous opinions, fitter to be remanded to hell, than committed to writing." Church Hist. x. 60.

In short, if Vorstius was (as he strongly appears to have been) a materialist, the king did him no injury in calling him an atheist.

(*g*) James's Works. p. 349, 350. 365. 377.

(*h*) King James's Works, p. 350.

(*i*) *Ibid.* (*k*) *Ibid.*

reformed churches of Germany had with open mouth complained of that distraction in your State, which after his death he left behind him, we did not faile, taking the opportunitie when your last extraordinary ambassadors were here with us, to use some such speeches unto them, concerning this matter, as wee thought fittest for the good of your State, and which we doubt not but they have faithfully reported unto you. For, what need we make any question of the arrogance of these heretiques, or rather atheistical sectaries, among you; when one of them [*viz.* Bertius, already noted], at this present remaining in your town of Leyden, hath not only presumed to publish, of late, a blasphemous booke of the apostacie of the saints, but hath, besides, beene so impudent as to send, the other day, a copie thereof, as a goodly present, to our archbishop of Canterbury, together with a letter wherein he [Bertius] is not ashamed (as also in his booke) to lie so grossly, as to avow, that his heresies, conteined in his said booke, are agreeable with the religion and profession of our reformed Church of England. For these respects, therefore, have we cause enough, very heartily to request you to roote out, with speed, those heresies and schismes, which are beginning to bud foorthe among you: which if you suffer to have the reins any longer, you cannot expect any other issue thereof, than the curse of God, infamy throughout all the reformed churches, and a perpetual rent and distraction in the whole body of your State. But if, peradventure, this wretched Vorstius should denie or equivocate upon those blasphemous poynts of heresie and atheism, which already he hath broached; that, perhaps, may moove you to spare his person and not cause him to bee burned (which never any heretique better deserved, and wherein we will leave him to your owne christian wisdome): but to suffer him, upon any defence, or abnegation, which hee shall offer to make, still to continue and to teach amongst you, is a thing so abominable, as we assure ourselves, it will not once enter into any of your thoughts (*l*)."

More matter for disquisition! but my remarks shall not be exuberant. Observe, then, 1. That Bertius's book against final perseverance, and his presenting a copy of it to the archbishop of Canterbury, but chiefly his having affirmed that he [Bertius] and the Church of England were of one mind in that point; were insults, which James's orthodoxy could neither forget nor digest. 2. In his majesty's opinion, Vorstius was an "heretic" a "monster," and an "atheist;" and Arminius was "of little better stuff." 3. So obscure was Arminius, during his life time, and so little progress had Arminianism then made, that the king had never so much as heard of Arminius 'till after the said Arminius "was dead." A circumstance, which James lamented, and called by the name of "hard hap:" intimating, that had he known of Arminius's schism, while the schismatic himself was in the land of the living, the royal pen would have been drawn no less against Van Harmin himself, than it was, afterwards, against Vorstius. 4. As soon as Arminius's Pelagian innovations became known, the protestants were struck with alarm: "All the reformed churches in Germany," and elsewhere "complained of him," *i. e.* complained of Arminius, "with open mouth." When king James became acquainted with Arminius's tenets, conduct, and character, his majesty pronounced him to have been, "A seditious and heretical preacher:" Yea, a monster with a "sting," and an "enemy of God." 6. James also declared the new Arminians, or (as himself expressed it), the "too many disciples" whom Arminius "left behinde him," to be "arrogant heretics," and "atheistical sectaries." 7. In the judgment of the said king, Bertius's Treatise against Perseverance was a "presumptuous" and a "blasphemous" book: and the author himself an "impudent heretic," and a "gross liar." Terms these I acknowledge utterly unfit for a king to make use of: but James had no more of politeness in his composition, than he supposed the Arminians to have of Christianity in their system. 8. He "very heartily" requested the States General to "root out" the Arminians, as "heretics" and "schismatics:" and enforces his exhortation, under the penalty of God's "curse," of "infamy" among men, and of perpetual "rent" and "distraction" throughout the whole body of the Dutch Provinces. 9. He desires them to divest Vorstius of his promotion: 10. To banish him from their dominions: and, 11. In his plenitude of outrageous zeal, he drops a pretty broad hint, that the magistrates of Holland would greatly oblige the king of England, were they to "cause" Vorstius "to be burned:" a death, says his majesty, "which never any heretic better deserved." A horrid intimation! but worthy of the sanguinary tyrant that gave it! The Calvinistic doctrines, retained by such an ungracious bigot resembled (what some naturalists have feigned) a pearl in the head of a toad. 12. Let it not be overlooked, that James's declaration against Vorstius, in which the above cited particulars occur, is solemnly dedicated and inscribed, by the king himself, to Jesus Christ (*m*). I see, therefore, no reason to doubt of the sincerity

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 355.

(*m*) That frivolous pride, which displays its plumes, in order to attract the admiration of our fellow mortals, froths and evaporates into vanity. But the solemn pride, which dares unfurl itself to the eye of Heaven, blackens and condenses into impiety. 'Tis hard to say, whether James discovered more weakness, or profaneness, in this extraordinary dedication; wherein he presumed to address the Saviour of sinners, in a style, which breathed more of

with which he opposed Arminianism. Bad as he was, he was certainly in earnest. Though some other ingredients, besides that of mere zeal for the Protestant doctrines, had, 'tis probable, a share in the violent counsels with which his Britannic majesty so officiously pestered the States of Holland.

It was, however, no new thing with James, to hate and oppose Arminianism. Of this, he had before given sufficient proof, during the conference held at Hampton Court, in the very infancy of his English reign.

The severity of Elizabeth's laws against the puritans, had retained a great number of that body within the visible pale of the Church established, and forced them into a sort of outward conformity to institutions which they were extremely remote from cordially approving. These, and a very few others, whom no coercive penalties had induced to temporize, flattered themselves, that James, who was by profession a Presbyterian, would on succeeding to Elizabeth's throne, relax and widen the terms of communion.

It is extremely problematical, whether James, even when king of Scotland only, entertained any serious intention to favour those people, should he ever have it in his power. He seems, from the first, to have drunk very deeply into the low arts of a narrow subtlety, which disfigured and discoloured all the leading actions of his life. Twelve or thirteen years before he ascended the throne of England, he laboured to ingratiate himself with the Scotch kirk, by an indecent (and, as their presumptive to Elizabeth, by a very impolitic) censure of the English ritual. "As for our neighbour Kirk of England," said he, standing in an assembly of his clergy, with his head uncovered, and his hands (in one of which, he held his bonnet,) raised toward heaven; "As for our neighbour Kirk of England, their service is an evil mass said in English. They want nothing of the mass, but the liftings. I charge you, my good ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same. And I, forsooth, as long as I brook my life, shall maintain the same." This was in 1590. Eight years afterwards he told his parliament, that he had no intention "to bring in Papistical or Anglican bishops (*n*)." Such were his compliments on the church of England.

But he was no sooner at the head of that Church, than he either dropped the (*o*) masque, or was proselyted by the English prelates, who had seasonably and discreetly gained his ear. The Puritans in this kingdom quickly found, that they had mistaken their man: for James was shot up, all at once, into a very high church-man.

Under pretence of trying to bring matters to an amicable compromise between the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians, a conference was opened at Hampton Court, between the two parties, on Saturday, the 14th of January, 1604. But, on the king's side, the whole interview was only a mere state manœuvre, and no otherwise designed from the first. Every circumstance demonstrated, that it had been resolved, before hand, to let all things continue as they were. Dr. Wellwood is undoubtedly right in affirming, that the conference at Hampton court "was but a blind to introduce episcopacy into Scotland: All the Scotch noblemen, then at court, being designed to be present; and others, both noblemen and ministers, being called up from Scotland, to assist at it, by the king's letter (*p*)."

How contemptible James rendered himself, in the course of the three days' debate, abundantly appears, even from the well-glossed narrative of Barlow. So far from preserving the dignity of a king, or the candour of a public father, or even the decent coolness of a moderator; he behaved, on one hand, with all the weakness of a dupe: and, on the other, with all the insolence of a bully.

His majesty and Bancroft, bishop of London, monopolized much of the conference to themselves. That prelate has been represented has having leaned to Arminianism: but, for my life, I could never find any proof of it: Sure I am, that, during the said Hampton conference, his lordship acquitted himself, in all theological respects, like a sober, judicious, well-principled Calvinist.

Dr. Reinolds, one of the four who appeared for the Puritans, moved, that part of the

equality, than of adoration: subscribing himself our Lord's

> "Most humble, and most obliged servant,
> James, by the grace of God,
> King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland;
> Defender of the Faith."
>
> Works, p. 348.

(*n*) See Harris's Life of James I. p. 25, 26.

(*o*) A masque indeed it seems to have always been: but, if James's own attestation be admitted as valid, his hypocrisy is certain, and placed beyond dispute. For, says Barlow, his majesty professed, at the Hampton conference, that though, in the foregoing part of his life, he had "lived among Puritans, and was kept, for the most part, as a ward under them; yet, since he was of the age of his sonne, ten years old, he ever disliked their opinions: as the Saviour of the world said, though he lived among them, he was not one of them." (Summe and substance of the Conference, &c. p. 20. edit. 1625.) Thus was James not ashamed to confess himself an hypocrite from the tenth to the thirty-seventh year of his age: *i. e.* an hypocrite of seven and twenty years standing! And (which crowned this unblushing declaration with the most shocking impiety) the adorable Redeemer of men, in whose mouth was no guile, is profanely lugged in as a pander to the duplicity of the most contemptible dissembler that ever entangled the reins of government.

(*p*) Compl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 665.

16th article might be explained; and that the famous Lambeth articles might be incorporated with the 39 (*q*).

James, it seems, had never heard of those Lambeth articles before: and therefore, says Barlow, "His majesty could not suddenly answer; because he understood not what the Doctor meant by those assertions, or propositions at Lambeth. But, when it was informed his majesty, that, by reason of some controversies, arising in Cambridge, about certaine points of divinity, my lord's grace" [*viz.* Whitgift archbishop of Canterbury] "assembled some divines of especial note, to set downe their opinions, which they drew into nine assertions; and so sent them to the University, for appeasing of those quarrels: Then his majesty answered, 1. That, when such questions arise among schollers, the quietest proceeding were to determine them in the Universities, and not to stuffe the booke [*viz.* the 39 articles] with conclusions theological. 2. The better course would be, to punish the broachers of false doctrine, as occasion should be offered: for were the articles never so many and sound, who can prevent the contrary opinions of men 'till they be heard?"

Hence it appears, 1. That one reason of James's declining to super-add, by express authority, the articles of Lambeth to the nine and thirty established articles of the church, was, not any disapprobation of the Lambeth articles themselves; but because he was unwilling to "stuffe," *i. e.* to enlarge, the 39 articles with more "conclusions theological," than were needful. And, herein, the king judged wisely enough. There was no sort of necessity for inserting the Lambeth propositions: since they do not affirm any single doctrine, which is not, either expressly, or virtually, contained, in the 39 articles already established. I observe, 2. That the king, on being informed what the Lambeth articles were, and on what occasion they had been framed, did tacitly allow the orthodoxy of the said articles: for he gave the company to understand, that there was the less need of embodying those articles with the thirty-nine, as himself stood in constant readiness to "punish" the "broachers of false doctrine:" *i. e.* to punish those who might broach any doctrine contray to that of the Lambeth articles, and of the 39 articles of the Church of England.

No sooner did James intimate this his design of punishing the "broachers of false doctrine," than a certain person, then present, took the alarm, and began to enter a caveat in his own behalf. This was Dr. John Overall, at that time dean of St. Paul's, and who died bishop of Norwich. He was supposed, by some, to have been a sort of mongrel divine; half-Calvinist, and half-Arminian. But I am not disposed to judge so harshly of that learned man. The only article, in which (so far as I can hitherto recollect) he appears to have deviated from the Protestant system, was, respecting the possibility of a total, though he denied the possibility of a final, fall from justification.

"Upon this," *i. e.* instantaneously on James's professing his intention to punish the broachers of false doctrine as occasion should be offered, "the deane of Paules, kneeling downe, humbly desired leave to speak: signifying unto his majesty, that this matter somewhat more nearly concerned him [*viz.* the speaking dean], by reason of controversie betweene him and some other in Cambridge, upon a proposition which he had delivered there: namely, that whosoever, although before justified, did commit any grievous sin, as adultery, murder, treason, or the like, did become *ipso facto*, subject to God's wrath, and guilty of damnation; or were in state of damnation, *quoad præsentem statum*, untill they repented (*r*)."

Thus spake the kneeling dean: and the sum of his opinion certainly amounted to this, that a justified man might totally lose his justification. But whether the said dean (who, doubtless, kept his eyes steadily fixed on the king, and acutely watched every motion of the royal face) actually discerned any symptoms of incipient displeasure lowering on his majesty's brow; or whether the prudent ecclesiastic only intended to guard himself, in general, against all possible "punishment" as a broacher of false doctrine; I cannot, at this distance of time, be infallibly determined. Thus much, however, is certain: that, for some present reason or other, the dean, in the very midst of his oration, suddenly wheeled about, and positively denied that justification could be even totally, much less finally, lost. For thus the narrative proceeds: "Adding hereunto," *i. e.* dean Overall, immediately after declaring that justified persons, who fall into atrocious sins, are in a state of damnation, *quoad præsentem statum*, until they repent; subjoined, in the same breath, "That those which were called and justified according to the purpose of God's election, howsoever they might, and did, sometime fall into grievous sins, and thereby into the present state of wrath and damnation; yet did never fall, either totally, from all the graces of God, [so as] to be utterly destitute of all the parts and seed thereof, nor finally from justification: but were in time renewed by God's spirit, unto a lively faith and repentance, &c. (*s*)."

This seasonable salvo saved Overall's credit with his majesty. James, whose science lay more in terms than in things, was extremely well satisfied with his dean's orthodoxy. As

(*q*) Summe of the Conf. p. 24. & 39.

(*r*) Summe of the Conf. p. 41, 42. (*s*) *Ibid.* p. 41.

long as some ostensible respect was paid to the two words, total and final; the royal disputant looked no farther.

The king, however, embraced this opportunity of entering "into a longer speech of predestination and reprobation, than before; and of the necessary conjoyning repentance and holinesse of life with true faith: concluding, that it was hypocrisie, and not true justifying faith, which was severed from them. For although," added his majesty, "predestination and election depend not on any qualities, actions, or works of man, which be mutable; but upon God's eternal and immutable decree and purpose: yet, such is the necessity of repentance, after knowne sinnes committed, as that, without it there could not be either reconciliation with God, or remission of those sins (*t*)."

Should the reader ask, 'Why I so carefully recite what passed, in the Hampton Court conference, respecting predestination?' I answer: To shew the total want of truth, with which some late Arminian writers insinuate that predestination was not, at that time, a sacred article of faith with James and the ruling clergy.

In this same conference it was, that Bancroft (then bishop of London, and, shortly afterwards, archbishop of Canterbury) suggested that scriptural and judicious caution, concerning predestination, which has been already referred to in a preceding part of this work. That great and able prelate's own words shall close our present sketch of the Hampton interview. "The bishop of London took occasion to signifie to his majesty, how very many, in these daies, neglecting holiness of life, presumed too much of persisting of grace, laying all their religion upon predestination; [arguing thus with themselves], if I shall be saved, I shall be saved: which he [the bishop] termed [and with great reason] a desperate doctrine, contrary to good divinity, and the true doctrine of predestination; wherein we should reason rather, *ascendendo*, than *descendendo*, thus: I live in obedience to God, in love with my neighbour; I follow my vocation, &c. therefore I trust, that God hath elected me, and predestinated me to salvation. Not thus, which is the usual course of argument, God hath predestinated and chosen me to life, therefore, though I sin never so grievously yet I shall not be damned (*u*)."

In this excellent caveat against the abuse of predestination, Bancroft goes no farther than Calvin himself had gone before, *Sit igitur hæc nobis inquirendi via ut exordium sumamus a Dei vocatione;* says that illustrious reformer: *i. e.* In all our enquiries into predestination, let us never fail to begin with effectual calling (*x*). Again: There are some who go on, securely, in sin; alledging, that, if they are in the number of the elect, their vices will not hinder them from going to heaven. Such execrable language, as this, is not the holy bleating of Christ's sheep; but, as Calvin very justly styles it, *fœdus porcorum grunnitus*, the impure grunting of swine. For, adds that incomparable man, we learn from St. Paul, that we are elected to this very end, even to holiness and blamelessness of living. Now, if sanctity of life is the very end, scope, and drift of election itself; 'twill follow, that the doctrine of election should awaken and spur us on to sanctification, instead of furnishing us with a false plea for indolence (*y*). Thus perfectly were Calvin and Bancroft agreed.

Almost fifteen years after the Hampton Court conference, king James and the Church of England gave the most public proof of their continued Calvinism, by the distinguished part they bore in the transactions of the synod of Dort.

The disturbances, raised and fomented by the Arminian faction, in Holland, were, in the year 1618, (*i. e.* about nine years after Arminius's decease,) risen to such a height, as threatened to involve both the church and state of the United Provinces in one common mass of total ruin. What emboldened the Arminians, was, the secret encouragement they received from foreign and domestic Papists. We have already heard, from Wilson, that the kings of France and Spain clandestinely blowed the Arminian flame, in Holland, "as the immediate way to introduce Popery." And Mr. Camden has preserved the name of one of the French agents, who were privately dispatched to Holland on that laudible errand. "July 27, news was brought [*viz.* to the English court], of Bossis, a Frenchman, being sent into the Low Countries, to strengthen the Catholic and Arminian parties (*z*)." Sir Dudley Carlton, also, who was ambassador from the English court to the States General, makes express mention, in a letter to archbishop Abbot, of "the French ambassador's private practices in favour of the Arminian party (*a*)." Could the Dutch Arminians justly complain, if they were treated as enemies to their country?

Treated so they undoubtedly were, for a time: and no faction upon earth ever deserved it more. They artfully attempted to make Europe believe, that they were persecuted, entirely, on account of their religious tenets.

(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 43, 44.
(*u*) Summe of the Conf. p. 20.
(*x*) Calvini Instit. p. 3. c. 24. s. 4.
(*y*) Ille autem fœdus porcorum grunnitus a Paulo ritè compescitur. Securos se in vitiis pergere dicunt; quia, si sint e numero electorum, nihil obesturæ sint vitia, quominus tandem ad vitam perducantur. Atqui hunc finem electos esse nos Paulus admonet, ut sanctum ac inculpatam vitam traducamus. Si electionis scopus est vitæ sanctimonia, magis ad eam alacriter meditandam expergefacere et stimulare nos debet quam ad desidiæ pratextum valere. Calvinus, *Ibid.* cap. 23, s. 2.
(*z*) Camden's Annals of King James I. sub. An. 1613.
(*a*) See the Letters annexed to Mr Rider's Remains; p. 176. Edit. 1675.

But it was no such thing. They were repressed as public enemies to the State. The danger, indeed, and the venom of their political views conduced, very naturally, to bring their theological principles into additional discredit. Yet were they persecuted (as they called it), not merely as Arminians but as traitors.

"On the 19th of August [1618], the prime ring-leaders of the sedition, Barnevelt, Hoogenberts, and Grotius, were seized on at the Hague, as they were entering the Senate, and committed to several prisons. This cast a general damp on the spirits of the remonstrants [for so the Arminians called themselves], as if they had been crushed in the head (*c*)."

Of the three delinquents, only Barnevelt was sacrificed to the justice of his injured country. He suffered decapitation at the Hague, May 14, 1619. The sentence by which he was condemned, enumerated, without any exaggeration, the principal crimes whereby he had violated the duties of a good citizen. Among others, he was justly charged with having endeavoured to disturb the peace of the land; with kindling the fire of dissention in the provinces; raising soldiers in the diocese of Utrecht; revealing the secrets of the State; and receiving presents and gifts from foreign princes. Even Peter Heylyn confesses to have heard that the Spanish court secretly fomented the designs of Barnevelt (*d*).

Nor could any thing be more natural. Philip III. still considered the United Provinces as a parcel of his own dominions: and, indeed, they had shaken off his yoke but a very few years before, and were not acknowledged by Spain, as a free state, till thirty years after, *viz.* the year 1648. No wonder, therefore, that king Philip sought with eagerness to avail himself of the Arminian schism; a schism, which at once bade fair to exterminate the Protestant religion from the Dutch Netherlands, and to reduce them afresh to the obedience of Spain. Hence arose Philip's secret tamperings with Barnevelt, the secular head and protector of that Arminian sect, from whose doctrinal innovations and political intrigues the Spanish monarch had so many advantages to expect. But the wisdom, courage, and activity of Maurice, prince of Orange, were the means, which Providence used, to defeat the iniquitous schemes of the Arminian and Spanish faction. The seizure of the principal rebels and incendiaries, together with the execution of Barnevelt, in whom both those characters were united; laid, once more, that foundation of national liberty and safety, which the Dutch to this day enjoy, and which have since conduced to render that illustrious republic of such weight and importance in the European scale.

What prince Maurice did for the State, the council of Dort did for the church of Holland: as if pure religion and civil liberty were irreversibly fated to fall and rise together.

The Reformation appears to have been first introduced into the Dutch Provinces by the numerous French refugees, who fled thither about the middle of the sixteenth century. For some time, Protestantism diffused itself insensibly among the natives, who were then subject to the crown of Spain. By degrees, the progress of evangelical truth became so extensive, and the number of its partizans grew so considerable, that, about the year 1567, they ventured to draw up a confession of faith, formed entirely on the system of Calvin. Their Spanish governors soon took the alarm. To check the spreading heresy, and to restrain the Dutch within the bonds both of Popish and of Spanish obedience, the inquisition was established by force; and that bloody tribunal dispatched multitudes of souls by a short way to Heaven. Civil and ecclesiastical grievances were, at length, so multiplied and aggravated, that the people, harassed by a never-ending train of intolerable oppressions, were compelled to seek relief in themselves. Every tyranny has its crisis; which having attained, the mock-sun declines more rapidly than it rose. Providence succeeded the pious and patriotic efforts of the Dutch. After some years' noble and obstinate struggle, those Provinces threw off Popery and slavery together. The pure religion of the gospel continued to shine, with uninterrupted beams, for the most part, on that free and happy people; 'till Arminius darkened and disturbed their hemisphere. The commotions, began by that pestilent schismatic, and raised to almost a ruinous height, by his immediate followers, were, as has been already intimated, suppressed by prince Maurice and his patriots, so far as concerned the State. To extinguish the fire which had half consumed the church, and to re-settle its faith on its original Calvinistic basis, was the task assigned to the synod at Dort

That famous assembly began to sit, on Tuesday morning, November the thirteenth, 1618. The States of Holland intended, at first, that the synod should consist of no more than their own provincial divines. It was at the persuasion of (*e*) king James I. (whose request was signified and seconded by Maurice prince of Orange), that select ministers, deputed from England and from other reformed countries, were admitted to assist in the deliberations at Dort. His majesty, doubtless, wished to seize so fair an occasion of avowing,

(*c*) Wilson, *u. s.* p. 718.

(*d*) Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 396.

(*e*) "Ad eundem [viz. Synodum], præter professores nostros, ac ministros, seniores que, exquisite eruditionis viros; ex vicinis regnis, ditionibus, ac rebus-publicis, quæ religionem profitentur reformatam, suasu imprimis maximi ac serenissimi Jacobi I. Dei gratia magnæ Britanniæ regis, et auspicatissimo principe in consilium adhibito, celeberrimos theologos vocavimus."

Acta synodi Dordrecht. In Dedic. Edit. Dord. 1620.

to all Europe, both his own doctrinal Calvinism, and that of the Church of England.

Heylyn himself gives us to understand, that James's immediate view was, to condemn the Arminian tenets with the greater formality: "Those opinions," says Heylyn, "which he, (the king had laboured to condemn at the synod at Dort (*f*)." The same writer informs us, that the Dutch antecedently to the actual calling together of that synod, took care "to invite to their assistance some divines, out of all the churches of Calvin's platform; and none else (*g*)." In saying whereof, the Arminian unwarily concedes the church of England, among the rest, to be a church of Calvin's platform; as, in point of doctrine, she certainly is, and has been from her very first reformation.

James's request being granted, and what divines, he might please to send, being invited; his majesty nominated four very eminent dignitaries, to represent the Church of England, in the synod, and one divine to represent the Church of Scotland. The English representatives were, Dr. George Carleton, then bishop of Landaff, and afterwards of Chichester; Dr. Joseph Hall, then dean of Worcester, afterwards bishop of Exeter, and, lastly, of Norwich; Dr. John Davenant, then master of Queen's College, Cambridge, and Margaret professor; afterwards bishop of Salisbury; and Dr. Samuel Ward, master of Sydney College, and archdeacon of Taunton.

The four English divines waited on the king, at Newmarket, to receive his instructions, what those instructions were, may be seen in Fuller (*h*). On the 8th of October, 1618, Dr. Davenant and Dr. Ward attended his majesty, once more, at Royston; who, commanding them to sit down, conversed very familiarly with them for two hours; and, on parting, solemnly besought God to bless their endeavours at the ensuing synod (*i*).

Sailing from the English coast, our four delegates landed at Middleburgh, in Zealand, October 20; arrived at the Hague, on the 27th, where they had the honour to kiss the hand of the laurelled patriot, prince Maurice; and, thence, repaired to Dort, the main scene of action. Dr. Balcanqual, who appears to have set out later, did not take his place in the synod, until December 10.

The members of this synod formed a constellation of the best and the most learned theologians that had ever met in council, since the dispersion of the apostles; unless we except the imperial convocation at Nice, in the fourth century. Read but the names of Heinsius, Lydius, Hommius, Voetius, Bisterfield, Triglandius, Bogermanus, Sibelius, Gomarus, Polyander, Thysius, Walæus, Scultetus, Altingius, Deodatus, Carleton, Davenant, Hall; exclusively of the many other first-rate worthies, who constituted and adorned this ever memorable assembly; and doubt, if you can, whether the sun could shine on a living collection of more exalted piety and stupendous erudition!

That low and virulent Arminian, John Goodwin, the fifth monarchy man, compares the synod with Herod, who, "for his oath's sake, contrary to his minde, caused John the Baptist's head to be given to Herodius in a platter (*k*)." Intimating, that the Dordrechtan fathers had, before the commencement of their synodical business, taken an oath to condemn the Arminians at all events. Dr. Fuller is even with Goodwin, and repays that libeller in his own coin, by comparing him to Pilate. "See here," says the historian, "how this suggester, though at first he takes water, and washes his hands, with a 'far be it from me to subscribe the report;' yet afterwards, he crucifies the credit of an whole synod, and makes them all guilty of no less than damnable perjury.

"I could have wished, that he had mentioned, in the margin, the authors of this suggestion. Whereas, now, the omission thereof will give occasion to some to suspect him for the first raiser of the report. Musing with myself on this matter, and occasionally exchanging letters with the sons of bishop Hall, it came into my mind, to ask them Joseph's question to his brethren, Is your father well? the old man, of whom you spake, is he yet alive? And, being informed of his life and health, I addressed myself, in a letter, to him, for satisfaction in this particular; who was pleased to honour me with his return, herein inserted:

"Whereas you desire from me a just relation of the carriage of the businesse at the synod at Dort: and the conditions required of our divines there, at or before their admission to that grave and learned assembly; I, whom God was pleased to employ as an unworthy agent in that great work, and to reserve still upon earth, after all my reverend and worthy associates doe, as in the presence of that God to whom I am now daily expecting to yield up my account, testifie to you, and (if you will) to the world, that I cannot, without just indignation, read that slanderous imputation, which Mr. Goodwin, in his Redemption Redeemed, reports to have been raised and cast upon those divines, eminent both for learning and piety, that they suffered themselves to be bound with an oath, at, or before their admission into that synod, to vote down the remonstrants [*i. e.* the Arminians] howsoever; so as they came deeply pre-engaged to the decision of those unhappy differences. Truly,

(*f*) Life of Laud, p. 120. (*g*) *Ibid.* p. 75.
(*h*) Church Hist. book x. p. 77, 78.
(*i*) Fuller, *Ibid.* p. 78.
(*k*) See Fuller, *u. s.* p. 84.

Sir, as I hope to be saved, all the oath that was required of us, was this: After that the moderator, assistants, and scribes were chosen, and the synod formed, and the several members allowed, there was a solemn oath required to be taken by every one of that assembly; which was publicly done, in a grave manner, by every person, in their order, standing up, and laying his hand upon his heart, calling the great God of Heaven to witnesse, that he would impartially proceed in the judgments of these controversies, and no otherwise: so determining of them, as he should find in his conscience most agreeable to the Holy Scriptures. And this was all the oath that was either taken, or required. And farre was it from those holy souls, which are now glorious in Heaven, or mine (who still, for some short time, survive, to give this just witnesse of our sincere integrity), to entertain the least thought of any so foul corruption, as, by any over-ruling power, to be swayed to a pre-judgment in the points controverted. Sir, since I have lived to see so foul an aspersion cast upon the memory of those worthy and eminent divines, I blesse God that I yet live to vindicate them, by this my knowing, clear, and assured attestation; which I am ready to second with the solemnest oath, if I shall be thereto required.

"Your most devoted friend, &c.

"Jos. Hall, B. N." (*l*)

"*Higham, Aug.* 30, 1651."

Judge now, what degree of credit is due to the malevolent insinuations of John Goodwin. The wretch lived no fewer than ten years after Dr. Fuller's publication of the above letter. Yet he never, so far as I can find, either retracted the slander he had advanced, or even apologized for it. So hardened was his front, and so thoroughly was he drenched in the petrifying water of a party (*m*)!

King James's heart was quite wrapt up in the synod; and all his attention seemed collected to a point, as long as the divines were sitting. With such eagerness and anxiety did he interest himself in the condemnation of Arminianism, that he commanded his British divines to send him "a weekly account of all memorable passages transacted at [Dort]. Yet it happened, that, for a month, or more, the king received from them no particulars of their proceeding: whereat his majesty was most highly offended. But, afterwards, understanding that this defect was caused by the countermands of an higher King, even of him who gathereth the winds in his fists, stopping all passages by contrary weather; he was quickly pacified: yea, highly pleased, when four weekly dispatches (not neglected to be orderly sent, but delayed to be accordingly brought) came altogether, to his majesty's hands (*n*)." The royal baby of fifty-three received his rattles, and was contented. For, by James, religion itself seems to have been regarded chiefly as a plaything, which contributed to his amusement; or, at most, as apedestal, on which his vanity might display itself conveniently. Two or three years, indeed, after the period of which we are now treating, he considered it under the more serious idea of a commodious engine, which he thought himself capable of working and managing to much political advantage.

Two and twenty sessions had elapsed, ere any thing was done by the synod, relative to the Arminians (*o*): and yet those people complained (for they came with a resolution to complain at all events), that sufficient time had not been allowed them to prepare their papers of defence. As if they had not known, seven or eight years (*p*) before the synod was called, that such an assembly was to be convened! And as if, even after the synod began to sit, ample space had been denied them, wherein to provide for their appearance!

Determined to clog and interrupt, as much as possible, every wheel of public business, the Arminians, with Episcopius at their head, affected openly to resent their being cited to the synod as delinquents, instead of being invited to sit in it, as judges. A wonderful hardship indeed, that criminals indicted for

(*l*) Fuller, *u. s.* p. 85. 86.

(*m*) The oath, taken by each member of the synod, of which bishop Hall recites the substance; ran *verbatim* thus:

Promitto, coram Deo, quem presentissimum renumque et corduum scrutatorem credo et veneror, me, in tota hac synodali actione, quæ instituetur examen, et difficultatibus inde orientibus, tum de omnibus reliquis doctrinalibus; non ulla scripta humana, sed solum Dei verbum, pro certa ac indubitata fidei regula habiturum; nihique, in tota hac causâ, nihil propositum fore, præter Dei gloriam, tranquillitatem ecclesiæ, et cum primis conservationem puritatis doctrinæ. Ita propitius mihi sit servator meus Jesus Christus; quem precor ardentissimè, ut, in hoc proposito, spiritus sui gratia mihi perpetuo adsit.

i. e.

I promise, before God, whom I believe and worship as the ever present Searcher of the reins and hearts, that I will, in the whole business and transaction of this synod (wherein shall be appointed an enquury, judgment, and decision, as well concerning the famous Five Points, and the intricacies arising from them, as concerning all the other doctrinal matters); that I will not admit of any human writings, but alledge the word of God only, as the certain undoubted rule of faith: and that I will propose nothing whatever to myself, in this whole business, but the glory of God, the peace of the Church, and especially the preservation of pure doctrine. May my Saviour Jesus Christ so be merciful to me; whom I most earnestly beseech, that he would, by the grace of his spirit, be ever present with me in this my purpose and resolution.

Acta Synodi Dordr. p. 66.

(*n*) Fuller, p. 79.

(*o*) See Mr. Hales's Letters, p. 28.—Necnon Acta Synodi, p. 55.

(*p*) See the Biogr. Dict. vol. vi. p. 170. Art. Grotius.

s*s The Reader need not be told, that what the oath stiles "the famous Five Points," were, the doctrines of election, limited redemption, the spiritual inability of the human will through original sin, the invincible efficacy of grace in regeneration, and the final perseverance of truly converted persons.

transgressing the laws of their country, should not be invited to take their seat on the judicial bench!

For the farther clearing of this supposed grievance, let it be considered, 1. That the then Arminians of Holland (for it is of the Dutch Arminians, and of those only who were then living, that we are now treating) had, by kindling a flame in the Church, formed likewise a very dangerous faction in the State; even such a faction, as menaced the loss, not only of religious, but of civil, liberty, to the whole community at large. Hence, 2. They rendered themselves, by every law of society whatever, responsible to that public, whose ruin they had so nearly accomplished. Especially, 3. When it was found, that the Popish courts of France and Spain (those natural enemies, whose power the United Provinces, then in their infancy of strength, had so just reason to dread) were actually grafting political machinations on these ecclesiastical disputes, by aiding, seconding, and encouraging the Arminians to effect the total overthrow of the new-born republic.

Should it be said, that "Though these heinous political offences deserved punishment, yet their punishment should have been assigned, not to the synod of Dort, but to the secular courts of justice;" I answer, 1. An injured State, whose legal forms of procedure (like those of Holland at the above period) have not attained their full maturity, digestion, and establishment, by the length of time, the regularity of equal custom, and the leisurely wisdom of general deliberation and consent, requisite to such a fixed settlement; a State so circumstanced, is at full liberty to refer the cognizance of it's domestic disturbers to what court soever it's self may please to authorise. 2. The synod of Dort not only assembled and sat by virtue of the civil authority; but was, intrinsically, both an ecclesiastical and a civil court. It was far from consisting of ecclesiastics only. Lay assessors (or, as they were termed, "political delegates") sat, with the spiritual deputies, in that great assembly. Consequently, 3. A court, formed on this mixed plan, was the properest court in the world to judge a set of misdoers, whose crimes were of a mixed nature. The Arminians had sinned, equally, against Church and State. The civil power contented itself with laying hold on two or three of the most dangerous and inflammatory: and consigned the rest to a mixed tribunal, consisting of churchmen and of laymen. Could any government have acted with more prudence, temper, and equity? 4. After all, what if some of the Arminians refused to sit in the synod, when that favour was offered them? We shall soon see that this was actually the case.

"But the synod of Dort did not profess to condemn these delinquents, for their state-offences; but for their doctrinal deviations from the purity of the Protestant faith." Be it so. The Arminians were liable to two very heavy charges: *viz.* of undermining the public safety; and of seeking to overthrow the reformed religion. When two indictments thus hang over a man's head, one of which, if proved, will suffice to incapacitate him, for ever, from doing any further mischief, and the man be actually found guilty of that one; what reason can be assigned for trying him on the other? He could but be condemned, if convicted of a thousand crimes. The synod of Dort fixed on one of the two charges against the Arminians. It was a matter of indifference, on which of the two they should proceed. That single charge being demonstratively proved, there was no sort of occasion for their examining the merits of the second. All the purposes, both of Church and State, were answered, without farther trouble; and without exposing the mal-practices of the Arminians, beyond what absolute necessity required. That sect were, already sufficiently the (*q*) objects of public indignation. It would have been unmerciful, to have needlessly ript open the whole of their criminality; when amply enough of it appeared, to justify every hostile step, taken against them by the synod.

Thirteen Arminian (*r*) teachers were summoned to appear at Dort. On their arrival in that city, their three chiefs (*viz.* Episcopius, Corvinus, and Dwinglon) waited privately on our bishop Carleton, in hopes of being able to prejudice him in their favour. That sound and trusty Church of England man gave them an exceeding cool reception. "They entreated me," says his lordship, "to mediate for them, that Grevinchovius might be admitted to their company. I told them, that the [Dutch] Church had deposed Grevinchovius, and the States had approved the deposition: and therefore I could not meddle in that thing. Yet they were very earnest. I told them, I would send for my colleagues; and they should have a common answer. Whilst we staid for my fellows, I fell into some speech with Corvinus, concerning some things which he had written: and found him nothing constant in those things which he hath published. When the rest [of the British divines] came, they gave the same answer

(*q*) Before matters were reduced again, to their first Protestant settlement, by the synod of Dort, it is impossible to express the popular odium, under which the disciples of Arminius laboured, for having so wantonly and violently unhinged the public peace.—"All," says Monsieur Bayle from Curcellæus, "was in an uproar and confusion: and in this conflict no man was more exposed to the imprecations of the populace, than the most learned among the Arminians; because they were looked upon as the first cause of these disorders." Vol. ii. p. 793.

(*r*) Their names follow: Leo, Wezek, Hollinger, Episcopius, Corvinus, Dwinglon, Poppius, Bijckwaert, Pynacker, Sapma, Goswinius, Matinsius, and Nuellius. Acta Syn. p. 18, 19.

Of all these, Episcopius was, by far, the ablest and most learned. He and Grotius were the greatest men the Arminians and Socinians ever had to boast of.

"Corvinus came to Mr. Mayer, the professor of Basil, and told him, that he [*viz.* Corvinus,] was drawn into these troublesome courses by others: and shewed some dislike, as if he meant to withdraw himself from them [*i. e.* from the Arminian party, by whom he had been inveigled] (*s*)." The bishop adds: "We hear, that the Jesuits are much offended at the synod. It must be some great good, that offends them (*t*)." The Jesuits, it must be confessed, had reason enough to be "offended" with the meeting of this glorious Protestant synod. But it makes very little for the credit of any professed Protestants, to stumble at the same stone with the disciples of Loyola.

Nothing could exceed the insolence, the perverseness, and the studied chicanery, with which the Arminians, through the course of their appearance in the synod, exercised the humility and patience of the venerable assembly.

Had the Arminians been required to hold up their hands at the bar of that court, it had been no more than strict justice would have authorized. But, instead of thus treating them with ignominy, the synod, with much candour, desired them to sit; for which purpose, a long table had been provided, surrounded with chairs and forms, in the middle of the synod-house (*u*). As soon as they were seated, the president politely informed them, that he had, at their request, moved the synod to grant them longer time; but that the deputies of the States were pleased to order their appearance then, and that they should have liberty to open their cause themselves (*x*).

Episcopius, instead of reciprocating the civilities which himself and his party had received, rose sullenly from his chair, and gave the assembly to understand, that he and his associates were come, *ad collationem instituendam; i. e.* not to appear as defendants, but to open a conference with the synod: and that they [the Arminians] were ready, even at that present, to begin the business they came for, without farther delay (*y*).

Polyander, the Leyden professor, took occasion to animadvert on the haughtiness of the above speech. "The Arminians" (said that great man) "ought to know, that they were not sent for, to hold a conference: nor does the synod sit here as an adverse party to them. Conferences have been held with them often enough, in time past: and all to no purpose. They should recollect, that they were not now called hither to confer, but were cited to give in their opinions, with the reasons by which those opinions are supported. The synod sit as judges, not as opponents, of the Arminians (*z*)."

To provoke the synod into rigorous measures, seems to have been the wish and design of the Arminian faction; that they might have some plausible colour of complaint, and be able to spread an artificial mist before the public eye: just as the cuttlefish, when in danger of being taken, emits an inky fluid, to darken the water, and favour its own escape. "You are incompetent judges," said the Arminians to the synod: "You are schismatics, innovators, and cherishers of schism. Not you, but the civil magistrate, have a right to adjust our controversies (*a*)."

Could any thing be more insolent, more scurrilous, and more untrue? Here is a handful of novel schismatics, whose separation from the reformed churches had begun but about fourteen or fifteen years before, charging the reformed churches themselves with schism and innovation! Ravaillac, who murdered Henry the fourth of France, might with equal reason, modesty, and truth, have laboured to transfer the name of assassin from himself to Henry.

But what reply did the president, as mouth of the synod, return, to the audacious, indecent, and false invectives of the Arminians? He answered, with all the dignity and gentleness which might be expected from so great a man. "When it shall be made plain to the synod," said he, "what the received doctrine of the Church has been; then will it appear, who they are that have receded from her doctrine, and on which of the two parties the guilt of schism is justly chargeable. If you except against us members of this assembly, merely because our religious sentiments are different from your own, by what tribunal would you wish to be tried? By yourselves? or by the Papists? or by the Anabaptists? or by the libertines? or by some other faction in these countries? Even supposing we actually were the schismatics you have stiled us; yea, were we Scribes and Pharisees, or worse than they; yet would the present synod, as such, be a lawful court. For, it is called and empowered by the civil government, whose authority cannot be questioned. It is composed of delegates and representatives, regularly chosen and deputed. Every individual has also taken a solemn oath, to decide according to justice. If all this will not suffice to render us competent judges, what can (*b*)?" The Arminians had nothing to offer, in opposition to president Bojermann's cool and solid reasonings, but saucy cavils and vain janglings.

The learned Mr. John Hales very justly wonders at the shameless indecency of Episcopius and his comrades: "It was much, that they should grow to that boldness, as that, openly, they should call the synod, the seculars, the chief magistrates, yea, the prince of Orange himself, schismatics (*c*)." But the Dutch Arminians had not yet learned the profitable lesson of absolute obedience to the civil

(*s*) Bishop Carleton's Letter from Dort, to the archbishop of Canterbury. Hales's Rem. 173. 175. See also, p. 53

(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 175.

(*u*) Mr. Hales's Letters to Sir D. Carlt. p. 29.
(*x*) *Ibid.* (*y*) *Ibid.* (*z*) *Ibid.* p. 30.
(*a*) *Ibid.* p. 37. 38. (*b*) See *Ibid.* p. 38
(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 39.

power. Their brethren in England were wiser; and, almost as soon as they arose began to profess an bounded subjection to the will of the chief magistrate. This it was that saved them from James's iron hand, and even lifted them into favour. 'Twas by this clasper, that the tendrils of Arminian novelty twined round the royal leg of James; and, afterwards, under Charles the First, flourished as a green bay-tree in the court of the king's house.

After the synod of Dort had long borne with the grossest insults at the hands of the Arminians, it was agreed, that the said Arminians should be admonished to behave, for the future, with more decency and respect. At the same time, a decree of the States was read to those sectarists: importing, that whereas the Arminians had made many dilatory answers to the injury [*i. e.* to the hinderance] both of the ecclesiastics and seculars; it was decreed by them [*i. e.* by the States], that they [the Arminians] should lay aside all frivolous exceptions and dilatory answers, and forthwith proceed to set down their mind concerning the five articles, for which end they were come together (*d*).

Episcopius now began to draw in his horns, and pretend to some degree of veneration for the States. "In the imputation of schism," said he, "we include not the seculars, but the ecclesiastics only." Ridiculous! As if the ecclesiastics and the seculars were not of one mind, and embarked in the same cause!

The president then urged the Arminians to give an answer, whether or no they would set down their minds concerning the points in controversy. But they still flew from the point: alleging, as before, that "the synod were not their competent judges." The president asked, By whom then are you willing to be judged? They insolently replied, "That's a question which we will not answer: suffice it, that we except against this synod." Remember said the secular president, that you are subjects, and ought to shew decent respect to the laws of your country. "The magistrates," answered the Arminians, "have no authority over our consciences (*e*)." True. But this was not the article in question. The magistracy did not pretend to prescribe to the Arminians what they should believe; but only claimed a right to know, from their own mouths, what they did believe. They were called thither by the State, not to have a creed obtruded upon them, but *ut sententiam suam dilucidè et perspicuè exponerent et defenderent: i. e.* in order to give them an opportunity of fairly and clearly proposing and defending their own doctrinal principles (*f*). What shadow of magisterial, or of ecclesiastial tyranny was there in this?

Still the Arminians refused to give any account of their own positive tenets. They would not so much as carry on the conference they had pretended to desire, unless they might be permitted to begin with an attack on the doctrine of reprobation (*g*): to which the synod objected. Reprobation, or preterition, is but a negative consequence of election. Election, therefore, ought, as first in order of nature, to be first considered: for how absurd would it be, to discuss the naked conclusion, without antecedently canvassing the premises! So that, in proposing such a wild and illogical method of procedure, the Arminians at the synod of Dort acted neither as men of peace, nor as men of honesty, nor as men of sense. They pretended, indeed, that it was "a matter of conscience with them, to put reprobation foremost." But, as the synod very reasonably observed, "The pretext of conscience was idle and absurd. Conscience is conversant with matters of faith and practice. But how can conscience be interested in what relates simply to the mere order and arrangement of a disputation? as, whether preterition, or election, should be handled first."

Great complaint had been made, by the Arminians, against the Palatine catechism and confession. A paper, containing their objections, was delivered to the synod. Hear Mr. Hales's remarks on that frivolous paper, so far as related to the confession. "These considerations are nothing else but queries, upon some passages of the [Palatine] confession, of little or no moment. So that it seems a wonder unto many, how these men [*i. e.* the Arminians] who, for so many years past, in so many of their books, have threatened the churches with such wonderful discoveries of falsehood and error in their confession and catechism, should at last produce such poor impertinent stuff. There is not, I persuade myself any writing in the world, against which, wits, disposed to wrangle, cannot take abundance of such exceptions (*h*)."

The affair of reprobation was again, with equal art and insolence, resumed by the Arminians. Nothing would content them, but making reprobation take the lead of election: and the stale plea of "conscience" was repeatedly urged. "As for conscience," replied the synod, "the word of God is the rule of it. Only prove from scripture, that God has prescribed the mode of disputation you contend for; we'll immediately admit that mode to be a matter of conscience, and allow you to proceed in your own way (*i*)." Mr. Hales very justly remarks, that, by thus stiffly

(*d*) Hales, *Ibid.* p. 39.

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 39, 40. Also, Acta Synodi; à p. 89. ad p. 92. where the whole of that afternoon's debate is much more largely and more accurately related than in the English letters.

(*f*) Hales, *Ibid.* p. 41. (*g*) Hales, *Ibid.* p. 56.

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 55.

(*i*) Hales, *Ibid.* p. 50.

urging their [pretence of] conscience, the Arminians did exceedingly wrong the decree of States and synod, as if by them something against the word of God, some impiety, were commanded (*k*): Whereas, in reality, the command was only, that firstly should go before secondly; that the chain of disquisition should commence, at the right link; and that every point of enquiry should proceed regularly, and in its own natural order. "No," rejoined Episcopius in the name of his Arminian brethren: "unless we be at absolute liberty to pursue what method of argumentation we please, and to begin with whatever article we ourselves choose, we will not move a step. For, we are resolved, *agere pro judicio nostro, non pro judicio synodi*; to act according to our own pleasure, and not according to the pleasure of the synod (*l*)." You stand, replied the synodical president, in the presence of God, and in the presence of your lawful magistrates. 'Tis, moreover, a cause wherein the church of Christ is concerned: the peace of which church such behaviour as your's is by no means calculated to promote. "My conscience will not let me act otherwise," answered Episcopius. Which impertinent allegation the president, with much dignity of patience and strength of reason, repelled as before: *Adde verbum Dei*, shew us upon what text of Scripture your conscience is grounded; otherwise, you wrong both the magistrates and the synod (*m*). But Episcopius and his brethren had no such passage of Scripture to produce.

What could the synod do? The Arminians would not dispute, unless they might be permitted to dispute backward, as a crab walks: *i. e.* unless they were allowed to turn all due method up-side down, and to obtrude their own perverse and unheard of rules on the synod. Neither would they give a fair and direct answer to such questions as the synod should put to them. In a word, so refractory and untractable were these new sectarists, that they would neither sit (*n*) in the synod as members of it; nor yet appear before it, in quality of (what they indeed were by all the legal authority of the civil power) a cited party.

Mr. Hales, writing from Dort to Sir D. Carleton, who was then at the Hague, thus expressed himself, in relation to the contumacy and petulance of the Arminians: "The state of our synod now suffers a great crisis; and, one way or other, there must be an alteration. Either the remonstrant [*i. e.* the Arminian party] must yield, and submit himself to the synod, of which I see no great probability; or else the synod must vail to them: which to do [*i. e.* for the synod to accommodate itself to the perverse humours of the Arminians], farther than it hath already done, I see not how it can stand with their honour [*i. e.* with the honour and dignity of the synod]. But the synod, bearing an inclination to peace, and wisely considering the nature of their people, resolved yet farther, though they had yielded sufficiently unto them already, yet to try a little more, &c. (*o*)." The president recommended to the assembly, "To consider, whether there might not be found some means of accommodation, which might mollify the remonstrants [*i. e.* soften the obstinacy of the Arminians], and yet stand well with the honour of the synod (*p*)." What could be more healingly and more meekly said? but the Arminian fierceness was too harsh and stubborn to be moderated by any lenient measures. And, hitherto, none but softening measures had been tried. For, those decrees of the synod, extorted from the synod by dint of insolence, and which carried any implication of seeming severity, were, as Mr. Hales observes, "mere powder without shot, which gives a clap, but does no harm (*q*)." Insomuch that, the same unprejudiced writer adds, "Some thought the synod had been too favourable to the remonstrants already; and that it were best now not to hold them, if they would be going: since hitherto, they [the remonstrants, The Arminians rejected these reasonable terms of alliance; and, in consequence of this their haughtiness, refractoriness, and temerity, they themselves as fairly vacated their own seats (See Hales, *u. s.* p. 34), as ever James the Second vacated the throne of England.

On the whole, I am quite at a loss to know, what a very capital writer intends, by the "proud cruelty" of the synod of Dort. (See The Confessional, p. 77). I can discern no glimpse, either of cruelty or of pride, in any part of that synod's behaviour to the Arminians. But, in the behaviour of the Arminians to the synod, I can see pride, envy, malice, and uncharitableness, little short of Luciferian. Nor did the President at all exaggerate, when he told them at their final dismission from the assembly, sinceritati, æquitati, mansuetudini synodi, fraudes, artes, mendacia opposuistis. He might have added, arrogantiam, et inurbanitatem. One of the Arminian ministers, Sapma by name, crowned the insolence of his party, with the following speech, when he quitted the synod: Exeo, said he, turning on his heel, ex ecclesiâ malignantium! *i. e.* "Thus depart I from the congregation of malignants!" Hales, *Ibid.* p. 77.

(*k*) Hales, *Ibid.* (*l*) *Ibid.* p. 60.

(*m*) On observing the obstinacy, with which the Arminians insisted upon opening the trenches against reprobation, antecedently to election; the learned Lydius took occasion to remind the synod, that "It was the usual practice of those who favoured Pelagianism, to begin with kicking up a dust against reprobation." Nothing can be more true.

(*n*) Though the Dutch Arminians, both as a political and as a schismatical sect, were extremely obnoxious to the laws of their country, and very criminal enemies to its civil and religious constitution: yet, by an almost unparalleled excess of candour and moderation, the synod of Dort actually permitted Episcopius and the other Arminian delegates from Utrecht, to take their seats in the synod, as members and judges: and, in the said synod of Dort, the said Arminian delegates might have continued to sit, had they agreed to a few necessary and equitable conditions; *viz.* 1. If they would promise and engage, not to consider themselves as determined devotees to a party, but as candid investigators of truth at large: 2. If they would neither aid, counsel, nor abet the other cited Arminians: Nor, 3. prematurely divulge the acts of the synod: Nor 4. delay it's proceedings by any needless or unseasonable interruptions

(*o*) Hales, *u. s.* p. 63.

(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 64. (*q*) *Ibid.*

or Arminians] had been, and for any thing appeared to the contrary, meant hereafter to be a hinderance to all peaceable and orderly proceedings (*r*)." And such they most undoubtedly were in every respect, and on every occasion.

As they persisted in a peremptory refusal to give any account, either of their faith, or of the reasons on which it was grounded; there remained but one thing for the synod to do: which was to convict them of error, from their own writings, which they themselves had formerly published to the world (*s*). In the discussion of which Arminian writings, the following departments fell to the British divines, in consequence of a plan previously settled among themselves: "We have now," said Dr. Balcanqual, "divided the business among us. Dr. Ward's part is, to refute the Arminian doctrine of a decree to save men, considered as believers. My lord of Landaff's part is, to answer and solve such arguments, as the Arminians are wont to urge, in behalf of that general decree. Doctor (*t*) Goad's part is, to refute the Arminian tenet of election on faith foreseen: and to prove in opposition to it, that faith, is [not the cause, or condition, but] the fruit, and effect of election. Doctor Davenant's part is, to vindicate orthodox doctrine of election, from the objections alleged against it by the Arminians. My part is, to encounter all the arguments in general, which the Arminians bring, against the orthodox [*i. e.* against the Calvinistic] scheme (*u*)."

The Arminian teachers were, in the end, deposed from their ministry, by the synod; and the sentence of deposition was ratified by the States. The divines from England, having first entered a proviso in favour of episcopacy, testified their entire consent to the (*x*) Dutch confession of faith, so far as matters of doctrine were concerned. Which testification of consent was as strong a proof as they could give, of their rooted attachment to the strictest principles of Calvin (*y*).

"On the 29th of April [1619], the synod ended. The States to express their gratitude, bestowed on the English divines, at their departure, two hundred pounds, to bear their charges in their return (*z*). Besides a golden medal, of good value, was given to every one of them, whereon the sitting of the synod was artificially represented. And now these [five British] divines, who, for many months had, in a manner, been fastened to their chair and desks, thought it a right due to themselves, that, when their work was ended, they might begin their recreation. Wherefore they viewed the most eminent cities in the Low Countries: and, at all places were bountifully received, Leyden (*a*) only excepted. This gave occasion to that passage in the speech of Sir Dudley Carleton, the English ambassador, when in the name of his master, he tendered the States public thanks, for their great respects to the English divines; using words to this effect: That they had been entertained at Amsterdam, welcomed at the Hague, cheerfully received at Rotterdam, kindly embraced at Utrecht, &c. and that they had seen Leyden (*b*)."

It must not be forgotten, that the reformed Churches in France would very gladly have deputed a select number of their body, to represent them at the synod at Dort, and to assist in the condemnation of Arminianism: but the French king, like a sturdy Catholic, restrained them from this step, by his peremptory prohibition. He could not, however, restrain the protestant clergy of that kingdom from solemnly receiving and approving the decisions of Dort, in a national synod, held a Alez, in 1619 (*c*).

On the return of our five divines to England, their first care was, to wait on king James. As they entered the Palace-court, his majesty saw them from a window, and said with an emotion of sensible pleasure, "Here come my good mourners:" they being in mourning for the queen, who had died during their absence. "Then," adds Fuller, "after

(*r*) Hales, *Ibid.* (*s*) *Ibid.* p. 69 & 74.

(*t*) Doctor Hall having been forced to retire from Dort, on account of his ill state of health, the king sent over in his room, Dr. Thomas Goad, archbishop Abbot's chaplain.

(*u*) Dr. Balcanqual to Sir D. Carleton; Append. to Hales, *u. s.* p. 72, 73.

(*x*) Fuller's Church Hist. book x p. 81.

(*y*) See the Dutch Confession, at full length, in the Syntagma Confessionum, p. 163. 185.

(*z*) That the bishop and clergymen from England might be able, while in Holland, to support a style of living, suitable to the dignity of the church they represented, they were allowed by the States General, ten pounds sterling per day. At the conclusion of their spiritual embassy, they received an additional present, as Fuller informs us above, of 200*l.* to defray their expences homeward. Mrs. Macaulay (a name superior to all encomium) acquaints us, that each of them received that sum, to his own repective share; that they were jointly complimented with "an acknowledgment of the excellency of the constitution of the Church of England; and that the Dutch regretted the convenience of their own State did not admit of the same system of subordination." Mrs. Macaulay's Hist. of Engl. vol. i. p. 117. Octavo.

It seems, the apartment, in which the synod was held, and the seats, on which the members of it sat, are to this day, carefully preserved at Dort, in statu quo, and shewn to travellers. See the Complete Syst. of Geogr. vol. i. p. 572.

(*a*) The cold reception, which our divines, who had been so eminently active in the synod of Dort, met with, at Leyden, is easily accounted for. Arminius, Vorstius, and Episcopius, had successively filled the divinity chair of that University: and as king James expresses it, had "infected" many of the academics "with heresie." But in a short time after the synod was held, the "infection" ceased, and the University of Leyden, recovering, at once, it's orthodoxy and its credit, has since given both education and residence to as great men, as ever adorned the Republics of religion and learning. In the present age, indeed (referenti dolet), both learning and religion seem to be at a dead stand, in almost every part of Europe.

(*b*) Fuller, *u. s* 82.

(*c*) Du Pin's Hist. of the church, vol. iv. p. 253. Edit. 1724. Duodecimo.

courteously entertaining them, he favourably dismissed them; and, afterwards, on three of them bestowed preferment: removing (*d*) Carleton [from the bishoprick of Landaff] to Chichester; preferring Davenant to [the see of] Salisbury; and bestowing the mastership of the Savoy on Balcanqual. So returned they all, to their several professions: bishop Carleton, to the careful governing of his diocese: Dr. Davenant, besides his collegiate cure, to his constant lectures in the [University-] School: Dr. Ward, to his discreet ordering of his own college: Dr. Goad, to his diligent discharging of domestical duties in the family of his lord and patron; and Mr. Balcanqual to his fellowship in Pembroke-hall (*e*)."

Some pacific disquisitions, concerning the extent of redemption, having amicably and privately passed, among the English divines at Dort, several Arminian writers (equally disposed to magnify a barley-corn, into a mountain, or reduce a mountain to a barley-corn, as convenient occasion may require) have laboured to raise, on the narrow bottom of that slender incident, the following enormous pile of falsehood: *viz.* that the said divines were for absolutely unlimited redemption. But it so happens, that those excellent divines, though dead, are yet able to speak for themselves. Consult the records of the synod itself, and then judge. And for the mere English reader, the ensuing passage, from a letter, written at Dort, by the British divines themselves, and sent to the archbishop of Canterbury, subscribed by the hands of them all; will at once demonstrate, how infinitely distant our religious plenipotentiaries were from arminianizing in the article of redemption. That passage runs, *verbatim* thus: "Nor do we, with the remonstrants, leave at large the benefit of our Saviour's death, as only propounded loosely to all, *ex æquo*, and to be applied by the arbitrary act of man's will; but we expressly avouch for the behoof of the elect, a special intention both in Christ's offering, and God the Father accepting: and, from that intention, a particular application of that sacrifice, by conferring faith, and other gifts, infallibly bring the elect to salvation (*f*)."

The transactions of the synod of Dort have given grievous offence to more than one class of men. A late respectable compiler, to whose literary endeavours the friends of civil and of religious liberty are under considerable obligation, raises two objections, in particular, against that renowned assembly. As I honour the memory, and value the labours, of the worthy objector, I shall weigh his remarks attentively, though with brevity.

(1.) We are told, that "Whoever calls to mind the deprivations, and banishment, which followed the decisions of this synod, of such great men as Episcopius, Uitenbogart, Corvinus, &c. and the persecution, which ensued, throughout the United Provinces, against the Arminians; will be apt to entertain but a poor opinion of those men who were actors in it (*g*)." To clear this matter, let it be remembered, 1. That, if the decisions of the synod were followed by any thing that resembled a persecution of the Arminians, such seeming persecution was the act, not of the synod, but of the civil power: and how were the members of that synod accountable for the conduct of the secular magistrate; especially, for a conduct which did not take place, 'till long enough after the synod had ceased to sit? 2. Even supposing (what I can by no means grant) that the synod actually did persecute the Arminians; yet, certain it is, that the Arminians themselves gave the first blow, and persecuted the Dutch Protestants, long before the Dutch Protestants are feigned to have persecuted the Arminians. And, though nothing can justify persecution even when it amounts to no more than a retaliation; still it is but too natural for a per-

(*d*) Bishop Carleton was a prelate of very elevated parts, and of very distinguished literature: and no man ever adhered more steadily to the doctrines of the Church of England. Let me briefly exemplify this latter feature of his character, by two very striking proofs. 1. He could not endure the tenet of a redemption absolutely universal: utterly denying it to be (they are his own words) "a truth of the Scripture, or the doctrine of the Church of England." For, as his lordship unanswerably argued," wheresoever the grace of redemption goeth, there goeth also remission of sins:" so that, if we admit the grace of redemption "to be common to all," we must "admit also, that all men have remission of sins." See his Letters, annexed to Hale's Rem. p. 130. 2. Many years after in the Arminian reign of Charles I. his lordship published, in direct opposition to the court system, his valuable Defence of the pure Doctrines of the established Church, against the high insolencies and the low aspersions of that learned, but profligate Pelagian theorist, Dr. Richard Montagu: whom the positive and misguided Charles raised, soon after, to an episcopal chair, in open defiance of Church, of Parliament, and of every prudential and religious restraint.

Our good bishop Carleton acquitted himself, at the synod of Dort, so much to king James's satisfaction, that he translated him to Chichester, within about four months after his return. His next translation was to Heaven, in 1628. On whose decease, Dr. Montagu, abovementioned, became his unworthy successor at Chichester; with such a high hand of insult did Arminianism, under Charles and Laud, begin to carry all before it!

Mr. Camden's attestation to Carleton's merit, deserves to be noted: "I loved him," said that learned antiquarian, "for his excellent proficiency in divinity and other polite parts of learning." See Biogr. Dict. vol. iii. p. 68.

(*e*) Fuller, *Ibid.* p. 84.

(*f*) Added to the end of Hales's Rem. p. 185.

The gross slander, cast, by certain writers, on the above divines, as though the latter were in Arminius's licentious scheme of indiscriminate redemption; reminds me of a similar falsehood, launched by Mr. Wat Sellon, to-wit, that archbishop Usher, and bishop Davenant, died Arminians. To this flat untruth I, at present, only oppose a flat denial; because the said Sellon does no more than nakedly affirm the premises, without clothing his affirmation with a single rag of proof. My simple negatur, therefore, unclothed as it is, needs not be ashamed. A naked no, is as good as a naked yes. Let me add, however, that I am ready to clothe my side of the question (though a negative) with proof, when called upon to produce it.

(*g*) Dr. William Harris's Life of King James the First, p. 127, 128.

secuted party (as the Dutch Calvinists had undeniably been) to take the first opportunity of turning the tables on their oppressors

When the Arminian faction, in Holland, began to gather strength and come to a head; so fiercely intolerant was the bigotry, with which they espoused their new system, that they meditated, and in part accomplished, an absolute suppression of such magistrates, ministers, and even military officers, as discovered a resolution to abide by the old doctrines of the reformation (*h*). Legal magistrates were riotously deposed; legal pastors were deprived by violence; and the orthodox even among the commonalty were liable to loss of property, loss of personal liberty, and to every vexatious injury, which the new sect were able to devise. So furiously did the Arminians drive, at first setting off; that, as far as their power extended, not a Calvinistic minister was suffered to exercise his function. All freedom of conscience was denied: nothing would content the drivers, but a total extinction of the reformed interest, and that Arminianism should reign without a partner and without limitation. Sedition, tumult, rapine, imprisonment, and banishment, were the gentle instruments, made use of by the Arminians, to establish their pretended theory of universal love!

All this happened a considerable time before the synod of Dort assembled: and was, in reality, one reason why that synod was convened. Complaints, therefore, of persecution, would have come with an exceeding ill grace from the mouths of the Arminian faction, if the synod had even meted to them the same measure which themselves had so liberally dealt to their innocent neighbours. But I must add, 3. that the Arminians were not persecuted in return, so far as I have been able to find. Punished, in some degree, they were: but punishment and persecution are essentially different. Social enormity justly exposes an offender to the former: though no religious errors, how great and many soever, can justly subject a person to the latter. Shall the twelve judges of England be styled twelve persecutors, because they vindicate the majesty of law against its transgressors? Shall legal prosecution, and legal punishment be denominated persecution, where the offence is of a secular nature, and adequate in degree to the inflicted penalty? Weigh the political vices of the first Arminians; and then pronounce them persecuted if you can. Nor must I omit to observe, 4. on the credit of a very candid and capable writer, that notwithstanding the due indignation of the Dutch States against the social crimes of the primitive Arminians; the said States, highly calvinistic as they were, consented that "the mere Arminian," who did not connect turbulence and sedition with religious mistakes should be "continued and cherished in the bosom of the Church (*i*)." The same learned and accurate author adds, that Episcopius himself, even that very Episcopius who had flown in the face of the synod and of his country, was hardly displaced from his Leyden professorship, before he was permitted, "both at Rotterdam and Amsterdam, to enjoy an honourable and gainful preferment (*k*)." With such exemplary moderation did the Dutch Calvinists use the victory which God had given them!

(2.) Dr. Harris's other complaint is, that "The kings, princes, and great men concerned [in the synod of Dort], had undoubtedly, worldly views, and were actuated by them: for though purity of doctrine, peace of the Church, extirpation of heresy, were pretended; the State-faction of the Arminians was to be suppressed, and that of Maurice, prince of Orange, exalted (*l*)." I am glad, that the impartiality of this respectable writer induced him to term those Arminians a "State," *i. e.* a secular or political faction: for such they were. And, if so, why might not political persons, legally invested with just authority, seek to tie up the hands of a pernicious political faction from doing any farther political mischief? Be it so, then, that prince Maurice had his "worldly views" in filing down the tusks of some restless Arminians. The preservation of the United Provinces from relapsing under the yoke of Spain, was, indeed, a "worldly view," but a very lawful and a very expedient one. Antecedently to the assembling of the synod, Providence had so ordered events, that the interests of pure religion and of public policy were happily twisted together. Hence resulted the Dordrechtan 'alliance between Church and State.' A consequence whereof was, that two birds of prey were disabled at one shot: *viz.* doctrinal error, and civil sedition. Nor unreasonably: for, the poison being compound, why should the antidote be single?

Sir Richard Baker, though a very high principled historian, mentions the synod of Dort, in terms of remarkable moderation and respect. It was assembled, says he, "to examine and determine the doctrine of Arminius, 1. Concerning God's predestination, election, and reprobation: 2. Concerning Christ's death, and man's redemption by it: 3. Concerning man's corruption, and conversion to God; 4. Concerning the perseverance of the saints. In all which points, the doctrine of Arminius was rejected, as also of Vorstius; and the true doctrine established by a general consent, together with the approbation of the Lords and States. Which yet the Papists

(*h*) See Wilson's Hist. of James I. Complete Hist. vol. ii. p. 715. 718. Also Hickman against Heylyn, p. 101, 102.

(*i*) Hickman, *u. s.* p. 114.

(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 115.

(*l*) Life of James. p. 128.

made so little reckoning of, that one of them, in scorn, made echo to sensure it [*i. e.* to sensure the synod] in this distich:

Dordraci Synodus? Nodus. Chorus integer? Æger,
Conventus? Ventus. Sessio Stramen? Amen.

But who knows not, that ill-will never speaks well? and that nothing is so obvious in the mouth of an adversary, as scandals and invectives (*m*)?" let this be a word in season, to Mr. Wesley and his man Watty: and restrain them in time to come, from singing in chorus with "the Papists," by traducing the synod of Dort.

Thus have we traced king James's doctrinal perseverance in orthodoxy, down to the year 1619, inclusively: and the church kept pace with his majesty. His having interested himself, so zealously, in the condemnation of Arminianism, struck the secret favourers of that system, in England with a temporary stupor. Even Laud was forced to lie still, and to roll his principles, in private, as a sweet morsel under his tongue; until a more favourable day should invite them to walk abroad with safety. James was always very suspicious of Laud's orthodoxy: and the reluctance, with which he lifted him to episcopal rank, supplies us with another very strong proof of the monarch's calvinism.

The authorized Bibles, during the first nine years of James's reign, were those of queen Elizabeth: enriched with such marginal annotations, as we have produced sufficient samples of, in the preceding Section. James desired to signalize his own reign, by a translation more exactly conformable to the original languages of the Old and New Testaments. In 1611, that translation (used at this day) was finished by the excellent divines, to whose care this great work had been assigned, and who had spent about three years in the important employ. Instead of human annotations, the margin of this version is very properly filled with references to parallel Scriptures: so that the Bible is now a commentary on itself. If it be asked, 'Whether the ancient notes were omitted, with a simple view to render the Scripture it's own interpreter?' I must confess, that this is a question which I can answer by conjecture alone. And my conjecture is, that James's suspicious policy was afraid to entrust even the bishops and clergymen of the Church of England, concerned in this translation, with the insertion of any marginal notes at all; lest some remark or other, might slip in, tending to emblazon the wickedness and absurdity of despotic power. He was a better textuary, than to be ignorant, that there are a multitude of passages, and of instances in the inspired volume, which grind the doctrine of non-resistance to powder, and disperse its atoms in empty air. Better, therefore, in James's opinion, to forego all explications whatever, than to run the risk of rendering those unfavourable passages more visible than they render themselves. This I (*n*) conceive to have been the true cause of the simplicity, by which our present version is distinguished. As to the calvinistic doctrines, there is no need, nor was there any need from the first, of erecting marginal banners, to distinguish in what places of Scripture they are to be found. What I observed, several years ago, concerning the Liturgy; I now observe, concerning the Bible: open God's word where you will, Calvinism stares you in the face.

In the year 1621, the English Arminians began to recover from the panic, into which they had been thrown, two years before, by the proceedings at Dort. The king's enormous (*o*) concessions to the Church of Rome, in order to facilitate the conclusion of the Spanish match, gave new life to the Popish party, who had the comfort to see themselves objects of court indulgence, their religion openly protected, and their imprisoned priests enlarged.

Where is the wonder, that Arminianism also, taking advantage of a juncture so favourable, should rear its head, unseal its eyes, and venture into open day? "The king's mercy and indulgence extending towards the Papists, taught many men to come as near Popery as they could stretch; finding it the next way to preferment. So that Arminius's tenets flew up and down, from pulpit to pulpit, and preaching was nothing but declamation, little tending to edification; such orthodox ministers, as strove to refute these erroneous opinions, being looked upon as Puritans and anti-monarchial (*p*)." To crown the infelicities of

(*m*) Baker's Chronicle, p. 419.

(*n*) Since the above was written, I recollected to have formerly met with something, in the account of the Hampton-court conference, relative to the omission of marginal notes from the present translation of the Bible. On recurring to that account, I find myself warranted to assign the reason already hinted, not as a conjecture of my own, but as the true and undoubted cause of the said omission. Bishop Barlow informs us, that the king complained, he had never yet seen a Bible "well translated in English: but the worst of all, his majesty thought the Geneva Bible to be," for a reason which quickly follows. The Royal Plaintiff then expressed his intention of having a new translation undertaken: "and this to bee done by the best learned in both the Universities; after them, to be reviewed by the bishops, and the chiefe learned of the Church; from them, to be presented to the privie counsel; and, lastly, to be ratified by his royall authority; and so this whole Church to bee bound unto it and none other. Marrie, withal, hee gave this caveat (upon a word cast out by my lord of London), that no marginal notes should be added: having found, in them which are annexed to the Geneva translation, which hee saw in a Bible given him by an English lady, some notes, very partially untrue, seditious, and savouring too much of dangerous and traiterous conceits. As for example: Exod. i. 19. where the marginall note alloweth disobedience unto kings."—Bishop Barlow's Summe of the Conf. p. 47, 48.

(*o*) 'It has ever been my way," said James, "to go with the Church of Rome, *usque ad aras*:" *i. e.* to symbolize with that Church, in matters of doctrine, discipline, and worship, as far as prudence would permit, and policy might require. (See the Complete Hist. vol. ii. p. 767.) Indeed, the papal supremacy over kings themselves, and the lawfulness of king killing, seem to have been the only Popish doctrines which he considered as indigestible.

(*p*) Wilson, in Compl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 751, 752.

this memorable year 1621, Dr. Laud found means (though not without much difficulty and many hard struggles) to climb from the deanery of Gloucester to the bishoprick of St. David's. He was consecrated to that see, November (*q*) 18. A dark day in the annals of the Church of England.

It was not without reason, that even the impolitic and undiscerning James, prognosticated the bad effects, which would probably ensue from Laud's promotion. That incident drew after it a train of consequences, which sadly warranted the justness of his majesty's misgivings: and resulted in a complication of catastrophes, too ruinous and fatal, for a much wiser prince to have foreseen. In fact, Laud owed his bishoprick, not to the king, but to the duke of Buckingham: into the good graces of whom, the Arminian ecclesiastic had insinuated himself, with extreme labour and art, and by a long series of servile and obsequious adulation. What I, in this place, can but barely intimate, shall appear, with sufficient extent, if Providence give me health and leisure, to complete my intended History of Archbishop Laud's Life and Times.

This prelate had not worn lawn sleeves much longer than eight months, before he became instrumental in procuring, and in drawing up, a well-known court paper, entitled, Directions concerning Preachers. The third article of these directions enjoined, "That no preacher, of what title soever, under the degree of a bishop, or dean, at the least, do, from henceforth, presume to preach, in any popular auditory, the deep points of predestination, election, reprobation; or the universality, efficacy, resistibility, or irresistibility, of God's grace; but leave those themes rather to be handled by the learned men [in the two Universities]: and that moderately and modestly, by way of use and application, rather than by way of positive doctrines; being fitter for the schools, than for simple auditories (*r*)." This was the first blow, given by royal authority, to the doctrinal Calvinism of the established Church, since the death of Mary the bloody. For, though it *primâ facie*, seemed to muzzle the Arminians, no less than the Calvinistic clergy; yet its design was, to bridle the latter, and leave the former at liberty to spread their new principles without restraint. The above paper of directions was dated from Windsor, August 4, 1622.

Let not the reader, however, suppose, that the king took this extraordinary stride, out of mere complaisance to Laud. That insidious prelate, in promoting and in helping to frame the said directions, only struck in with the opportunity, and availed himself of certain political circumstances, which had peviously soured and embarrassed the mind of James.

The case stood thus. His majesty, in order to strengthen his unnatural and ill judged union with Spain, was (*s*) projecting a general toleration of Popery throughout the British dominions. So far is certain. And, perhaps we should not overshoot the mark, were we to suspect, that something more, than a mere toleration, was remotely in view.

When two houses are to be thrown into one, you must down with the partition wall. The Calvinistic doctrines of the Church of England were considered as the interposing barrier between her and Popery. Though the king was attached to those doctrines, in his heart; yet, as they stood in the way of his political schemes, he lent his authority to certain Arminian engineers, who lost no time in beginning (not to assault and batter, but) to undermine and sap the said wall.

Add to this, that when James consented to publish the above Directions concerning Preachers, his mind was chased and nettled, by a recent quarrel with the parliament. He had flattered himself, for some time, that his designs in favour of Popery were formed with such secrecy, as to elude the vigilance of the house of commons. But he perceived his mistake, when word was brought him, that those wise and zealous guardians of the church and nation had prepared a very strong remonstrance against Popery, and against the illegal encouragement already shewn to Papists. He was stung to the quick, at receiving this intelligence; and prohibited the house from presenting him with an address so peculiarly unacceptable: giving them to understand, that these were "matters above their reach and capacity;" and tended to his "high dishonour, and breach of his prerogative royal (*t*)." What had chiefly offended him in the remonstrance (of which he had procured a copy), was, the patriotic wish, expressed by the national representatives, that his majesty would break with Spain, and marry his son to a Pro-

(*q*) Godw. De Præs. Angl. p. 387.

(*r*) See Wilson, Fuller, Heylyn (Life of Laud), &c. sub. 1622.

(*s*) This latent intention of giving a free and full toleration to Popery, appears, from the subsequent transactions of the next year, *viz.* 1623, when the following articles were agreed to by James, in the Spanish treaty: namely, That no laws, repugnant to the Roman Catholic religion, should, at any time hereafter, directly, or indirectly, be commanded to be put in execution: that the king should swear to this, and that the privy council should take the same oath: That the king and the prince of Wales should interpose their authority, and do all that in them lay, to make the parliament revoke and abrogate all laws, both general and particular, which had been enacted against Roman Catholics; and, that neither the king, nor the prince of Wales when king, should ever, at any time, consent to the passing of any new laws to the prejudice of the Catholics. The oath of each privy counsellor ran in these words:

I, A. B. do swear, that I will truly and fully observe, as much as belongeth to me, all and every of the articles which are contained in the treaty of marriage between the most gracious Charles, prince of Wales, and the most gracious lady, Donna Maria, Infanta of Spain. Likewise, I swear, that I will neither commit to execution, or cause to be executed, either by myself, or by any inferior officer serving under me, any law made against any Roman Catholic whatsoever, nor will execute any punishment inflicted by those laws, &c. See Mrs. Macaulay's Hist. vol. i. p. 202, 203.

(*t*) See Wilson.

testant princess. Several altercations passed between his majesty and the commons. The latter, who had sagacity to discern, and integrity to pursue, the real good of the public, conducted themselves with a respectful decency towards the king, yet with an unrelaxing adherence to the cause of their country. James did not maintain his share in the debate, with any degree of prudence. He inculcated maxims of despotism, unheard of, 'till broached by himself; and, to save those maxims from being canvassed by the parliament, he dissolved it, by proclamation, in January, 1622 (*u*)."

It must be observed, that the members of the lower house in that parliament, were Calvinists in matters of doctrine, as well as friends to the true interest of the state. Never was a nation more faithfully represented, than by that uncorrupt body of senators. The pulse of all the honest Protestants in England beat in harmony with that of the parliament. James was apprised of this, and dreaded the effect. Laud and others, who were on the watch for a trade-wind, immediately hoisted sail, and took advantage of the ill humour into which the king's affairs had thrown him. 'Twas not very difficult to persuade such a monarch as James, that the parliament, the clergy, and the majority of the people, were puritanic, because they hated Popery; and disaffected to the crown, because they hated tyranny: that, at once, to wean them from their abhorrence of Rome, and break them into the trammels of absolute subjection to the throne, Calvinism must be discountenanced, and Arminianism encouraged. James listened, liked, and acted accordingly. Thus it appears, that the "Directions concerning Preachers" were begot on James by motives of mistaken secular policy, arising from the Spanish alliance, and from the intended Popish toleration. The just opposition, which the parliament and nation raised against his majesty's dangerous designs, brought the said "Directions" to the birth: and Dr. Laud, aided by his college of associates, was glad to act as principal midwife and nurse, on the occasion.

Here the matter rested, during the remainder of James's reign. For I must do him the justice to observe, that the Preaching Directions were the first, and the only, public step, taken by that prince, to the professed detriment of the religion established in England, if we except his negotiations with Spain and France, and his tenderness for Papists. It does not appear, that the Protestant preachers paid much regard to the king's "directions," by excluding the doctrine of predestination from the spiritual provision with which they nourished their flocks. In the ensuing reign of Charles the First, when Laud attained to the zenith of ecclesiastical power, those Directions (somewhat amplified, and improved into a proclamation) were enforced with rigour; even to the bringing of the great and good bishop Davenant on his knees before the privy council. But though, while James lived, scarce any severity seems to have seconded the injunction, by which he imposed silence on his divines concerning some of the Calvinian articles; yet, his publication of that order tended, more than a little, to sink him in the public esteem. For, how did such a measure comport with his late profession of zeal against Arminianism? It was no farther back than the winter of 1617, that he had reproved some of the Cambridge doctors, for permitting the Arminian leaven to gain ground in that University (*x*). It was but in January, 1619, that his majesty flew into a violent passion, at reading some Arminian positions of Episcopius, sent over hither from Dort (*y*). And, after bearing so eminent a part in the condemnation of Arminianism, by the synod there assembled; his "directions," of 1622, can be imputed only to a low, absurd, and misguided policy, which reflected equal dishonour on his civil and religious character.

While he lived, Calvinism still supported itself in the saddle; and Arminianism, unable to keep its legs, could scarcely creep on its hands and knees. Within a few months of his majesty's decease, his zeal and vigilance against the encroachments of Arminianism extorted thanks from the eminently learned and profoundly loyal Dr. John Prideaux, then vice-chancellor of Oxford, and afterwards bishop of Worcester: whose elegant oration to the king, at Woodstock, on the 24th of August, 1624, is still extant, and has passages to the following effect. "Do we rejoice, that the University of Oxford is preserved, untainted from the leaven of Popery? We are indebted for that preservation, to your majesty's prudential care. Do we congratulate ourselves, that our seats remain uninfected by the Arminian pestilence? 'twas your fore-cast, which supplied us with the timely antidote. Are the discipline of the Church, the good order of our colleges, and the episcopal government itself, preserved from the levelling and confounding innovations of Puritanism? 'tis your royal and experienced wisdom, which has damped the rage of Puritans, and restrained them with the bridle they deserve. Yes. to you we owe, that Popery hangs its head; that Arminianism is repressed; and that Puritanism does not lay

(*u*) The papers and messages, which passed between the king and parliament, prior to his timid and angry dissolution of the latter, deserves the perusal of every Englishman. See them laid together in the Parliamentary History, vol. v. p. 487—525.

(*x*) "November 10. The king chides the doctors of Cambridge, about the spreading of the Arminian sect amongst the students." Camden's Annals of King James, sub. 1617.

(*y*) "He [the archbishop of Canterbury] sent me word, that the king had the Episcopii Theses which I sent, and that he was mightily incensed at them." Dr. Balcanqual to Sir. D. C. apud Hales's Rem. p. 72.

waste our borders. Within the last nine years, Oxford has sent forth seventy-three Doctors in divinity, and more than one hundred and eighty Bachelors in the same sacred science. I, as your majesty's divinity professor, had the honour to be concerned, in the conferring of those degrees. And I can confidently affirm, that all those two hundred and fifty-three divines and more, are warm detesters of Popery, remote from favouring Arminianism, and strong disapprovers of Puritanism (*z*)." Some needful allowance must be made, for the high strains of complaisance to his majesty, wherewith the learned vice-chancellor thought meet to season his address. This great man (and he was a very great man indeed) knew, that James's palate must be tickled: and therefore, like an experienced college cook, he discreetly larded the oration to the monarch's taste. But the facts, which Dr. Prideaux affirmed, and the conclusions, deducible from those facts, are more than a little important to the argument now in hand.

Death closed the eyes of king James, on the 27th of March, 1625. Guthrie has hit off his character with much judgment and exactness: "He was," says that writer, "a king despicably great: a scholar impertinently learned; a politician unprofitably cunning; and a man immorally religious (*a*)." Burnet justly observes, that "No king could die less lamented, or less esteemed. His reign in England was a continued course of mean practices. He was become the scorn of the age. And while hungry writers flattered him out of measure, at home, he was despised by all, abroad, as a pedant, without true judgment, courage, or steadiness; subject to his favourites, and delivered up to the counsels, or rather the corruption, of Spain (*b*)."

He is said to have been the first of our kings, who assumed the appellation of "Most sacred majesty." And certain it is, that he was the first of them, who for his weakness, vanity, inconstancy, and pusillanimity, obtained the nick-name of queen, both among foreigners, and among his own subjects. The terms "king Elizabeth," and "queen James," shew, to what an ebb of contempt the latter was reduced, when set in competition with his magnanimous predecessor.

In the language of sycophants, the reigning king never fails to be the best that ever filled a throne. Such was James, while living, represented to be, by those artful flatterers (and by those only), whose interest led them to practice on his weakness, and to mould him to their own purposes. He was pronounced, "The Solomon of the age;" a "pithy and sweet orator," whose "words were as apples of gold in pictures of silver:" yea, that "he spake by the instinct of the Spirit of God." They declared him to be "such a king, as, since Christ's time, the like had not been." His writings were styled, "blazing stars, which men look upon with amazement;" and which were "fuller of excellent counsels, than a pomegranate is full of kernels." On some occasions, his pen teemed with what are still better than "kernels;" even with "pearls." He was "a divine:" he was "a natural philosopher:" he was a nonpariel, both "for parts of nature, for gifts of learning, and graces of piety (*c*)."

But the cant-compliment of the time, which seem to have been most current and in vogue, and to have flowed from the tongue's end of every court lord who had a fortune to make or to mend, was, "Your majesty is the breath of our nostrils." 'Tis the *crampe repetita*, which occurs again and again, in the court conversations of that reign. No strains of adulation were too fulsome, for James to relish; nor to gross, for his digestion. He would even suck in blasphemy itself, when the vehicle of his own panegyric. Witness that horrid profanation of Scripture mentioned by Balzac (*d*). One of the Spanish ambassadors in England, receiving a visit from the king, saluted his majesty's entrance, with those words of the centurion to Christ, Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof. But what fumes of licentious flattery were ever known to disgust James's nostrils? The stronger the incense the sweeter.

Had not this king's political depravity been counterbalanced by almost an equal portion of invincible timidity; either himself, or the nation, had infallibly been ruined: so that his constitutional cowardice, even while it renders him peculiarly despicable, must be considered as a very happy ingredient in his com-

(*z*) "Gloriamur, academiam, inter tot adversantium cuniculos, à Papismi fermento esse conservatam? Conservavit tua prudentia, gratulamur, Arminianismum nostras cathedras non infecisse? Exhibuit tua providentia antidotum. Disciplinam, academias, episcopatus, susque deque raptassent jamdudum Puritanismi furores; nisi frigidum suffudisset, et injecisset frenum, felicissimo rerum uso maturatum tuum judicium. Quod Papismus non invaluit, non prævaluit Arminianismus, non dissipavit Puritanismus, tuæ prærogativæ est peculium. Intrà proximè elapsum novennium (obstetricante, pro modulo meo, quicunque, professoris tui, conatu), septuaginta tres emisit [Acad. Oxon.] in S. Theologiâ Doctores; ut omittam ultra centum et octoginta ejusdem facultatis Baccalaureos: quos confidenter dicam, non tantum Papismum execrari, Arminianismum non fovere, Puritanismum explodere; sed etiam, &c.

Vide Alloquium Serenis. regi Jacobo; ad calcem viginti-duarum Lectionum in Theologiâ, à Joh. Prideaux, Exon. Coll. Rectore, & S. Theol. prof. regio, & Acad. Oxon. Vice-can. Edit. Oxon. 1648.

(*a*) Guthrie's Hist. of Eng. vol. iii. p. 819.

(*b*) Bishop Burnet's Summary of Affairs, &c. p. 17.

(*c*) For all this rubbish, and for more of the same sort, consult bishop Barlow's Account of the Conference at Hampton Court, and bishop Mountague's Preface to James's Works.

(*d*) See Bayle, vol. i. p. 725.

position. He laid, without doubt, the foundation of those calamities which so sadly distinguished the reign of his son: and the ill effects of his tyrannical maxims and distempered politics operate even at this day. The state parties, which still continue to divide the interests and the affections of Englishmen, originated in his reign. Sorry I am to add, that so detestible a prince, and so profligate a man, died in all appearance a speculative Calvinist. I wish Mr. Hickman had less respectable authority, than that of Dr. Featly, for assuring us, that "king James called the Arminians, heretics, not many weeks before his death (*e*)."

SECTION XX.

The Introduction of Arminianism *by archbishop* Laud. *Short Review of the* Calvinism *of our* Bishops *and* Universities, *antecedently to that Æra. Objections answered: And the Whole Concluded.*

King Charles the First ascended the throne, at a very unfavourable time, and under circumstances of peculiar disadvantage; a consideration, which should never be forgot, amidst the just censures wherewith impartial posterity must always brand the calamitous maxims by which he steered.

To develope the intricate complication of untoward coincidents, or the political situation of things, which marked the æra of Charles's accession, does not fall within the province of my present undertaking. It shall therefore, suffice, to observe, that had Laud possessed any degree of common prudence, the civil complexion of the times would, alone, have taught him, how necessary it was for him to restrain his own restless spirit from raising a storm in the Church, when the symptoms of approaching convulsion had already began to endanger the state. But, on the death of James, the prelate, who had been kept in considerable awe by that prince, was over-joyed to find himself in a state of perfect liberty under Charles, whose favour he had cultivated with success, and into whose ear he continually distilled the most pernicious poison a prince can imbibe.

Indeed, Laud found no great difficulty in bringing the new monarch to his lure. He did but sow in ground already ploughed to his hands. Charles was imperious by nature; and tyrannic by education. With the crown, he inherited all the arbitrary principles of his father. The plan of despotism, rudely sketched by James, was hurried into an absolute system by Charles; who adopted it with more settled obstinacy of determination, and pursued it with more daring boldness of execution.

If Heylyn may be credited, Laud had formed a design, so far back as the (*f*) year 1600. of endeavouring to pervert the church of England from her Calvinistic doctrines. A very extraordinary object for so raw a youth, as he, at that time, was! or, as Heylyn himself expresses it, "a desperate attempt, for a single man, unseconded, and not well-befriended, to oppose himself against an army, to strive against so strong a stream, and cross the current of the times!" He was then about twenty-five years of age; a young master of arts; no more than Fellow of St. John's college, Oxford; not many years emancipated from school; in deacon's orders only; his finances very moderate; without any ecclesiastical preferment; and with hardly a friend in the University, to countenance him amidst that torrent of general and public odium, which his haughty behaviour and his Papistical bias had drawn upon him from every side; for a man, under those circumstances, and in so early a part of life, to project a scheme of such consequence and difficulty, as the divorcing of the established Church from her own essential principles, exhibits an instance of wild self-sufficiency, and of audacious restlessness, scarcely to be exceeded in the whole compass of history.

No wonder that a person, stimulated by this outrageous enthusiasm for innovation, drove so furiously when Charles intrusted him with the reins. Mosheim shall give us a concise view of the plan, adopted both by the sovereign and the prelate.

"All the emotions of his [*i. e.* of king Charles's] zeal, and the whole tenor of his administration, were directed towards the three following objects:

"1. The extending the royal prerogative, and raising the power of the crown above the authority of the law.

"2. The reduction of all the churches in Great Britain and Ireland, under the jurisdiction of bishops.

"3. The suppression of the opinions and institutions peculiar to Calvinism.

"The person, whom the king chiefly intrusted with the execution of this arduous plan, was William Laud" [who, in July, 1628, became] "bishop of London. This haughty prelate executed the plans of his royal master, and fulfilled the views of his own ambition, without using those mild and moderate methods, which prudence employs, to make unpopular schemes go down. He carried matters with a high hand. When he found the laws opposing his views, he treated them with contempt, and violated them without hesitation. He loaded the Puritans" [and not them only, but all who avowed the doctrinal system of the Church, though ever so zealous for the hierarchy and ceremonies] "with

(*e*) Hickman against Heylyn, p. ult. Edit. 1674.

(*f*) Heylyn's Life of Laud, p. 48.

injuries and vexations, and aimed at nothing less than their total extinction. He rejected the Calvinistical doctrine of predestination, publicly, in the year 1625" [*viz.* in the first year of Charles's reign]; "and, notwithstanding the opposition and remonstrances of [archbishop] Abbot, substituted the Arminian system in its place (*g*)."

The Arminians, therefore, were no losers, by the death of king James. On the contrary, their influence continually encreased, from the moment Charles began to wield the sceptre. Being the avowed enemies of limited monarchy, this unhappy prince entered as warmly into their religious principles, as they did, into his political views. Between eight and nine years after his accession, the court-credit of the Arminian faction arrived to its meridian; when on the decease of good archbishop Abbot, Laud was lifted to the see of Canterbury, and the reformed world with indignation and concern saw Lambeth palace become the head quarters of Arminianism, A. D. 1633. There had been six Protestant metropolitans, from the reformation, to the advancement of Laud: *viz.* Cranmer, Parker, Grindal, Whitgift, Bancroft, and Abbot. Not one of these was tainted with Arminianism. Laud was the first Arminian primate of England, who made profession of the reformed religion. Nor is it unworthy of notice, that Arminius himself, whose doctrines the high-flying Laud so fiercely adopted, was neither more nor less than a Dutch Presbyterian and republican.

I shall confine myself to two remarkable instances of the force and fraud, with which this grand corrupter of our established Church laboured to debauch her purity of faith.

I. The Directions concerning Preachers, issued by James I. (as already noted), in the year 1622, forbad every clergyman, under the degree of a bishop, or of a dean, to preach in public, either for or against such of the doctrines of grace as were specified in those Directions. But as this prohibition was (*h*) very unpleasing to the public in general, so was it far from producing universal obedience. The king, perceiving how much offence his Directions had given to the nation thought proper to publish a subsequent (*i*) apology for his conduct in that matter: which discreet step conduced, both to calm the minds of the people, and to blunt the force of the Directions themselves. This was not the first time that James had been drawn into a scrape by Laud: nor the first time of his majesty's receding from the imprudent measures into which he had been hurried by that warm and forward ecclesiastic (*k*).

But Charles had very little of his father's "king-craft." In June 1626 (*i. e.* hardly more than four months after his coronation), Laud got him to revive the unpopular Directions concerning Preachers; of which a new edition appeared, in the form of a proclamation, extending the prohibition to bishops and deans themselves: who were, by this ill-judged stretch of royal supremacy, commanded to forbear, from treating of predestination in their sermons and writings (*l*).

One immediate design of this proclamation was, to shelter Richard Montagu (who had lately written in behalf of the Arminian doctrines, and of (*m*) absolute obedience to kings) from the printed refutations, which were showering upon him from all quarters. Among the numerous champions, who had hewn Montagu's Arminianism in pieces, were, Dr. Sutcliffe, dean of Exeter: bishop Carleton, of Chichester; and Mr. Wooton, divinity professor in Gresham college (*n*). The parliament too, near a twelvemonth before, had severely censured Montagu's performance (entitled, An Appeal to Cæsar), in which, said the committee of enquiry, "There are many things directly contrary to the [xxxix.] Articles of Religion established by parliament. He denies that Arminius was the first who infected Leyden with errors aud schisms. The synod of Dort, so honoured by the late king, he calls foreign and partial. He plainly intimates, that there are Puritan bishops; which, we conceive, tends much to the disturbance of the peace in Church and State. He respects Bellarmine, but slights Calvin, Beza, Perkins, Whitaker, and Reynolds. He much discountenances God's word: disgraces lectures, and lecturers, and preaching itself; nay, even reading the Bible. Upon the whole, the frame of the book is, to encourage Popery, in maintaining the papists to be the true Church, and that they differ not from us in any fundamental point (*o*)." So spake the committee of the house of commons 1625.

'Tis very observable, that Charles and Laud had recourse to a proclamation, because

(*g*) Mosheim's Eccles. History, vol. iv. p. 518, 519. Octavo, 1768.

(*h*) Among the remarks, to which James's absurd injunction had given occasion, were the following. Some observed, that "in prohibiting the preaching of predestination, man makes that the forbidden fruit, which God appointed for the tree of life: so cordial [are] the comforts contained therein (*i. e.* contained in the Scripture-doctrine of predestination), to a distressed conscience." Others seasoned their complaints with sarcasm and invective: saying, "bishops and deans, forsooth, and none under their dignity, may preach of predestination. What is this, but to have the word of God in respect of persons? As if all discretion were confined to cathedral men! and they best able to preach, who use it the least!" Fuller's Church Hist. book x. p. 110.

(*i*) Heylyn's Life of Laud, p. 94.

(*k*) See, for example, bishop Hacket's Life of archbishop Williams, part i. p. 64. Folio, 1693.

(*l*) Heylyn's Life of Laud, p. 147, 148.

(*m*) Arminianism took care, in that age, to connect itself with Despotism. And these two systems, cemented by their mutual interest in each other, constituted that grand combination, against the doctrines of the Church, and against the constitutional liberty of the public, which soon issued in the overthrow of nation, church, and king.

(*n*) Fuller, book xi. p. 108, 109.

(*o*) Parliamentary History, vol. vi. p. 353, 354.

they were afraid to trust the Arminian controversy to the management of a convocation. Heylyn has blabbed this curious secret: and unwarily informs us, that the bishops and clergy of England were so averse to Arminianism, that it would have been highly unsafe to have staked on their decision, the court design of banishing predestination from the pulpits. Read his own words: "Andrews did not hold it fit for any thing to be done in that particular" [*viz.* concerning new modelling the Church of England from Calvinism to Arminianism], "as the case then stood: the truth in those opinions" [by the truth Heylyn means the Arminian tenets] not being so generally entertained among the clergy, nor the archbishop [*viz.* Abbot, who was then living] and the greater part of the prelates so inclinable to them [*i. e.* to Arminius's doctrines], as to venture the determining of those points to a convocation. But that which was not thought fit, in that conjecture, for a convocation, his majesty was pleased to take order in, by his royal edict. Many books had been written against Montagu, &c. (*p*)."

Some considerable time after the said proclamation, or "royal edict," had been issued, Dr. Davenant, bishop of Salisbury, preached before the king at Whitehall. His text, as himself acquaints us, was Rom. vi. 23. The gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. "Here," says his lordship, "I expounded the threefold happiness of the godly.

"1. Happy in the Lord, whom they serve: God or Christ Jesus.

"2. Happy in the reward of their service: eternal life.

"3 Happy in the manner of their reward: *χαρισμα*, or *gratuitum donum in Christ?* [*i. e.* the reward is God's free, unmerited gift in Christ.]

"The two former points were not excepted against. In the third and last, I considered eternal life in three divers instances:

"1. in the eternal destination thereunto, which we call election.

"2. In our conversation, regeneration, or" [manifestative] "justification: which I termed the embryo of eternal life

"3. And last of all, in our coronation, when full possesion of eternal life is given us.

"In all these, I shewed it to be *χαρισμα*, or the free gift of God, through Christ; and not procured, or pre-merited, by any special acts depending upon the free-will of men. The last point, wherein I opposed the Popish doctrine of merit, was not disliked. The second, wherein I shewed, that effectual vocation, or regeneration, whereby we have eternal life inchoated and begun in us, is a free gift; was not expressly taxed. Only the first was it which bred the offence: not in regard of the doctrine itself, but because, as my lord's grace [*i. e.* Harsenet, archbishop of York] said, the king had prohibited the debasing thereof (*q*)."

What was the consequence of the excellent bishop's presuming to assert predestination to the face of the Arminian king and his whole court? "Presently after my sermon was ended, it was signified unto me, by my lord of York, my lord of (*r*) Winchester, and my lord Chamberlain, that his majesty was much displeased that I had stirred this question, which he had forbidden to be meddled withal, one way or other. My answer was, that I had delivered nothing but the received doctrine of our Church, established in the seventeenth article. and that I was ready to justify the truth of what I had then taught. Their answer was, that the doctrine was not gainsayed; but his highness had given command, that these questions should not be debated: and therefore he took it more offensively, that any should be so bold, as, in his own hearing, to break his royal commands.

"My reply was only this: that I never understood his majesty had forbid the handling of any doctrine comprized in the articles of our Church; but only the raising of new questions, or adding of new sense thereunto: which I had not done, nor ever should do.

(*p*) Heylyn's Life of Laud, p. 147.

(*q*) Bishop Davenant's Letter to Dr. Ward, extant in Fuller's Church Hist. Book xi. p. 140, 141.

(*r*) The learned and orthodox Dr. Launcelot Andrews was this bishop of Winchester: a prelate, who, though a Calvinist in sentiment, knew how to keep his Calvinism to himself, like a good courtier, when necessity or conveniency required. But if his lordship could discreetly throw a mantle over his religious principles, to conceal them from Charles, king of England (or, rather, superinduce a veil of gauze over them, by occasional court-compliance, to render them not so glaringly visible); yet he dared not dissemble with God, the King of Heaven. On his knees in his closet, bishop Andrews was as purely and scripturally orthodox, as Abbot, Usher, Carleton, or Davenant. Witness, among many others, the following passages, which occur in his private devotions; and which, though they passed the translating pen of an eminent modern Arminian (for I never met with the Greek original), run in this truly evangelical strain. "Hold thou me in, with bit and bridle, when I would break away from thee. O thou hast invited me, compel me to come into my own happiness!" "From thee O Christ, the anointed, let me have the unction of thy chosen." "Think upon the congregation which thou hast purchased and redeemed of old." "What shall thy servant say? That I will pay thee all? Oh, no! I do most truly and sorrowfully confess, that I have nothing at all to pay." "I have neither understanding, to discern; nor power to effect; nor, as I ought to have, even will to desire and seek, my truest and best good." "We have sinned, and have all become as an unclean thing: our righteousnesses are like filthy rags." "In me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing." "I believe his providence, by which the world, and all things in it, are preserved, governed and perfected." "Turn thou us, O good Lord, unto thee; and so shall we be turned." "O let Christ be an effectual propitiation for my sins, who is a sufficient propitiation for the sins of the whole world." "Thou hast sent, "Thy Christ, the son of thy love, that, by his spotless and holy life, he might fulfil the obedience of the law; and, by the sacrifice of his death, might take away the curse." "Visit me with the favour which thou bearest unto thy chosen." Dean Stanhope's Translation of Bishop Andrews's Devotions, p. 19, 20. 22. 26. 41. 52. 55, 56. 59. 71. 73. 93. 100.

This was all that passed betwixt us, on Sunday night, after my sermon.

The matter thus rested, and I heard no more of it, 'till coming to the Tuesday sermon, one of the clerks of the council told me, that I was to attend at the council table, the next day at two of the clock. I told him, I would wait upon their lordships, at the hour appointed.

"When I came thither, my lord of York made a speech of well-nigh half an hour long, aggravating the boldness of my offence, and shewing the many inconveniences which it was likely to draw after it. When his grace had finished, I desired the lords, that since I was called thither as an offender, I might not be put to answer a long speech on the sudden; but that my lord's grace would be pleased to charge me, point by point, and so to receive my answer: for I did not yet understand, wherein I had broken any commandment of his majesty's, which my lord in his whole discourse took for granted. Having made this motion, I made no farther answer: and all the lords were silent for a while.

"At length, my lord's grace said, I knew, well enough, the point which was urged against me: namely, the breach of the king's declaration. Then I stood upon this defence: that the doctrine of predestination, which I taught, was not forbidden by the Declaration, (1.) Because in the Declaration, all the [thirty nine] articles are established: amongst which, the article of predestination is one. (2.) Because all ministers are urged to subscribe unto the truth of the article [*viz.* of the 17th article, which concerns predestination], and all subjects to continue in the profession of that, as well as of the rest. Upon these and such like grounds, I gathered, it [*i. e* predestination] could not be esteemed among forbidden, curious, or needless doctrines.

"And here, I desired, that, out of any clause in the Declaration, it might be shewed me, that, keeping myself within the bounds of the article I had transgressed his majesty's command. But the Declaration was not produced, nor any particular words in it. Only this was urged, that the king's will was, that, for the peace of the Church, these high questions should be forborne (*s*)." His lordship, after discreetly promising a general conformity to his majesty's pleasure, saluted the council, and withdrew.

Fuller observes, that the bishop, at his first coming into the council chamber, presented himself, before the board, on his knees. A circumstance of mortifying indignity, which the spiteful Laud was in all probability, the procurer of. A very strange sight, to behold a bishop of Salisbury, one of the most respectable peers of the realm, constrained to that humiliating posture, only for preaching a doctrine to which he had solemnly subscribed; and which was confessed to be a true doctrine, by the very persons themselves who were the inflicters of the disgrace, and at the very time when the disgrace was inflicted! This we learn from the bishop's own narrative: "Though it grieved me," says Davenant, "that the established doctrine of our Church should be distasted; yet, it grieved me less, because the truth of what I delivered was acknowledged even by those who thought fit to have me questioned for the delivery of it (*t*)." With what face could Charles's Arminian bishops reprimand so great a prelate as Davenant, for inculcating a scriptural tenet, to which the reprimanders themselves had set their own hands, and even then admitted to be a truth of the Bible and of the Church?

On his knees he might have remained, during the whole time of his continuance before the privy council, "for any favour he found from any of his own function there present. But the temporal lords bid him arise, and stand to his own defence; being as yet only accused, not convicted (*u*)." Bishop Laud, who had, 'tis likely, been one of Davenant's auditory at Whitehall, when the offensive sermon was preached; and who was evidently, the contriver of the preacher's embroilment, contented himself with having already effectually played his part behind the curtain: and, though present as a privy counsellor, slily refrained from assuming any visible share in the examination of Davenant. "Doctor Harsenet, archbishop of York, managed all the business against [Salisbury]. Bishop Laud, walking by, all the while, in silence, spake not one word (*x*)." But every body knew, by whose magic this court storm had been raised.

The storm, however, was quickly laid. Within a short time, good bishop Davenant was admitted to kiss the king's hand. What passed, on that occasion, is worthy of perusal. "When I came in, his majesty declared his resolution that he would not have this high point" [*viz.* the high point of predestination] "meddled withal, or debated, either the one way or the other; because it was too high for the people's understanding: and other points, which concern reformation and newness of life, were more needful and profitable. I promised obedience therein: and so, kissing his majesty's hand, departed (*y*)." Was not the king a hopeful proficient in Laud's Arminian school? He "would not have" predestination "meddled with, or debated, either one way or the other:" *i. e.* he pretended to prohibit the opposing, no less than the asserting, of that doctrine. But he meant no more than half of what he said. Montagu (to mention a single instance, out of many) was encouraged and promoted, for opposing predestination: *i. e.* for literally transgressing the king's ostensible injunction.

(*s*) Idem, apud eund. *Ibid.* p. 139, 140.
(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 139. (*u*) Fuller, *Ibid.* p. 138.
(*x*) Fuller, *Ibid.*
(*y*) *Ibid* p. 140.

Who sees not the drift and design of all this? Let me add, that the absolute sovereignty of the most high and only wise God, manifested in the free predestination of men, according to the purpose of his unerring will, was contravened, with an exceeding ill grace, by such a monarch as Charles, who was for rendering his own authority absolute over the lips, the actions, the property, the persons, and even the religious opinions, of all the men who lived within the limits of the British dominion. An earthly prince may establish an unbounded authority, and be blameless! but the King of Heaven cannot dispose as he pleases of his own, without being tyrannical and unjust!

II. The other instance, which I shall just mention, of the methods by which Laud sought to graft Arminianism on the creed of these nations, discovers no less of insidious artifice, than his foregoing treatment of Davenant displays of open insolence and coercion. I mean the thin craft and the shallow subtlety, with which he pretended to supersede those articles of religion which had been solemnly recognized and admitted by the bishops and clergy of Ireland, assembled, in full convocation, at Dublin, in the year 1615.

Of those articles, the following are some.

"God, from all eternity, did, by his unchangeable council, ordain whatsoever in time should come to pass. Yet so, as, thereby, no violence is offered to the wills of the reasonable creatures: and neither the liberty, nor the contingency, of the second causes, is taken away; but established rather

"By the same eternal council, God hath predestinated some unto life, and reprobated some unto death, of both which, there is a certain number, known only to God, which can neither be increased nor diminished.

"The cause, moving God to predestinate to life, is not the foreseeing of faith, or perseverance, or good works, or of any thing which is in the person predestinated; but only the good pleasure of God himself. For, all things being ordained for the manifestation of his glory, and his glory being to appear both in the works of his mercy and of his justice; it seemed good to his heavenly wisdom to choose out a certain number, towards whom he would extend his undeserved mercy: leaving the rest to be spectacles of his justice.

"All God's elect are, in their time, inseparably united unto Christ, by the effectual and vital influence of the Holy Ghost, derived from him [*i. e.* from Christ], as from the head, to every true member of his mystical body. And being thus made one with Christ, they are truly regenerated, and made partakers of him and all his benefits (*z*)."

More of these excellent articles may be seen, in the performance referred to below. The Lambeth Articles, and also as many of our own 39 as directly relate to the Calvinistic doctrines, were incorporated with the Irish Confession; and the whole ratified by the authority of king James I. the then reigning prince.

His son Charles had filled the throne, between 9 and 10 years, ere Laud would venture to nibble publicly at the said confession. With what low arts of intrigue and address he, at length, in the year 1634, feigned to have compassed his point, may be learned from Heylyn (*a*). Matters were conducted with such duplicity, that even the learned and sagacious archbishop Usher did not penetrate the more than Jesuitic slyness of Laud, Strafford, and Bramhall. Witness that part of Usher's letter to his friend Dr. Ward (the same Dr. Ward who had assisted at the synod at Dort); wherein the upright, unsuspecting primate thus apprizes Ward of what had passed in the Irish convocation of 1634. "The articles of religion, agreed upon in our former synod, Anno 1615, we let stand as they did before But, for the manifesting of our agreement with the Church of England, we have received and approved your articles also" [*i. e.* the 39 articles], "concluded in the year 1572; as you may see in the first of our canons (*b*)."

The archbishop was in the right. But Laud and his party endeavoured to infer, that the Church of Ireland, by receiving and approving the 39 Articles of the Church of England, had actually quitted and abolished the Irish articles antecedently established in 1615. This was the quirk which Laud had in view from the first. But it was a quirk, and nothing else. For, by "receiving" and "approving" the English articles "also"; the Irish prelates and clergy did neither cancel nor supersede their own prior articles, but only "manifested," or publicly and deliberately avowed, their doctrinal "agreement" with the Church established on this side St. George's Channel. So that Laud's Arminian policy amounted to no more, after all, than a stroke of mere chicane; which shewed, indeed, the sophistry and deceit whereof he was capable, but which, in reality, left the old articles standing in full force "as they did before."

The articles of 1615 are, to this day, a part of the national creed established in Ireland. They were solemnly admitted by the ecclesiastical power, and as solemnly ratified by the civil. They could only be repealed and abolished by the same authority which had established them. But this has never been done. Consequently, they are in full force, to this very hour; and, together with our

(*z*) Anti-Armin. p. 17. 20

(*a*) Life of Laud, p. 255. 258.

(*b*) Usher's Letters, annexed to his Life by Dr. Parr; Let. 185. p. 477.

39 (admitted "also," merely by way of declaratively "manifesting" or acknowledging the "agreement" between the two churches), constitute the legal standard of faith in that kingdom. For the truth of this, we have not only the unexceptionable testimony of archbishop Usher himself (who presided, personally, in this convocation of 1634, when the English articles were "also" received); but likewise the evidence of the canon then and there passed, and which to this moment keeps its place at the head of the Irish "Constitutions and canons ecclesiastical." It runs thus. "For the manifestation of our agreement with the Church of England, in the confession of the same Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments; we do receive and approve the book of articles of religion, agreed upon by the archbishops, and bishops, and the whole clergy, in the convocation holden at London, in the year of our Lord God, 1572, for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent, touching true religion. And, therefore, if any, hereafter, shall affirm, that any of those articles are, in any part, superstitious or erroneous; or such as he may not, with a good conscience, subscribe unto; let him be excommunicated, and not absolved before he make a public revocation of his error." Here is not the remotest hint, concerning any setting aside of the former articles. The canon only associates the 39 articles with the preceding ones, and gives to the former the same weight of respectability in Ireland which they bear in England.

Dr. Fuller, therefore, was too hasty, in asserting that the Irish articles were "utterly excluded (*c*)." There was no exclusion, nor amputation, in the case. Laud himself, some years afterwards, confessed the very point I am now maintaining. He tells us, that one of the accusations against him, on his trial, in 1644, was, concerning "The articles of Ireland, which call the Pope the man of sin. But," continues Laud, "the articles of Ireland bind neither this Church nor me (*d*)." *Exceptio probat regulam in non exceptis.* His grace's observation decides the question at once. "The articles of Ireland bind not" the Church of England, "nor me" as an English prelate. What was this, but allowing, to every purpose of argument, that the Irish articles continued to "bind" the Church and bishops of that kingdom, though they bound not the Church and bishops of this? I must again remind my reader, that Laud advanced the above remark in the year 1644: which was no fewer than ten years after the Irish articles are pretended to have been set aside. It remains, that the famous articles of Ireland were never repealed at all. Without doubt, Laud intended to repeal them, when due opportunity should serve; and associated the English articles with the Irish ones, by way of prelude to the future abolition of the latter. But the civil storm, which soon began to thicken, rendered that, and many similar projects of his, abortive. It saved the thirty-nine articles themselves from annihilation.

How violently matters were carried, in England, for the suppression of the old doctrines, and for the extension of Arminianism, appears, among a thousand instances besides, from the visitation articles, issued by Laud's trusty friend and pliable machine, Dr. Richard Montagu. When this profligate priest disgraced the mitre of Norwich, among the questions, propounded to the churchwardens of that diocese, was the following: "Doth your minister, commonly, or of set purpose, in his popular sermons, fall upon those much disputed and little-understood doctrines of God's eternal predestination, of election antecedaneous, of reprobation irrespective without sinne foreseene, of free-will, of perseverance, and not falling from grace; points obscure, unfoldable, unfoordable, untractable (*e*)?"

This, and similar practices of such diocesans as were tools to the court, were the fruits of archbishop Laud's own "injunctions," signified to the bishops in general, and charging them, "in his majestie's name," that they should "take special care, that no minister, nor lecturer, in their diocesse, should preach upon the prohibited controverted points, contrary to his majestie's declarations and instructions:" and that they, the bishops, "should give an yearly account, to the archbishop, of their proceedings herein (*f*)." And thus, as Mr. (*g*) Prynne truly observes, "The Armi-

(*c*) Church Hist. B. 11. p. 149.

(*d*) Laud's Hist. of his own Troubles and Tryal, vol. i. p. 390, published by Mr. Wharton, 1695.

(*e*) Canterburie's Doome, p. 127. (*f*) *Ibid.*

(*g*) Let none except against Mr. William Prynne, as though he were an incompetent evidence. The very reverse is true. Hence he is frequently cited and referred to by Heylyn himself; and which imparts infinitely stronger sanction to the precedent) by the respectable Mr. Strype, who was particularly delicate, as to the sources from whence he drew his intelligence. Prynne was warmly attached to the doctrinal principles of the Church of England, and even wrote much in their defence: though the inhuman severities, which he experienced at the hands of the furious ecclesiastics then in power, gave him some distaste of episcopacy itself. Nor were even his political sentiments carried to such an extreme, as to render them peculiarly obnoxious. In the long parliament, he attached himself, with zeal, to the interests of king Charles I. and was one of those who voted his majesty's concessions satisfactory: for which the army excluded him from the House of Commons. He was deemed so sturdy a royalist, that, during the usurpation, Cromwell, on whom he had severely reflected in his writings, threw him into prison. When things began to verge towards the restoration of Charles II. in 1659, Mr. Prynne was permitted to resume his seat in parliament: where his services to the then excluded prince were so distinguished, and his warmth for recalling him so violent, that even general Monk advised him to moderate his zeal. Charles the Second, when restored, was so sensible of his ability and merit, that he appointed him chief keeper of the Tower records, with a salary of 500l. per annum; which office he enjoyed to his death. His acceptance of this promotion is perhaps, the largest blot in his escutcheon. That a man of Prynne's

nian errors were freely vented, in all dioceses, without any public opposition : and those who out of zeal to truth, durst open their mouths to refute them, were silenced, suspended, and brought into the high commission, to their undoing : while the Arminians, on the contrary, had free liberty to broach their erroneous tenets, without control, and were advanced to the greatest benefices and ecclesiastical dignities (*h*)."

Had Charles's political views been crowned with success, archbishop Laud would, most undoubtedly, have given the *coup de grace* to our established Calvinism, by procuring the XXXIX Articles to be repealed in form, and by substituting Arminian ones in their room. Together with the utter extinction of civil liberty, the Church would have been shorn of those evangelical principles which, through the good hand of God upon us, are still it's glory. We had been made

> "An island, in our doctrines, far disjoin'd
> "From the whole world of Protestants beside."

But, as things then stood, the repeal of the articles would have been too dangerous a stride Though Laud took care to have the bishoprics and crown benefices, as fast as they became vacant, filled up, for the most part, by a colony of new Arminians ; yet, the old Calvinistic prelates and beneficiaries did not die off, with sufficient rapidity, for him to secure a majority in the convocation. Besides : the body of the people, incapacitated from being corrupted by preferment, would never have parted tamely with their Protestant creed, had Laud even been able to have packed an ecclesiastical convocation to his mind. The members of the Church of England had, in general, at that time, a very large portion of principle and virtue : which rendered them, as a body, not only respectable, but formidable. Religion was deemed sacred by the public ; and a thing worthy of contending for. The temper of those times would not have borne the total alteration at which Laud aimed Matters were, therefore, to be done by degrees. The reformed doctrine, established by law, and rooted in the hearts of the nation, could not, with safety to its assailants, be taken, sword in hand ; but they flattered themselves, that it might be gradually undermined. The archbishop was forced to content himself, for the present, with altering the face of the Church, before he would venture to make a home thrust at her internal constitution. He was for painting her first, and for completely debauching her afterwards. The superinduction of Popish ceremonies was to clear the way for that of Popish Arminianism : which two streams, when united in their course, were to have emptied themselves into the dead sea of arbitrary power.

But, just as the luckless metropolitan had made a promising entrance on his toil, Providence stopped him short : and the adventurer fell, himself, into the pit which he had made for the country that bred him, and for the Church that fed him. How unjustifiable soever (humanly speaking) the means might be, which brought this prelate to the scaffold, the Church and kingdom of England would have had little reason to lament his fall, had he fallen alone, and not, like the apostate sun of the morning, dragged other stars, from their orbits, with his tail. It is very remarkable, that, on his trial, he utterly denied himself to be either an Arminian, or a promoter of Arminianism. A denial, badly calculated to impress us with a favourable idea of his regard to veracity. "I answer, in general," said he, "that I never endeavoured to introduce Arminianism into our church ; nor ever maintained any Arminian opinions. I did neither protect, nor countenance, the Arminians' persons, books or tenets. True it is, I was, in a declaration of the commons house, taxed as a favourer, [and] advancer of Arminians and their opinions, without any particular proof at all : which was a great slander to me (*i*)." O human nature, how low art thou capable of falling !

I shall close this essay, with a short and general review,

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noble spirit, who had, both under the encroachments of Charles the First, and under the usurpation of Oliver Cromwell, made such glorious stands against tyranny, and suffered so greatly in the cause of civil and ecclesiastical liberty : should, afterwards, so far degenerate from the fervour of his first love, as to hold an appointment under so abandoned a being as the second Charles, would astonish, if any human deviations from virtue could justly astonish mee. Hoat Prynne lost his life, when he lost his ears, his name had descended, with unfarnished lustre, to posterity.

This learned, orthodox, and indefatigable man, was born at Swainswick, in Somersetshire ; received his school education at Bath ; was a graduate of Oriel College, Oxford : and became barrister, bencher, and reader, at Lincoln's Inn. During the civil commotions, he sat in parliament for Newport, in Cornwall. After the Restoration, he was one of the members for Bath.

He was a profound and masterly, but neither a concise, nor a polite, writer. His works, many of which (particularly, in divinity and antiquities) are extremely valuable and useful, are said to amount to no fewer than forty volumes in folio and quarto.

Old Anthony Wood, who treats the memory of this great man with much indecent scurrility, yet does justice to his industry : " I verily believe," says Anthony, " that, if rightly computed, he wrote a sheet for every day of his life ; reckoning from the time when he came to the use of reason to the state of man."

The said Anthony's account of Mr. Prynne's method of study is amusing, for the quaintness with which it is expressed. " His custom, when he studied, was, to put on a long quilted cap, which came an inch over his eyes : serving, as an umbrella, to defend them from too much light : and, seldom eating at dinner, would, every three hours or more, be munching a roll of bread ; and now and then refresh his exhausted spirits with ale, brought to him by his servant. He brought his body into an ill habit, and so, consequently, shortened his days, by too much action and concernment day and night." This hard student, however, held out till the 69th, if not the 70th year of his age. A period, whereof poor Anthony Wood came short, by six or seven years.

Mr. Prynne died, at his chambers in Lincoln's Inn, A. D. 1669. And lies buried in the walk, under the chapel there, among the pillars which support that elegant fabric.

(*h*) Cant. Doome, u. s.

(*i*) Cant. Doome, p. 850.

1. Of the Calvinism of our old English bishops.

2. Of the Calvinism of our English Universities.

3. Of the state of the Calvinistic doctrines in our Church, from the death of archbishop Laud to the present time; And,

4. Obviate an objection or two, by which those doctrines are defamed.

I. What has been already observed, concerning the principal bishops, who flourished under king Edward VI. (during whose reign the Reformation was first established in England), renders any farther demonstration of their Calvinism entirely needless. Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Ferrar, Ponet, were eminent among the golden fathers who adorned that truly Protestant period.

Under Elizabeth, the Church could boast of prelates no less sound, holy, and learned. Hear how pathetically their orthodoxy was lamented by the Popish party. "In England," said the zealous Scultingius, "Calvin's Book of Institutions is almost preferred to the Bible itself" [had the Papists said, 'In England, Calvin's Institutions are valued next after the Bible,' he had come nearer the mark]. "The pretended English bishops enjoin all the clergy to get the book almost by heart, never to have it out of their hands, to lay it by them in a conspicuous part of their pulpits; in a word, to prize and keep it as carefully, as the old Romans are said to have preserved the Sybilline oracles." Another angry Papist (Stapleton) a native of our own Island, thus made his moan: "The Institutions of Calvin are so greatly esteemed in England, that the book has been most accurately translated into English, and is even fixed in the parish churches for the people to read. Moreover, in each of the two Universities, after the students have finished their circuit in philosophy, as many of them as are designed for the ministry, are lectured first of all in that book (*k*)."

Indeed, the doctrinal Calvinism of Elizabeth's bishops is almost incapable of exaggeration. Would they, in the memorable convocation of 1562, have "thought fit that ministers should converse in Ponet's catechism," in order to "learn true divinity from it, (*l*);" if they themselves had not been Calvinists of the strongest dye?

Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, shall give us a sample how highly the foreign Calvinistic divines were esteemed and venerated by our episcopal bench. That ingenious prelate thus celebrated the praises (A.D. 1573.) of some transmarine worthies who were then living:

> De Bullingero, Bibliandro, Martyre, Zancho,
> Et Gualthero, Gesnero, de Pelicano,
> Nostrum judicium si, forsan, Cole, requiris;
> Hos ego doctrinâ eximios, pietate gravisque,
> Judicio : queis similes perpaucos hic habet orbis (*m*).

That is: "Do you ask, what I think of Bullinger, Bibliander, Peter Martyr, Zanchius, Gualter, Gesner, and Pelicanus? My opinion of them is, that they are illustrious in point of learning, venerable for their piety, and that they have very few equals in the whole world.

Even in the reign of Charles I. a new edition of Doctor Willett's famous book, entitled, *Synopsis Papismi* (from which, some extracts have been laid before the reader, Sect. XVIII.) was favoured with a patent, the preamble to which takes notice, "That the Doctor was a very painful man in behalf of the Church, and that his *Synopsis* had been approved by the bishops; held in great esteem by the two Universities; and much desired by all the learned, both of the clergy and laity, throughout the king's dominions (*n*)." This was in 1630. So uncorrupt in doctrine did the bishops, the Universities, the clergy, and the people, generally, continue, even under the malignant aspect of the Laudean planet!

Descend we lower still. The reign of Charles II. was not wholly undignified with Calvinistic bishops. Witness the great Dr. Saunderson, bishop of Lincoln. "When I began," says this valuable prelate, "to set myself to the study of divinity as my proper business, Calvin's Institutions were recommended to me, as they were generally to all young scholars in those times, as the best and perfectest system of divinity, and the fittest to be laid as a groundwork of that profession. And indeed my expectation was not at all deceived, in the reading of those Institutions (*o*)." Dr. Edwards, to whom I am indebted for this quotation, adds, that as bishop Saunderson "began with Calvin, so he proceeded to approve of his [Calvin's] sentiments, through his whole life: as we see in his letters to Dr. Hammond, and in other parts of his writings (*p*)." His lordship was the author of an admirable tract, intitled, *Pax Ecclesiæ*: in which among a great number of other judicious observations, the discerning prelate thus accounts for the "advantages," on which the "Arminian party hath and yet doth gain strength to itself." As for instance, "The publishing of Mr. Mountagu's appeal, with allowance [*i. e.* under the sanction of court countenance]: which both hath given confidence to sundry, who before were Arminians, but in secret, now to walk unmasked, and to profess their opinions publicly in all companies." The good bishop also accounted for the progress of the new doctrine, on another consideration: *viz.* "The plausibleness of Arminianism, and the congruity it hath, in sundry points, with the principles of corrupt nature, and of carnal reason. For 'tis a wonderful tickling to flesh and blood, to have the powers of nature magnified, and to hear itself flatter-

(*k*) Quoted by Bayle, vol v. p. 87.
(*l*) Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 354.
(*m*) Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 283.

(*n*) Acta Regia, p. 789.
(*o*) See Edward's Veritas Redux p. 562.
(*p*) *Ibid.*

ed, as if she carried the greatest stroke in the work of salvation: especially, when those scoffings are conveyed under the pretence of vindicating the dispensations of God's providence from the imputation of injustice." His lordship then proceeds to specify, what he terms, "The manifold cunning of the Arminians, to advance their own party: as, 1. In pleading for a liberty for every man to abound in his own sense, in things undetermined by the church: that so they [the Arminians] may spread their own tenets the more freely. Whereas, yet, it is too apparent, by their writings and speeches, that their intent and endeavour is, to take the benefit of this liberty themselves; but not to allow it to those that dissent from them. 2. In bragging out some of their private tenets, as if they were the received established doctrine of the Church of England; by forcing the words of Articles, or Common Prayer Book, to a sense which appeareth not to have been intended therein: as Mr. Mountagu hath done, in the point of falling from grace. Whereas the contrary tenet, *viz.* of the final perseverance of the righteous in grace and faith, may be, as strong evidence, every way, and by as natural deducement, collected out of the said books; as shall be easily proved, if it be required. 3. In seeking to derive envy on the opposite [*i. e.* on the Calvinistic] opinions; by delivering them in terms odious, and of ill and suspicious sound. 4. Which is the most unjust and uncharitable course of all the rest, in seeking to draw the persons of those that dissent from them, into dislike with the state: as if they [*i. e.* as if the Calvinists] were Puritans, or Disciplinarians, or that way affected." So much for bishop Saunderson's judgment, concerning the "manifold, unjust, and uncharitable cunning of the Arminians, to advance their own party." But what was his judgment, concerning the Calvinistic system itself? Read it, in his own words. "Lest this covenant [*i. e.* the covenant of grace and redemption] should yet be ineffectual, and Christ die in vain; because none of the sons of Adam, left to themselves, especially in this wretched state of [original] corruption, could actually have repented and believed in Christ; [it pleased God] for the glory of his grace, to elect and call a certain number of particular persons, out of the corrupted lump of mankind, to be advanced into this covenant, and thereby entitled to salvation; and that without any cause, or motive at all, in themselves; but merely of his [*i. e.* of God's] own free grace and good pleasure in Jesus Christ: pretermitting, and passing by the rest, to perish justly, in their sins." It is, adds his lordship, a part of God's decree, "To confer in due season, upon the persons so elected, all fit and effectual means and graces, needful, for them, unto salvation: proportionably to their personal capacities and conditions. Thus much, concerning the salvation of those whom God hath of his free mercy elected thereunto. But with the reprobates, whom he hath in his justice appointed to destruction, he dealeth in another fashion: as concerning whom he hath decreed, either,

"1. To afford them neither the extraordinary, nor so much as the outward and ordinary means of faith. Or else,

"2. In the presence of the outward means of the word and sacraments, to withold the inward concurrence of his enlightening and renewing spirit to work with those means. For want whereof, they [the outward means] become ineffectual to them [*viz.* to the reprobate] for their good; working upon them either malignity, so as their hearts are the more hardened thereby in sin and unbelief; or infirmly, so as not to work in them a perfect conversion: but to produce (instead of the gracious habits of sanctification, as faith, repentance, charity, humility, &c.) some weak and infirm shadows of those graces: which for their formal semblance sake, do sometimes bear the name of those graces they resemble, but were never, in the mean time, the very true graces themselves; and, in the end, are discovered to have been false, by the want of perseverance (*q*)." I shall only add, from the same masterly tract, his lordship's idea of efficacious grace. Upon the elect, says he, who live to the use of reason, God confers "Such a measnre of faith in the Son of God, of repentance from dead works, of new and holy obedience to God's commandments, together with final perseverance in all these; as, in his excellent wisdom, he seeth meet: wrought and preserved in them, outwardly, by the word and sacraments; and, inwardly, by the operation of his Holy Spirit, shed in their hearts. Whereby, sweetly and without constraint [*i. e.* without forcible compulsion], but yet effectually, their understandings, wills, and affections, are subdued to the acknowledgement and obedience of the gospel: and both these are done, ordinarily, and by ordinary means (*r*)." So writes the bishop, to whom our English Liturgy is indebted for its judicious preface, which begins with, "It has been the wisdom of the Church, &c."

The truly apostolic bishop Pearson (who succeeded the no less excellent bishop Wilkins, in the see of Chester) was another of Charles the second's prelates, who did honour to the rochet. Dr. Pearson's Calvinism is so well known, (consult for instance, his valuable Exposition of the Creed,) that I shall only

(*q*) Bishop Saunderson, in his *Pax Ecclesiæ*, p. 69. 91—93. 60, 70. 72, 73. Annexed to his Life by Walton. Edit. 1678.

(*r*) Bishop Saunderson, *Ibid.* p. 70, 71.

cite a memorable anecdote of him, on the testimony of the learned Dr John Edwards "When I was a young Master of Arts," said Pearson to Edwards, "I thought there was no difficulty in these grand articles," [*viz.* in the Articles which divide the Calvinists and the Arminians]; "and that I was able to determine any of them with ease: especially on the Arminian side. But I have, since, found it otherwise. And I disapprove of men's rash censuring and condemning the other [*viz.* the Calvinistic] side (*s*)." And, indeed, as Dr. Edwards observes, we might have guessed this to be the bishop's inclination, by his approving of Mr. Hales's Remains.

So lately, as in the reign of queen Anne, the English bench was graced with a Beveridge. But further, than the reign of that queen, this deponent saith not.

II. Now for a sketch of the former state of religion in the two Universities.

Every body knows the situation in which religious affairs were left by Henry VIII. That monarch, as Luther smartly and justly expressed it, "killed the Pope's body, but saved his soul alive (*t*)." *i. e.* his majesty stabbed the Papal (*u*) supremacy; continuing, however, to the last hour of his life, a devoted bigot to the essential doctrine of the Roman Church.

But, "After the death of Henry, by the industrious zeal of Calvin and his disciples, more especially Peter Martyr, the [English] Universities, schools, and churches, became the oracles of Calvinism. Hence it happened, that when it was proposed, under the reign of Edward VI. to give a fixed and stable turn to the doctrine and discipline of the Church [of England], Geneva was acknowledged as a sister-church, and the theological system, there established by Calvin, was adopted, and rendered the public rule of faith in England. This, however, was done, without any change of the form of episcopal government (*x*)." Thus stood matters, while Edward swayed the sceptre.

When Mary governed, the Protestant fanatic, reared by Edward, was overturned: and as the Universities, under him, had been reformed from Popery to Calvinism; they were, under her, forcibly carried back from Calvinism to Popery.

Elizabeth brought things to the right pass again; and our "Universities," as well as our Churches, became once more, "the oracles of Calvinism:" and so they continued, not only 'till that good queen ascended to a brighter crown, but through the reign of her successor James, and (notwithstanding Laud's vehement efforts to the contrary) through the Arminian reign of Charles I. I shall give a few instances.

In 1595, William Barret, for having contradicted the doctrine of final perseverance, and for having aspersed Calvin, Beza, Zanchius, and other luminaries of the Protestant church, was forced to make reparation, both to the truths of God, and to the venerable names which he had so flippantly traduced, by publicly reading his recantation: which recantation had been drawn up for him, by the University of Cambridge, for that purpose (*y*).

Peter Baro's troubles in the same University, and in the same year with Barret, have been already noted in our XVIIIth Section.

To the above brace of brothers, let me add Dr. John Houson, by way of making up a leash. This said Houson, though a canon of Christ's Church, and though he had been vice-chancellor of Oxford, fell under the censure of the University, for (what was then esteemed a crime of no small magnitude) "advancing somewhat, tending to the disparagement of the Geneva annotations on the Holy Scriptures (*z*)." The sermons, in which he launched this indirect "disparagement," were termed, *Conciones publicas, minus orthodoxas, et plenas offensionis: i. e.* "not sufficiently orthodox, and replete with offence." In fine, the preacher was called in question, and suspended, "by Dr. Robert Abbot" [brother to archbishop Abbot, and shortly after bishop of Salisbury], "who was then doctor of the chair and vice-chancellor (*a*)." So fared it with canon Houson, A. D. 1614.

(*s*) Edwards's Veritas Redux, p. 543

(*t*) Luther's Divine Discourses, or Table-Talk; p. 464—Lond. 1652. folio.

(*u*) And even "the Pope's body," as Luther termed it, bade very fair, at one time, for a revival: Henry having consented to negotiate a reconciliation with Clement the Seventh under the hoving auspices of the French king (Francis I.), who had "Prevailed with the Pope to promise, that if the king [of England] would send a proxy to Rome, and thereby submit his cause to the holy see; he [the Pope] would appoint commissioners to meet at Cambray, and, immediately afterwards, pronounce the sentence of divorce, required of him. Bellay, bishop of Paris, was next dispatched to London: and obtained a promise of the king, that he would submit his cause to the Roman consistory, provided the cardinals of the Imperial faction were excluded from it. The prelate carried this verbal promise to Rome: and the Pope agreed, that, if the king would sign a written agreement to the same purpose, his demands should be fully complied with. A day was appointed, for the return of the messenger. But the greatest affairs, often, depend on the most frivolous incidents. The courier, who carried the king's written promise, was detained beyond the day appointed. News was brought to Rome, that a libel had been published in England against the court of Rome, and a farce acted before the king in derision of the Pope and cardinals. The Pope and cardinals entered into the Consistory, enflamed with anger: and, by a precipitate sentence, the marriage of Henry and Catherine was pronounced valid, and Henry declared to be excommunicated if he refused to adhere to it. Two days after, the courier arrived: and Clement, who had been hurried from his usual prudence, found, that, though he repented heartily of this hasty measure, it would be difficult for him to retract it, or replace affairs on the same footing as before." Hume, vol. iv. p. 126, 127.

Thus had not the Pope regarded his infallibility as too nice a point of honour to be sacrificed by rescinding his late act, his jurisdiction had been re-established in England.

(*x*) Mosheim, vol. iv. p. 87, 88.

(*y*) See my Tract, entitled, The Church of England vindicated from Arminianism.

(*z*) Heylyn's Hist. & Misc. Tracts, p. 532.

(*a*) *Ibid.*

And no wonder. For Heylyn himself gives us the following needless information: "It cannot be denied," says the Arminian, "but that, by the error of those times, the reputation which Calvin had attained to in both Universities, and the extreme diligence of his followers" [*i. e.* of the bishops, clergy, and laity in general] "for the better carrying on of their own designs" [*viz.* the laudable designs of barring out Popery and Pelagianism] "there was a general tendency unto his (*i. e.* to Calvin's) opinions." (*b*) The same Arminian adds, that Calvin's Book of Institutes was, for the most part, the foundation on which the young divines of those times did build their studies." He even confesses that he could "find" but two Anti-Calvinists in the whole University of Oxford, at the period here treated of: which poor "two" were, Buckridge, tutor to Laud; and the above suspended Dr. Houson. Well, therefore, may the said Heylyn observe (though we should have known it without his information), that, in the two Universities, the Anti-Calvinians were "but few in number, and make but a very thin appearance." (*c*) Extremely few and thin indeed, if their whole number amounted to no more than two! So that Heylyn should not have applied (as he does) that line to the case in hand,

Apparent rari nantes in Gurgite vasto;

but should rather have altered it to

Apparent gemini nantes in Gurgite vasto:

I mean, supposing Dr. Buckridge was really not a Calvinist. Of which, however, I stand in some doubt. Should my doubt be well grounded, Virgil's line must undergo a second alteration: and we must say of solitary Houson,

Apparet solus natans in Gurgite vasto.

If Buckridge was then an Anti-Calvinist, he seems to have been a hidden one: else would not vice-chancellor Abbot have suspended the fellow of John's with as little scruple, as he inflicted that censure on the canon of Christ's Church? Heylyn's even number, therefore, of two, does not hang well together. Divide his two Arminian doctors, by one; and in all probability the remainder will give the *(d)* quotient.

Unhappily for the credit of Arminianism, Laud himself, its grand hero in England, incurred no little danger and molestation, at Oxford, on account of his having been suspected to lean towards that new and hated system.—"In the year 1606, Mr. Laud, who had then but just taken his Batchelor's degree in divinity, was questioned" [*i. e.* called to account], by Dr. Airy, the vice-chancellor, for a sermon preached in St. Mary's church, on the 26th of October, as containing in it sundry scandalous and Popish passages: the good man [*i. e.* the vice-chancellor] taking all things to be matter of Popery, which were not held forth unto him in Calvin's Institutes." (*e*) It appears that the orthodox University at large were of the vice-chancellor's mind, both as to the excellency of Calvin, and as to the malignity of Laud. For Heylyn adds: "Which advantage being taken by Dr. Abbot, he so violently persecuted the poor man [*i. e.* poor Mr. Laud], and so openly branded him for a Papist, or at least Popishly inclined: that it was almost made an heresy, as I have heard from his [*viz.* from Laud's] own mouth, for any one to be seen in his company; and a misprision of heresy, to give him a civil salutation as he passed the streets." (*f*) They saw what materials he was made of, and stigmatized him accordingly.

Eight years after Laud's public disgrace, above recited, to wit, A. D. 1614, when the said Laud had risen to the presidentship of St. John's College, the spirited and active Dr. Abbot [not the archbishop, but the bishop] took him openly to task, in a very sacred place, and on a very solemn occasion: or, as Heylyn phrases it, "Fell violently foul on Dr. William Laud, whom, in his sermon at St. Peter's, on Easter-Sunday, he (Abbot) publicly exposed to contempt and scorn, under the notion of a Papist; as Barret's doctrines had been formerly condemned at Cambridge" [and with ample reason], "by the name of Popery." (*g*) As to Barret, he justified the suspicions which were entertained of him at Cambridge, by actually declaring himself a Papist, shortly after. (*h*) And for Laud, a few years made it sufficiently plain, that the Oxonians were not very wide of the mark, in questioning the genuine Protestancy of that unhappy gentleman. Considering the zealous orthodoxy of the University in those days, Laud was well off, to escape without expulsion.

Various were the subsequent toils which Laud met with; many a weary step did he take, and many a mortifying repulse did he suffer, ere he could climb the hill of promotion, to which he so ardently aspired. Heylyn

(*b*) Heylyn's Hist. and Misc. Tracts. p. 626.
(*c*) Ibid. p. 627.
(*d*) With regard to queen Elizabeth's reign, Heylyn does not pretend to allege a single instance of public opposition to Calvin's doctrines during the whole of that long period in the university of Oxford. "Of any men," says he, "who publicly opposed the Calvinian tenets, in this University, till after the beginning of king James's reign, I must confess that I have hitherto found no good assurance." Ibid. p. 626. He, indeed, pretends to think that there were some who "secretly" trained up their pupils in other principles: but, unless he had produced better authority for this supposition than his own conjecture, the supposition may well pass for groundless.
(*e*) Heylyn's life of Laud, p. 49.
(*f*) Ibid. p. 50. (*g*) Heylyn's tracts p. 532.
(*h*) Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge, p. 151.

laments, very pathetically, the difficulties which this his patron had to surmount, on his first attempts to ascend the ladder ecclesiastic. "At this time," says he, *viz.* about the year 1624, and the last of king James's reign, "bishop Laud, to whom the raising and promoting of the Arminian doctrines (as they call them) is of late ascribed, was hardly able to promote and preserve himself: oppressed with an hard hand, by archbishop Abbot; secretly traduced to the king, for the unfortunate business of the earl of Devonshire; attaining, with great difficulty, the poor bishoprick of St. David's, after ten years' service" [*i. e.* after ten years court attendance]; "and, yet, but green in favour with the Duke of Buckingham." (*i*) However, in due season, the "green" favourite waxed a grey one.

Nothing is more prolific than heresy. About three years after Laud had been "publicly exposed to contempt and scorn," by vice-chancellor Abbot, in the pulpit of St. Peter's Oxford, another bird of Laud's feather (but whose nest was in the University of Cambridge, as Fellow of Trinity College there) underwent a very uncomfortable plucking. This gentleman's name was Edward Simpson: who, A. D. 1617, preached a sermon before king James I. at Royston; taking for his text, "John iii. 6. That which is born of the flesh is flesh. Hence he endeavoured to prove that the commission of any great sin doth extinguish grace and God's spirit, for the time, in the man. He added also, that St. Paul, in the 7th of Romans, spake not of himself as an apostle and regenerate, but *statu legis*. Hereat his majesty took, and publicly expressed, great distaste: because Arminius had lately been blamed for extracting the like exposition out of the works of Faustus Socinus. Whereupon, he [king James] sent to the two professors in Cambridge, for their judgment therein: who [*i. e.* the two Cambridge divinity-professors] proved, and subscribed, the place in the 7th chapter of Romans to be understood of a regenerate man, according to St Austin's later opinion in his retractation." What was the result? "The preacher was enjoined a public recantation before the king: which accordingly was performed. Nor doth such a palinody sound any thing to his disgrace: having St. Austin himself for his precedent, who modestly retracted what formerly he had written therein." (*k*)

"Nor must we forget Mr. Gabriel Bridges, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford: who, by preaching, on the 19th of January 1623], against the absolute decree, in maintenance of universal grace, and the co-operation of man's free-will prevented by it, in the public Church of the University; laid him more open to the prosecution of Dr. Prideaux, and to the censure of the vice-chancellor and the rest of the heads, &c." (*l*) We learn, from another writer, that the prosecution of Mr. Bridges terminated in his public recantation of his errors, and that the said recantation, though forced at first, proved eventually real and sincere: the good man being brought to a better mind, and to a serious conviction of the truths he had too hastily opposed. (*m*)

Some years afterwards, I find another religious delinquent; one Mr. Brookes, of Wadham College, Oxford: censured, "by the University heads, for broaching and justifying some Arminian assertions, in a sermon preached at St. Mary's" (*n*). This young culprit, thus censured and disgraced in the reign of James, was rewarded in that of Charles, by promotion to a wealthy cure of souls.

The Theses, publicly maintained by such as proceeded Doctors in divinity, are an additional demonstration of the old University Calvinism. Mr. Prynne has collected a great number of these from the authentic acts of Oxford in particular: and introduces them, with the following just remark. These "Act-Theses and questions are always (before they are either admitted, printed, published, or disputed on) propounded to a general convocation of the whole University, and by them particularly allowed, voted, and then recorded in the University register, for a testimony to posterity, as orthodox and consonant to the established doctrine, faith, and articles of the Church of England. So that the whole University's judgment is comprized in them [*i. e.* in those Theses], as well as theirs that give them." (*o*)

"*Æterná Dei predestinatione continentur, aliorum electio ad vitam æternam, aliorum ad mortem reprobatio: i. e.* The election of some persons to everlasting life, and the reprobation of others unto death, are comprized, respectively, in God's eternal decree of predestination.

"*Electorum certa est salus, ut periere non possint.*—The salvation of the elect is so certain, that they cannot possibly perish.

"*Electi non possunt, in hâc vitâ, implere legem Dei.*—The elect are unable in the present life to fulfil the law of God.

"*Doctrina prædestinationis olim tradita ab Augustino, et nostris temporibus à Calvino, eadem est.*—The doctrine of predestination, which St. Austin anciently taught, is the

(*i*) Heylyn's tracts, p. 634.
(*k*) Fuller's Hist. of Camb. p. 160.
(*l*) Heylyn's Tracts, p. 633.
(*m*) Anti-Armin. p. 259.
(*n*) Anti-Armin. Ibid.
(*o*) Ibid. p. 241.—for the Theses themselves, of which I give a sample, see the same Book, from p. 242 to 251.

same with that doctrine of predestination, which in our own times, Calvin hath taught.

"*Præscientia Dei æterno decreto omnia ordinantis, non pugnavit cum arbitrii libertate primis parentibus concessâ.*—The foreknowledge of God, who ordaineth all things by his eternal decree, did not clash with that freedom of will which he granted (in the state of innocence) to Adam and Eve.

In the reign of James I. the Oxonian Doctors maintained the following and similar positions, for that degree in divinity :

"*Tota salus electorum est merè gratuita.*—The salvation of the elect is, from first to last, absolutely free and unmerited.

"*Electi debent esse, et sunt tandem, suæ salutis certi.*—The elect ought to be assured of their salvation; and, sooner or later, they are so.

"*Reprobus quisque suâ solius perit malitiâ.*—Every reprobate perishes in consequence of his own wickedness only.

"*An, qui in Christo sunt perire possint?* NEG.—They, who are in Christ, cannot perish.

"*An certi salutis suæ omnes salventur?* AFF.—All, who are assured of their salvation shall surely be saved.

"*An, fideles possint certa fide, statuere remissa esse peccata?* AFF.—Believers may, with an assured faith, conclude that their sins are forgiven.

"*Non est liberum arbitrium.*—Man's will is not free.

"*Sancti non possunt excidere gratiâ.*—Real saints cannot fall entirely from grace.

"*An, homo possit se præparare ad gratiam recipiendam?* NEG.—Man cannot prepare himself to receive grace.

"*An, homo possit scire, se habere gratiam?* AFF.—A man, who has grace, may know that he has it.

"*An, electio sit ex prævisis operibus?* NEG.—Election is not occasioned by God's foresight of good works.

"*An, decretum reprobationis sit absolutum?* AFF.—The decree of reprobation is absolute.

"*An, Deus autor peccati, juxta reformatorum sententiam, statuatur?* NEG.—The Doctrine of the reformers, or of the reformed divines, does not make God the author of sin.

"*An, gratia regenerationis omnibus offeratur?* NEG.—The grace of regeneration is not offered to all men.

"*An, gratia regenerationis possit resisti?* NEG.—The grace of regeneration is irresistible.

"*An, voluntas, in prima conversione, habeat se tantùm passivè?* AFF.—The will of man is entirely passive, in the first reception of grace

"*An, reconciliatio per mortem Christi sit singulis hominibus impetrati?* NEG.—Christ's death did not procure reconciliation with God for every man.

"*An, lapsus Adami, diverso respectu, dici possit necessarius et contingens?* AFF.—The fall of Adam was both contingent and necessary.

"*An, decretum, de dandâ fide, sit, in mente divinâ, prius decreto de dandâ salute?* NEG.—God first decreed to save his people; and, in consequence of that decree, resolved to give them faith.

"*An, semel verè justificatus semper maneat justificatus?* AFF.—The man who is once truly justified continues justified for ever.

"*An, voluntas humana resistere possit gratiæ Dei efficaci?* NEG.—Man's will cannot resist the efficacious grace of God.

"*An, post Adama lapsum, libertas ad bonum sit prorsus amissa?* AFF.—Ever since the fall of Adam, the human will has utterly lost all its freedom to [spiritual] good.

"*An omnes baptizati sint justificati?* NEG.—All baptized persons are not therefore in a state of justification.

"*An, ipse actus fidei nobis imputetur pro justitiâ legis sensu proprio?* NEG.—Strictly speaking, the act of believing is not imputed to us for legal righteousness.

"*An, fides, et fidei justitia, sint propria electorum?* AFF.—Faith itself, and the righteousness of faith, are peculiar to the elect."

Among others, the Theses, which next follow, were asserted by the Oxford doctors, even after the accession of Charles I. when Calvinism ceased to enjoy the sunshine of court encouragement.

Anno 1625. "*An, prædestinatio sit ex prævisâ fide, vel operibus?* NEG.—Predestination to life is not for faith and good works foreseen."

Anno. 1627. "*An, prædestinatio ad salutem sit mutabilis?* NEG.—Predestination to life is an unchangeable act of God.

"*An, fides semel habita, possit amitti?* NEG.—True faith, once had, can never be lost.

"*An, vera fides cadat in reprobum?* NEG —No reprobate can truly believe.

"*An, efficacia gratiæ pendeat à libero influxu arbitrii?* NEG.—The efficacy of divine grace is not suspended on the free influence of man's will.

"*An, Christus divinæ justitiæ, vice nostrâ propriè et integrè satisfecerit?* AFF.—Christ did, literally and completely, make satisfaction to the justice of God, in our room and stead."

Anno 1628. "*An, arbitrium humanum determinet gratiam divinam?* NEG.—God's grace is not determined by man's will."

Examples might be multiplied, to a volume. But the reader may judge of the crop, by the small gleaning here presented to his view. The Church of England, in those day's might boast of Oxonians who believed,

as well as subscribed, her Thirty-nine Articles.

Nor did the other "*oculus Angliæ*" the University of Cambridge, yield a jot to her elder sister, in point of orthodoxy. The eminent Dr. Samuel Ward, in May 1628, thus wrote, from Cambridge, to archbishop Usher: "As for our University, none do patronise these (*i. e.* the Arminian) points, either in schools, or pulpit. Though, because preferments at court are conferred on such as incline that way, causeth some to look that way." (*p*) In the same letter, he blames a Dr. Jackson, who had lately "professed himself an Arminian:" and adds, concerning the said Jackson, "I do conceive all that which he disputeth in his book, against negative reprobation, as not sorting with the antecedent will of God, for the salvation of all, to be against the seventeenth article of religion, which plainly averreth a gratuitous predestination of some and not of all. Therefore, from thence (*i. e.* from the seventeenth article of the Church of England) is inferred, a not election of others to that grace: which is that which, properly, is styled, reprobation." (*q*)

More than six years after, *viz.* in June, 1634, when Arminianism had waxed both older and bolder, the same Dr. Ward wrote as follows, to the said great and good archbishop: "We have had some doings here (at Cambridge) of late, about one of Pembroke-hall (*viz.* Mr. Tourney); who, preaching in St. Mary's about the beginning of Lent, upon James ii. 22, seemed to avouch the insufficiency of faith to justification, and to impugn the doctrine of our eleventh article of justification by faith only: for which he was convented by the vice-chancellor, who was willing to accept of an easy acknowledgment. But the same party, preaching his Latin sermon, *pro gradu*, the last week, upon Rom. iii. 28; he said he came not *Palinodiam canere, sed eandem Cantilenam canere.* Which moved our vice-chancellor, Dr. Love, to call for his sermon: which he refused to deliver. Whereupon, on Wednesday last, being Barnaby day, the day appointed for the admission of the batchelors of divinity, which must answer, *Die Comitiorum*; he (*viz.* the Arminian preacher) was stayed (*i. e.* stopt of his degree) by the major part of the suffrages of the doctors of the faculty. And though sundry doctors did favour him" (even as many as wished to recommend themselves at court and at Lambeth) "and would have had him to be the man that should answer, *Die Comitiorum*; yet he is put by: and one Mr. Flatkers, of our (*viz.* of Sydney) college, chosen to answer, whose first question is, *sola fides justificat.*—The truth is, that there are some heads among us that are great abetters of Mr. Tourney, the party above mentioned; who, no doubt, are backed by others. I pray God, we may persist in the doctrine of our Church, contained in our articles and homilies! innovators are too much favoured, now-a-days. Our vice-chancellor hath carried business, for matter of religion, both stoutly and discreetly.—It may be you are willing to hear of our University affairs. I may truly say, I never knew them in worse condition, since I was a member thereof, which is almost forty-six years. Not but that I hope the greater part is orthodox. But new heads are brought in, and they are backed in maintaining novelties, and them which broach new opinions. Others" (*i. e.* those who abide by the old Calvinian truths) "are disgraced, and checked, when they come above" (*i. e.* when they either went to court, or waited on Charles's new Arminian bishops) "as I myself was, by my lord of York" (*viz.* Richard Neile) "last Lent, in consistory, for favouring Puritans" (the stale, unjust, and shameless pretence, under which the Laudæan faction sought to cover their design of smothering the Church doctrines): "and all from false informations from hence, which are believed without any examination.—I think they would have me out of my professor's place. And I could wish the same, if I could have one to succeed according to my mind.—Well, howsoever, God's will be done; and he teach us humility and patience! I heard, also, of some doings with you. The Lord of Heaven direct you and us, and teach us to submit to Him in all things.—I have not yet sent my answer to Mr. Ch., but intend ere long. I have not finished yet one point: (*viz.*) to shew that the Arminian opinions were condemned in the synods which condemned the Pelagian heresy.—The tractate, *De Prædestinationis*, in defence of your lordship (I know not your adversary, nor his name), is Doctor Twiffe's. It may be, he hath sent your lordship a copy of it. He is a deserving man. We have a (new) vice-chancellor, who favours novelties, both in rites and doctrines." (*r*) Observe here, 1. That Arminianism was then beginning to gain ground in Cambridge. 2. This made good Doctor Ward sigh and weep over the corrupt inundation, which he dreaded would overwhelm the Church of England. 3. Laud, Neile, and the other ecclesiastical instruments of court oppression, laboured, might and main, to "disgrace" and "check" all the conscientious churchmen who stood to the "Articles" and "Homilies." Among the rest, this Dr. Ward, and archbishop Usher himself, had been brow-beaten and

(*p*) Usher's Letters, Let. cxxvii p. 394. (*q*) Ibid. (*r*) Usher's Letters, Let. clxxix. p. 470, 471.

insulted by the unblushing priests who held the rudder. 4. Matters, however, though gloomy and unpromising, were not yet so bad, but an Arminian clergyman, "backed" by people in power, was, for being an Arminian, refused his degree "by the major part of the suffrages" of the Cambridge doctors, tenth year of Charles's reign, and the second of Laud's primacy.—5. How differently did the court-current flow, about sixteen years before, when the identical Dr. Ward, who wrote the above letter, was sent by king James, in triumph, to the synod of Dort!

Let the same reverend and learned hand inform us, how the Church of Rome exulted, on the eclipse of Calvinism in England. "Our commencement is now over: where dean Baden, now Dr. Baden, did well perform his part; who answered the act, *Vesperiis Comitiorum*. And so did the batchelor of divinity, *Die Comitiorum*; being one of the fellows of our college. The (late) vice-chancellor, Dr. Love, did well perform his part; especially, in encountering with one Franciscus de St. Clara (but his true name is Davenport), who, in a book set forth at Douay, would reconcile our articles of religion with the definitions of the council of Trent." (*s*) The encreasing rampancy of Arminianism in this kingdom, which encouraged the Pope himself to make Laud two separate offers of a cardinal's hat, emboldened the Roman minorite, Davenport, to lend a helping hand to the common cause, by striving to strike up a match between the thirty-nine articles and the decisions of Trent. Nor did the minorite, in this shameless effort at impossibility, act at all more absurdly than did those degenerate and impudent Protestants, who first pretended to find Arminianism in the said thirty-nine articles of the Church of England. Was Arminianism really the doctrine of these articles, Francis de St. Clara might have spared half his trouble: for there would then be, so far as Arminianism is concerned, no shadow of difference between the English articles and the Trentish determinations.

I shall conclude this brief enquiry into the Calvinism of our Universities, with a sketch of the happy effects which archbishop Usher's preaching had, at Oxford, on the youths of that renowned seminary, antecedently to the civil wars.

"The persuasion of his (*i. e.* of Usher's incomparable learning, the observation of his awful gravity, the evidence of his eminent and exemplary piety, all improved to the height, by his indefatigable industry, drew students to flock to him as doves to the windows. It joys us to recollect how multitudes of scholars, especially the heads of our tribes, thronged to hear the sound of his silver bell, and how much they were taken with the voice of this wise charmer. Surely, if ever, it was then, that the gospel ran and was glorified in Oxford.—Here, you might have seen a sturdy Saul changed into a submissive Paul: a persecutor transformed into a preacher. There, a tender hearted Josiah lamenting after the Lord, and with Ephraim, smiting on his thigh, saying, What have I done? Others, with the penitent Jews, so stabbed at the heart, as to cry out, Men, brethren, and fathers, what shall we do?" (*t*) —Could archbishop Usher have risen from the dead, and preached in Oxford, as heretofore; delivering the ancient truths, and with the same spiritual success, I fear there has been a subsequent period when his converted students would have been expelled, and the preacher himself rung out of the town.—This reminds me of the

IIId remaining particular: namely, just to touch upon the state of religion amongst us, since the primary introduction of Arminianism by archbishop Laud.

The final catastrophes of Charles's reign are well known; of which catastrophes his own tyranny, perverseness, and insincerity, together with the violent conduct of his ministers, must undoubtedly be considered as the main source. With regard to ecclesiastical matters, the triumphant Sectarists did but finish what Laud had begun. That prelate laboured to destroy the internal doctrines of the Church: and the republican zealots followed the blow, by demolishing the whole fabric.

In the unsettled times which intervened between the execution of Charles I. and the restoration of his family to the crown, the church lay in ruins. A violent extreme very frequently engenders its opposite. As Laud had directed much of his zeal and force towards his favourite point of re-baptizing the church into the grossest absurdities of splendid superstition, his enemies were no sooner masters of the field than they bent things too much the other way, and opened a channel to the wildest extravagancies of fanaticism. The elegant simplicity, with which the national worship had been solemnized during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., gave place, in many instances, to naked and slovenly modes of celebration, that rendered the public performance of divine offices rather matter of contempt and disgust than steps to decent and reasonable devotion.

It must, indeed, be acknowledged, that, during the period now treated of (*viz.* the usurpation), many eminent divines flourished, whose piety and learning, abilities and can-

(*s*) Usher's Letters, Let. clxxxi. p. 478.

(*t*) See the preface to the quarto edition of archbishop Usher's Sermons, Edit. 16o3.

nour, would have adorned any denomination, and have done honour to any party, whatever. Mr. Stephen Charnock, for example, in whom all those illustrious qualities were united, and to a very uncommon degree, may rank with the best and most respectable men, to whom this island ever gave birth. Yet is it equally true that no small number of the then authorized teachers were immerged in the thickest dregs of ignorance, bigotry, and fanaticism. For, the plan (now adopted by Mr. John Wesley, and which has ever been in fashion among the Turks) was then too generally pursued in England: *viz.* that of prostituting the ministerial function to the lowest and most illiterate mechanics, persons of almost any class, but especially common soldiers, who pretended to be pregnant with "a message from the Lord," had free access to the pulpit. If the preacher was hardly "letter-learned" enough to read his text, that very circumstance was, in the opinion of many, but a stronger demonstration of his being supernaturally "gifted." It is easy to conceive what an inverted and distorted figure the Protestant doctrines must have made, when viewed through the medium of such ministrations. *Corruptio optimi est passima.* It was this unhappy circumstance which opened the chief door to those floods of licentious ridicule and burlesque, poured on the most venerable and important truths, in the subsequent days of Charles II. (*u*) Among the lay preachers who most signalized themselves during the usurpation, was John Goodwin, the Arminian leveller and fifth monarchy man; with whom must be joined his co-adjutant in the work of the ministry (for they both occupied one pulpit), the renowned Mr. Thomas Venner, no less eminent for the insurrections which he raised, for the murders he committed, and for his horrible dying behaviour at the gallows, than for his skilfulness in hooping barrels (which was his proper trade), and for the ardour wherewith he propagated Arminianism.

Monarchy and the Church of England revived together, in 1663. By the Church of England, I here mean, the frame and the forms of the Church: or, in other words, her hierarchy, discipline, worship and revenues. Does the reader ask, why I express myself with such precision and limitation? I would rather answer this question in the words of another, than in words of my own.—"Upon the Restoration, the Church, though she still retained her old subscriptions and articles of faith, was found to have totally changed her speculative principles." (*x*) That is, though the liturgy, articles, and homilies, were not weeded of their Calvinism, yet very many of the new clergy were tinged with Arminianism. To preserve appearances, the old doctrines were permitted to keep their place in the printed standards; but a great number of the new subscribers had, in reality ranged themselves under a different banner.—Thus, no sooner had the goodness of Divine Providence retrieved the Church from the hands of her declared enemies, than she suffered by the doctrinal desertion of her ostensible friends. Not that the desertion then, any more than now, was universal. But those who embraced that odd species of dissenting conformity, known by the name of Arminianism, appear to have constituted the majority: (*y*) and have done so from that day to this.

IV. Let me now proceed to the ventilation of such objections, raised against the doctrinal Calvinism of the Church of England, as I have either omitted to confute, or have but lightly touched upon, in my former publications.

1. We are gravely told, by one Arminian after another, that the principles of our established Church are, "not Calvinian, but Melancthonian." If this was true, what would the Arminians get by it? just nothing at all. For, as I have (*z*) elsewhere proved, Melancthon carried the doctrine of predestination to as high a pitch as Luther and Calvin themselves. Nor did he ever retract a single syllable of what he wrote on that subject.

But Melancthon, how orthodox soever, does not appear (and I have studied these matters with as much attention, I believe, as any Arminian among us) to have had the least hand, or the least influence, directly or indirectly, on any part of the English Reformation. He was, for aught I have ever been able to find, no more concerned in fabricating the Church of England, than was Zoroaster or Confucius. Let the Arminians prove the contrary, and we will

(*u*) The following portrait of Charles II. though sketched by a foreign hand, conveys a striking likeness of that profane and libidinous tyrant. *Fuit is libidinis servus; sacra usque deque habens, Protestantis speciem præ se ferens, ut securius regnaret; sed in extremis, ut quidem ferunt, pontificio ritu rem divinam fecit:* i. e. he was a drudge to lust: a contemptuous disregarder of every thing serious and sacred; a Protestant in pretence, to secure himself on the throne; but, in his last moments, he so far threw off the masque, as to receive the eucharist, &c. after the manner prescribed by the Popish ritual. — Joh: Alph. Turrettini Hist. Eccles. p. 403.

(*x*) Hume's Hist. 5. 573.

(*y*) This remarkable that application was made to Charles the Second, to revive queen Elizabeth's order for placing Fox's History of the martyrs in the common halls of the archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, colleges, &c. To which request, the crafty king seemed to smile assent. But he took care to leave the thing undone.—See Wood's Athen. I. 187.

(*z*) See my translation of Zanchius on Predestination.

weigh their proofs in the exactest balance of candour and attention.—I go still farther; and add, so remote was Melancthon from being an English reformer, that I never yet heard of any church at all whose reformation he was the instrument of effecting. I know, indeed, that he is generally numbered among the foreign reformers; but he seems to have that honour assigned to him, more by the courtesy of some authors, than by virtue of historical fact. His framing the Augsburgh Confession does not prove him a reformer: for that pacific department was committed to his care, by princes whose churches were already reformed to his hand. Nor did his pious endeavours to assist Herman the archbishop of Cologne, in reforming that city, entitle him to the above name; for both the archbishop's efforts, and his own, proved entirely unsuccessful.

As I am on the subject of Melancthon, I will digress into some other particulars concerning him.

Mr. Hume is abundantly too severe to the memory of that learned man, in numbering him among those whom he impertinently traduces, as "wretched composers of metaphysical polemics." (*a*) Melancthon, with all his supposed "wretchedness" of parts, had more solid knowledge in his little finger, than Mr. Hume has of infidelity, from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot. Add to which, that this censure, if admitted, would involve, not only the greatest Christian divines of all ages, but likewise more than half the philosophers of antiquity: who dealt as much in "metaphysics," and in "polemics," as any believing priest whatever. Besides: who has dabbled more in "polemical metaphysics," than Mr. Hume himself? and a metaphysical polemist, is a metaphsiycal polemist, let his metaphysics and his polemics be of what cast they will. Moreover, the sneer could not have fallen more wide of the mark: for no divine of Melancthon's eminence, then living, had a less metaphysical head, or dealt more sparingly in polemics than he.—Let the ingenious declaimer read before he declaims: and his conclusions will be less precipitant.

Amidst all my just veneration for the name and memory of Melancthon, I must observe, that he possessed one quality, which threw no little shade on the lustre of his virtues and of his talents. I mean that timid, temporizing spirit, which, either through weakness of nerves, or weakness of faith, appears to have been the evil that most easily beset him. Dr. Robertson remarks, that, in 1550, after the artful business of the (*b*) Interim had been successfully carried by the power and intrigues of the emperor Charles (a step which he would not have found so easy, had the honest and courageous Luther been living); Melancthon, now deprived of the manly counsels of Luther, which were wont to inspire him with fortitude, and to preserve him steady amidst the storms and dangers that threatened the Church, was seduced into unwarrantable concessions, by the timidity of his temper, his fond desire of peace, and his excessive complaisance towards persons of high rank." (*c*)

On this, as well as many other occasions, throughout his life, Melancthon's complaisance was indeed excessive, to a fault. The name Dydimus, which he once assumed (when he published a tract under the rose), suited but too well with that duplicity of conduct, which put him so often upon trimming and shuffling in the things which perrain to God. At bottom, his principles were sound: and he (*d*) hated, in reality, the painful ambidexterousness wherewith he thought it prudent to balance between the friends and the enemies of the Reformation.

"All Europe was convinced that Melancthon was not so averse as Luther to an accommodation with the Romanists: and that he would have sacrificed many things for the sake of peace."(*e*) Of this, Melancthon gave proof upon proof: but never more enormously, than at the Augsburgh conference, in 1530, when he appeared to be in a humour to sacrifice, not only many things, but every thing, for the sake of a coalition with the Church of Rome. He agreed, "That men should not be said to be justified by faith alone, but by faith and grace [*i. e.* by faith and inherent grace or holiness]: That good works are necessary [*viz.* to justification]: That reprobates are included in the Church: That man has a free-will: That the blessed saints intercede for us and may be honoured: That the body and blood of Christ are contained in both elements: That those of the laity are not to be condemned who receive the eucharist only under one kind: That the usual veneration should be given to the holy sacrament: That mass should be publicly celebrated with the usual ceremonies: That the Popish bishops should hold their ancient

(*a*) Hist. vol. iv. p. 154.

(*b*) When disputes ran high in Germany, between the advocates for Popery, and the patrons of the Reformation, Charles V. ordered a system of theology to be drawn up, in which he required both parties to acquiesce, till a general council should meet to settle the agitated controversies. Hence the book itself was called, The interim. It was first published in the diet of Augsburgh May 15, 1548, and, though composed with much studied ambiguity of expression, in order to trepan the Protestants with greater facility, yet, almost every one of the Popish tenets was either expressly or virtually asserted in it. See Robertson, vol. iii. p. 481.

(*c*) Robertson's Hist. of Charles. V. vol. iv. p. 16.

(*d*) See Strype's life of Cranmer, p. 408.

(*e*) Rolt's Lives of the Reformers, p. 103, from Bayle.

jurisdiction: and that the parish priests should possess a power of excommunication, and be subject, in spiritual matters, to the said Roman bishops." (*f*)

This was "sacrificing" with a witness. But, it seems, the good man would have sacrificed still more, if Luther and the other Protestants, by whose commission he [Melancthon] treated with the Romish divines, had not taken fire at the extravagant concessions already made, and restrained him from going on. "Melancthon, who was very much inclined to peace" [*i. e.* to patch up a peace with the Church of Rome, by allowing her every point she wanted], "might have come nearer, if he had been invested with ample powers. But the rigid Protestants had been dissatisfied with his condescensions, and ordered him to advance no farther." (*g*)—Thus acted the man, who declared himself to be, what he most certainly was in his heart, so convinced "of the truth of Luther's doctrine," that he "would never forsake it!"(*h*) Nor does it appear that he ever did inwardly forsake the doctrine of Luther. But can I commend him for his pusillanimous flexibility, which induced him to curry human favour at the expense of divine truth; and for straining his own conscience, in order to shake hands with Rome? I commend him not.

Take another instance of his ductility. "Melancthon was consulted upon the divorce which Henry VIII. was determined to have against Catherine of Spain: and he gave his opinion, that the law in Leviticus is dispensable, and that the marriage [*viz.* the king's marriage with his brother's widow] might be lawful; and that, in these matters, states and princes might make what laws they pleased." (*i*) Throw this artful piece of court casuistry which way you will, 'twill pitch upon its legs, and stand plum upon all four. It told Henry, in effect, that he might either retain his conjugal sister, or put her away, just as appetite should serve. For what was past, his majesty had incurred no sin: because in these matters the law of God may be dispensed with by princes. And, as to the future, if the king did not choose to persist in exerting his right to dispense with God's law, he might at any time rid himself of a stale wife by giving her a bill of divorcement. Such was Melancthon's "excessive complaisance to persons of high rank!"

The advice he gave to Œcolampadius bore the same impress of artifice and duplicity. The Lutherans and the Zuinglians differed concerning the nature of the holy sacrament. The former supposed, that the real body and blood of Christ were consubstantiated with the elements, though the elements were not trans-substantiated into the real body and blood: but that both subsisted together, as fire subsists in and with a red-hot iron. The Zuinglians, on the other hand, believed that the consecrated symbols were no more than a merely commemorative representation. A conference was opened, upon this matter, between some divines of each party. Œcolampadius wrote to Melancthon, requesting him to terminate the dispute, by declaring himself in favour of the Zuinglian opinion. Observe Melancthon's answer: "I cannot approve the opinion of the Sacramentarians; but, if you would act politicly, you should speak otherwise: for, you know, there are many learned men among them, whose friendship would be advantageous to me."(*k*)

Luther could never bring himself to hunt with the hound and run with the hare. He was formed of materials too heroic, not to abhor collusion, and all its narrow, skulking arts. Hence, he often rallied Melancthon, and sometimes chid him in terms of severity, for his religious cowardice. These friendly stimulations roused and quickened Melancthon, for a short while: but he soon relapsed into Melancthon again.

Let a man espouse what system he will, he must unavoidably displease some party or other. But the man who affects to adopt such a system as may render him obnoxious to no party whatever, very rarely acquires that measure of esteem from any, which he fondly expects to receive from all. Melancthon hoped, that his extreme moderation would have exempted him entirely from the feuds of enmity and opposition. But he was disappointed: and the disappointment had an unfavourable effect on his spirits. In angling, with so much anxiety, for universal applause, he incurred that suspicion, which is the usual reward of irresolute fluctuation. A great part of the Protestants disliked him, for not seeming Protestant enough: and most of the Papists hated him, for not being sufficiently Popish. The consequence was, that he led a very uneasy life between the two.

"Nature," says Monsieur Bayle, "which gave Melancthon a peaceable temper, made him a present ill suited with the time in which he was to live. He was like a lamb in the midst of wolves. His moderation served only to be his cross. No body liked his mildness."(*l*)—"He was never out of danger: but might truly be said, through fear, to be all his life-time subject to bondage. Thus he declared in one of his works

(*f*) Rolt's Lives of the Reformers, p. 106.
(*g*) Rolt, Ibid.
(*h*) Ibid. p. 102.
(*i*) Ibid. p. 107.
(*k*) Rolt, p. 104.
(*l*) Hist. Dict. vol. iv. p. 187.

that he had held his professor's place [at Wittenburg] forty years, without being ever sure that he should not be turned out of it before the end of the week."(*m*) Honesty is the best policy. Who would wish, by disguising his sentiments, to trea the artificial and painful path of the trimming Melancthon?

Notwithstanding his acknowledged defect of courage, he yet ventured to assert the strongest predestination. A learned (*n*) Papist even goes so far as to charge Calvin himself with borrowing some of the arguments, by which he supports that doctrine, from Melancthon. This accusation, though false, shews the agreement which subsisted between those two divines upon that important article.

Our own bishop Davenant, who was a consummate judge of these matters, observes, that "Melancthon took offence at the manner of delivering the doctrine of predestination and reprobation, insisted on by some: but, for the substance of doctrine, he acknowledged his agreement with Calvin. That men must come to the knowledge of their election, from their faith and holy life, was Melancthon's opinion: but that their foreseen faith and holiness was the cause, or condition, or motive, upon which God founded his decree of election, was far from his mind." (*o*) We are reminded, by a later writer than the good bishop, that Calvin condescended to dedicate his Treatise against Pighius to Melancthon: for which token of Calvin's friendship, Melancthon warmly expressed his gratitude. "Mr. Calvin confirmed his own [flock] at home, and strongly opposed his adversaries abroad: publishing his four books about Free-will, which he dedicated to Philip Melancthon; against Albert Pighius, the greatest sophister of the age, and who had singled out Calvin for his antagonist, being promised a cardinal's hat if he could carry the victory. But [Pighius] being frustrated of his labour, he got that which the enemies of truth only deserve, *viz.* that he stank amongst learned and good men, himself being deceived by the devil. How much Melancthon esteemed those books of Mr. Calvin, himself testifies in his epistles, which are in print."(*p*)

Melancthon, as well as Calvin, was a (*q*) Sublapsarian. In those times, Arminanism was a term utterly unknown in the Christian church. Melancthon died, A. D. 1560, *i. e.* the same year, in which Arminius was born. The enemies of grace were then termed Pelagians and Semipelagians.

Melancthon had an elegant genius, cultivated by intense application. His piety was elevated, his learning profound, and his usefulness very considerable. Could he have got the better of that unhappy diffidence, which was perpetually betraying him into inconsistencies, and hampering him with perplexities, he might have been classed with the greatest of mankind. Among his other friends, Zanchius, with much tenderness and delicacy, warned him of the danger to which his capital deficiency exposed him. "*Non dubitante pii,*" said that great man, in one of his letters to Melancthon, "*de tuâ eximiâ eruditione, et singulari pietate; tantùm hoc precamur omnes, donet te, virum alioqui fortem, majori etiam spiritûs fortitudine Deus. Vide, quam familiaritèr ego, omnium minimus, tui tamen inter omnes observantissimus, tecum, loquor, exime et doctissime Philippe.*(*r*) *i. e.* All good men unite in acknowledging your uncommon learning and piety. But it is no less true that we likewise unite in beseeching God to endue you with a larger portion of courage and boldness. See how free the least considerable, but not the least respectful, of your friends, ventures to make with you."

Envy is, perhaps, not often honoured with residence in so valuable a mind as that of Melancthon. At the very time, however, when his intimacy with Luther was at its height, he seems to have viewed the ascendency, which that reformer had acquired among Protestants, with jealousy and pain. I wish the following incident could be reasonably ascribed to a less ungenerous principle. "Melancthon often exhorted Bucer not to yield so much to Luther."(*s*) He seems to have reiterated this secret exhortation, not only by word of mouth, but also by letter: and Bucer, wearied and disgusted with Melancthon's teazings, seems to have at last communicated the matter to Luther himself. So at least I conjecture, from the aspect of what follows: "He [*i. e.* Melancthon] himself writes, that Luther was so enraged against him, about a letter received from Bucer, that he [Melancthon] thought of nothing but withdrawing himself for ever from Luther's presence. He lived under such continual constraint from Luther, &c. and was so oppressed with labour and vexation, that, being quite spent, he wrote to his friend Camerarius: I am in bondage, as if I were in the cave of the Cyclop (for I

(*m*) Biograph. Dict. vol. viii. p. 325.
(*n*) Spondanus. See Bayle, vol. ii. p. 272.
(*o*) Bishop Davenant against Hoord, p. 72.
(*p*) Clark's Marrow of Hist. p. 293.
(*q*) "Reformatores nostri, ut verbum etiam de iis addamus, D. Augustini de gratiâ et predestinatione sententiam pene omnes sequebantur; quam et crudiùs nonnunquam tradebant: ut ex Lutheri, de servo arbitrio, multisque Zuinglii et Calvini, locis, constare potest. Quin et fuerunt qui ad rigidissima Supralapsariorium placita (quibus tuuntur) procedere haud dubitarent; ut Beza et Zanchius: ad mitiora deflexit Melancthon."—J. A. Turettini Hist. Eccles. p. 328.—Let me just hint, that this learned man is mistaken in placing Zanchius on the list of Supralapsarians.
(*r*) Zanchii, Opera, tom. viii. p. 148.
(*s*) Bayle, vol. vi. p. 190.

cannot disguise my sentiments to you), and I have often thoughts of making my escape."(*t*) At one time he entertained the romantic design of retiring into the Holy Land, and of spending the remainder of his days in the identical caverns formerly occupied by St. Jerom. (*u*) But, the storm abating, that whimsical scheme subsided with it.

Is it not very extraordinary, that a person of Melancthon's tender spirits and goodness of heart should justify and applaud the magistrates of Geneva, for punishing Servetus's religious mistakes with death? "They acted right," says Melancthon, "in bringing that blasphemer to the stake, after having first granted him the privilege of a fair trial." (*x*) Alas, what is man!

No less inconsistent were Melancthon's nibblings at the doctrine of fate, in the sense wherein that doctrine was held by some Stoics. The astrological fate, or a destiny resulting from the positions and influence of the planets, is a very absurd and a very profane tenet. Melancthon would have done rightly in entering his caveat against it, had his caveat been sincere. But, even here, he acted with his usual dissimulation. In his heart, he leaned very strongly toward that exceptionable species of illegitimate fatality "I will observe," says Bayle, "that he [Melancthon] was credulous, as to prodigies, astrology, and dreams." (*y*) Mr. Rolt adds, "from Melancthon's Epistles it may be observed, that he was a believer in judicial astrology, a caster of nativities, and an interpreter of dreams. Strange weakness in so great a man! (*z*)—So far, therefore, was he from really denying predestination and fate, that he held those doctrines even to excess: *i. e.* in the most irrational, gloomy, and superstitious point of view in which it is possible for the human mind to entertain them.

The reformers were, however, sensible of Melancthon's well meaning piety, though the strange mixture and variegation of his spiritual complexion made them often at a loss how to deal with him.

—Each finding, as a friend,
Something to blame, and something to commend.

Luther had a very great regard for him, but perceived it needful, both to refrain him, and to spur him on, as occasion required. Calvin held him in considerable estimation, and treated him with the most benevolent tenderness. He was also honoured with the correspondence of archbishop Cranmer; who conceived a favourable idea of his learning and humility. But they who insinuate that he [Melancthon] was concerned with that prelate in reforming the Church of England, seem to have advanced a conjecture totally unwarranted by a single grain of proof. I can find no more than two occasions on which he was invited into England (but they were only invitations, for he never came): namely, in (*a*) the reign of Hen. VIII., whom he had pleased to the life, by his gentle casuistry, concerning that monarch's divorce: and again a little before the death of Edward VI., who intended to have given him a quiet retreat in England, from his troubles in Germany, by fixing him at Cambridge, after the death of Bucer. (*b*) But when the first invitation was given him, Henry had no design to reform (nor did he, to his dying day, reform) the doctrinal system of the Church. And when the second invitation was signified to Melancthon, the Church had been reformed already, by the care of king Edward, the duke of Somerset, Cranmer, Ridley, Bucer, Martyr, Calvin, and others. Certain it is, that Zanchius was actually invited hither, in due season, "to assist in carrying on the reformation:" (*c*) and that the reformers of our Church were disappointed of his help, by his preferring a settlement at Strasbourg; the divinity chair of that city being offered him while he was on his journey towards this kingdom. (*d*)

2. It is objected against the Calvinism of our established Church, that "in several parts of the liturgy, &c. she herself seems to speak the language of Arminius."—Impossible! for the Church (as we have already observed) having been reformed and established long enough before Arminius existed, she can never be supposed to have borrowed either her sentiments or her language from a man who was then unborn.

A number of passages have been amassed, by some desparing Arminians, in order to prove, from the liturgy and homilies themselves, that the Church of England is but a sort of shoot from the Arminian stock. The passages, however, are no more to the purpose than if they were alleged to prove that queen Elizabeth was Adam's wife and the mother of all mankind. Notwithstanding this, I have given each of them a distinct consideration in a pamphlet which has long lain by me; and which shall be committed to the press whenever the indulgence of the public shall call for its appearance. In the mean while I shall weigh two passages, which are urged with great triumph, and not without some colour of seeming plausibility, by Mr. John Wesley and Co.

(*t*) Bayle, vol. vi. p. 191. (*u*) Ibid. p. 188.
(*x*) Melancthon *magistratus Genevenses rectè fecisse* affirmat, *quòd hominem blasphemum, ex ordine judiciali, interfecerint.*"—Turettini (Fran.) Institutionis, Theologiæ, vol. iii. p. 374. Edition, Lugd. 1696.
(*y*) Vol. iv. p. 187.
(*z*) Lives of the Reformers, p. 111.
(*a*) Strype's Ecclesiastical Memoirs, vol. i. p. 231, 232.
(*b*) Strype's Eccles. Memor. vol. ii. p. 401, 402.
(*c*) See Hickman, u. s. p. 151.
(*d*) See my Life of Zanchius.

The first of these two citations is selected from the liturgy where, in the communion service, the officiating minister, at the delivery of the holy elements, says, to every receiver, "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee:" and "the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee."—Does not this look something like absolutely universal redemption? Not, when soberly considered: unless it could be proved that every individual of the whole human race, from Adam to the last of mankind, have been, are, and will be, communicants in the Church of England.—"Oh but it proves that all who do so communicate are, in her judgment, redeemed by Christ." Granted. And why does she suppose them redeemed? Even because she invites none to the Lord's table but those who do "truly and earnestly repent them of their sins, and are in love and charity with their neighbours, and intend to lead a new life, following the commandments of God, and walking from henceforth in his holy ways." (e) As, therefore, the Church takes for granted that all who present themselves at that solemn ordinance are partakers of these graces, she very consistently infers that they are likewise all redeemed by the blood of Christ; for who can question the redemption of penitents and saints? "Oh, but there is reason to believe that all communicants are not penitents and saints." Whether they are, or are not, must be left to the decision of God. It is enough, to the present point, that the Church describes the redeemed of the Lord under the characters of penitent and holy: and, thereby (in exact harmony with scripture), virtually excludes, from a visible interest in Christ's redemption, those who do not repent and obey. For each converted and sanctified receiver, the Church affirms that the "body of Christ was given," and, "the blood of Christ was shed." What is this but saying, by necessary consequence, that we have no right to extend the death of Christ to such persons as are not converted and sanctified? So that the very words themselves, of the administration, are a proof, not of an unlimited, but of an exceedingly restrictive, redemption.

The second quotation is taken from one of the homilies. "In the homily of almsdoing," say Wesley and Sellon, "there is this apocryphal text, that alms make an atonement for sins."—I know not what adequate atonement these two Arminians can make to the church, for the slander and falsehood of that insinuation, which they mean to convey under the cover of this remark. Let us consult the homily itself: and its import will be found, not only quite innocent of Arminianism, but positively orthodox, and most highly calvinistic.

"Ye shall understand, dearly beloved, that neither those places of the Scripture, before alleged; neither the doctrine of the blessed martyr Cyprian; neither any other godly and learned man; when they, in extolling the dignity, profit, fruit, and effect of virtuous and liberal alms, do say that it washeth away sins, and bringeth us to the favour of God, do mean that our work and charitable deeds are the original cause of our acceptation before God, or that, for the dignity or worthiness thereof, our sins may be washed away, and we purged and cleansed of all the spots of our iniquity: for that were indeed to deface Christ, and to defraud him of his glory. But they mean this, and this is the understanding of those and such-like sayings: that God, of his mercy and special favour towards them whom he hath appointed to everlasting salvation, hath so offered his grace especially, and they have so received it fruitfully, that although, by reason of their sinful living, they seemed before to have been the children of wrath and perdition; yet, now, the spirit of God mightily working in them unto obedience to God's will and commandments, they declare, by their outward deed and life, in the shewing of mercy and charity (which cannot come, but of the Spirit of God and his especial grace), that they are the undoubted children of God, appointed to everlasting life. And so, as, by their wickedness and ungodly living" [*viz.* before they were converted], "they shewed themselves, according to the judgment of men which follow the outward appearance, to be reprobates and cast-aways; so now, by their obedience unto God's holy will, and by their mercifulness and tender pity (wherein they shew themselves to be like unto God, who is the fountain and spring of mercy), they declare, openly and manifestly to the sight of men, that they are the sons of God, and elect of him unto salvation. For as the good fruit is not the cause that the tree is good, but the tree must first be good before it can bring forth good fruit; so the good deeds of man are not the cause that maketh man good: but he is first made good, by the spirit and grace of God, that effectually worketh in him; and afterward he bringeth forth good fruits. And then, as the good fruit doth argue the goodness of the tree; so doth the good and merciful deed of the man argue and certainly prove the goodness of him that doth it: according to Christ's saying, Ye shall know them by their fruits." (f)

If the Church had not thus explained

(e) Exhortation before the celebration of the blessed sacrament

(f) Homily on Almsdeeds, part II. p. 160, 13vo. Edit. 1610.

her own meaning, Messrs. Wesley and Sellon might have had some seeming foundation for insinuating that the homily asserts the propitiatory merit of almsgiving. But as sue so largely and so expressly defines the sense in which she admits the justifying power of that good work; the above pair of Arminian defamers are absolutely inexcusable for their gross and wilful violation of justice and truth, in laying to the charge of the Church things which she knoweth not. (*g*)

3. It is objected, that the Calvinistic doctrines are Puritanic; and were tenaciously held by many, who opposed the established hierarchy.

I answer: that the term Puritan, belonged, in its primary application, to those persons, and to those persons alone, who dissented from the government, the discipline, and the ceremonies, of the Church of England. This will never be controverted by any who are at all acquainted with the history of Elizabeth's reign, in whose time that word (Puritan) was first coined. Nor was it ever applied to churchmen themselves, till about two years before the death of king James the first: when a temporising Italian Papist [*viz.* Antony de Dominis, once archbishop of Spalato] craftily endeavoured to transfer the name, from Protestant dissenters, to such members of the established Church as were enemies to regal tyranny, and to the new doctrines of Arminius. (*h*) In the succeeding reign of Charles, Laud kept up the ball which De Dominis had raised: and by degrees, every conscientious son of the Church, who was Protestant enough to maintain her doctrines, and English-man enough to support the civil constitution of the kingdom, was at court treated as a Puritan.

Wilson developes the whole matter, with great fidelity, under the year 1622. "This animosity of the king's [*viz.* of king James I.] against the (real) Puritans, was thought to be fomented by the Papists, whose agent bishop Laud was suspected to be; though in religion he had a motley form by himself, and would never (as a priest plainly told me in Flanders) bring his neck under the obedience of the Roman yoke, though he might stickie for the grandeur of the clergy. And now he began to be Buckingham's confessor (as he expresseth in his own notes), and wore the court livery: though the king had a sufficient character of him, and was pleased, with asseveration, to protest his [*viz.* Laud's] incentive spirit should be kept under, that the flame should not break out by any preferment from him. But that was now forgotten in some measure: and he crept so into favour, that he was thought to be the bellows that blew these fires. For the Papists used all the artifices they could, to make a breach between the king and his people; that they might enter at the same for their own ends. Which to accomplish, they slily closed with the chief ministers of state, to put the king upon all his projects and monopolies displeasing to the people, that they might the more alienate their affections from him; sowing their seeds of division also betwixt Puritan and Protestant; so that, (like the second commandment) they quite excluded the Protestant [under the false idea of Puritanism]: for all those were Puritans, with this high-grown Arminian Popish party, that held in judgment the doctrine of the reformed Churches, or in practice lived according to the doctrine publicly taught in the Church of England." (*i*)

To such a height did the court-madness arise, that all were supposed to be tinctured with Puritanism who did not flatter James even to blasphemy. "It was too apparent, that some of the clergy to make the way the smoother to their wished end, began so to adore the king, that he could not be named, but more reverence was done to it than to the name of God: and the judges, in their itinerant circuits, the more to enslave the people to obedience, being to speak of the king, would give him such sacred and oraculous titles, as if their advancement to higher places must necessarily be laid upon the foundation of the people's debasement." (*k*)

Hear what the wise and upright archbishop Usher told king Charles the first, to his face, from the pulpit, in 1627. "I see, that those, who will not yield to that new doctrine which hath disturbed the Low Countries" [*i. e.* who will not embrace Arminianism], "there is an odious name cast upon them, and they are counted Puritans, which is a thing tending to dissention. We know who are esteemed by Christ: and

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(*g*) From the pitiable ignorance, which distinguishes the complexion of the following remark, I am disposed to believe that the remark itself is of Mr. Sellon's own fabrication, unaided by the coadjutorship of his domineering helpmate, Mr. John Wesley.—The remark is this: that the Church of England affirms universal redemption, in saying, that "Christ offered himself once for all upon the altar of the cross." Now, I hereby inform Mr. Sellon, (as Mr. Wesley ought to have done before the bell was shut), that the Church of England took that phrase [*viz.* "once for all" from the epistle to the Hebrews; where the original word is ἐφάπαξ, which signifies, once only, or irrepeatably; and means that Christ so offered himself in sacrifice, as never to be offered up again: he poured out his soul unto death, for the first and for the last time.

Would politeness give leave, I might further explain the import of the term ἐφάπαξ, or once for all, by addressing Mr. Sellon thus: 'Be it known, once for all, that you are a most wretched and contemptible ignoramus.'—But rather let me advise Mr. Wesley, once for all, not to expose his own cause again, by entrusting the management of it to such a very illiterate advocate.

(*h*) See Fuller's Church History, book x. p. 99, 100.

(*i*) Wilson, apud Kennet's Compl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 753.

(*k*) Wilson, Ibid.

were it not a vile thing to term him a Puritan?—And king James maintained the same" [*viz.* the same Calvinistic doctrines which the Church of England has adopted]: "and shall those be counted so" [*i. e.* be counted Puritans] "who confess those points which he maintained? Do not think I speak any thing as being hired on any side. But I foresee, that the forecasting of that name upon those who maintain the doctrine published by the pen of our (late) sovereign, will prove a means for the disturbing of our peace.—I will not deny, but confess, that, in those five points which disturb the Low Countries, I am in the mind of my sovereign. I am not ashamed to confess it: nor never will be.—And I do here profess before God, that if I were an Arminian, and did hold those five points which have caused those troubles in the Low Countries, and is like to cause them here among us; the case standing as it doth, that the greatest number of the prophets blow their horns another way; I hold I were bound in conscience to hold my peace, and keep my knowledge to myself, rather than, by my unseasonable uttering of it, to disturb the peace of the Church.—This is the last time I shall be called to this place: therefore, I will leave this advice; which, if it be neglected, peradventure it will be too late easily to stop things." (*l*)—Observe, here, 1. That, in this prelate's judgment, king James lived and died a doctrinal Calvinist.—2. That Calvinism was a thing as essentially different from Puritanism as light from darkness.—3. That if the belief of the Calvinian doctrines be puritanic, it would follow that Christ himself was a Puritan.—4. The good archbishop was not ashamed to avow those doctrines in the presence of king Charles and of his Arminian court.—5. As he is said to have foretold the massacre of the Irish Protestants, so, in the above discourse, he has plainly predicted the civil wars which, many years after, actually ensued.—6. We have his grace's explicit testimony, that, even in the reign of Charles the first, "the greatest number" of the established clergy "blew their horns," *i. e.* preached and published, not in the Arminian strain, but quite "another way," though in direct opposition to the wind and tide of court encouragement.—7. He was sensible that, for his honesty and faithful dealing, this was "the last time" he should ever be asked to preach before the king: he therefore resolved to make, and make he did, the most of that last opportunity, by giving his majesty some very wholesome, though not very palatable, "advice." Which advice had the king uniformly followed, he had, probably, saved the Church from ruin, the three kingdoms from destruction, and his own head from the axe.—8. The archbishop's integrity is more to be admired, as the king's declaration, for imposing silence on preachers touching the points in dispute, had been published so lately as the year before the above sermon was delivered. The heroic prelate thought it right to obey God rather than man.

After all, what if the Puritans themselves, truly and properly so called, should be found to have been dissenters, not from the doctrines, but merely and solely from the rites and regimen, of the Church of England? That this was actually and literally the case, *i. e.* that the Puritans (in the reigns of Elizabeth and the first James) cordially approved the furniture, though they disrelished the fabric, of our excellent ecclesiastical house, appears from the most conclusive and incontrovertible evidence.

On this subject, archbishop Hutton thus expressed himself, in 1604. "The Puritans, whose fantastical zeal I mislike, though they differ in ceremonies and accidents, yet they agree with us in substance of religion." (*m*)

"People of the same country," says Mr. Nicolas Tindal, "of the same religion, and of the same judgment and doctrine, parted communion on account of a few habits and ceremonies." (*n*) According to this historian, the very Brownists themselves, though they bear the character of having been the most rigid and intractable of all the then Separatists, were one with the Church, in matters of doctrine. "The Brownists did not differ from the Church in any doctrinal points." (*o*) With the superficial Mr. Tindal agrees the profound and laborious Mr. Chambers: "The occasion of their [*i. e.* of the Brownists'] separation was, not any fault they found with the faith, but only with the discipline and form of government, of the other Churches in England." (*p*)

Even Peter Heylyn found himself constrained to draw a line between Calvinists and Puritians. And thus he draws it. "I must needs say the name of doctrinal Puritanism is not very ancient.—Nor am I of opinion, that Puritan and Calvinian are terms convertible. For though all Puritans are Calvinians, both in doctrine and practice; yet, all Calvinians are not to be counted as

(*l*) Archbishop Usher's Sermon on 1 Cor. xiv. 33. Preached before the king, at Greenwich, June 27, 627. Annexed to the folio edition of his Body of Divinity, London, 1678. P. 183, 184.

(*m*) See Strype's Life of Whitgift, Appendix. No. 50. p. 217.

(*n*) Continuation of Rapin's History, vol. iii. p 217.—Edit. quæ pr.

(*o*) Tindal, Ibid

(*p*) Chamber's Dict. on the word Brownists.

Puritans also: whose pratices [*i. e.* the practices of the Puritans] many of them [*i. e.* many of the Calvinists] abhor, and whose inconformities they detest." (*q*)

A writer, whose portmanteau Heylyn was not worthy to carry, shall clinch the present nail of the evidence. I mean the very respectable bishop Saunderson: who affirms, that to charge Calvinists with Puritanism, is a "most unjust and uncharitable course;" whereby his lordship thought the Arminians had "prevailed more, than by all the rest [of their artifices], in seeking to draw the persons of those that dissent from them into dislike with the State, as if they were Puritans, or disciplinarians, or, at least, that way affected. Whereas," adds this judicious prelate, "1. The questions in debate are such as no way touch upon Puritanism, either off or on.—2. Many of the [Calvinists] have as freely and clearly declared their judgments, by preaching and writing against all puritanism and puritanical principles, as the stoutest Arminian in England hath done.—Could that blessed archbishop Whitgift, or the modest and learned Hooker, have ever thought, so much as by dream, that men, concurring with them in opinion, should, for some of these very opinions, be called Puritans?" (*r*)—I hope we shall hear no more of the puritanic tendency of Calvinism.

4. Another false and shameless objection against these doctrines is, that they are "unfavourable to loyalty." But no insinuation can be more abominably unjust. We assert, with Scripture, that the powers which be are ordained of God: consequently, we cannot be disloyal without flying in the face of that very predestination and Providence for which we so zealously contend. A spur, this, to civil obedience, which Arminianism must for ever want.

From innumerable proofs, I select one very pertinent and remarkable instance. Let us contrast the loyalty of the Calvinistic archbishop Usher with that of the Arminian ranter and fifth monarchy man, John Goodwin.

"The execution of king Charles I. struck archbishop Usher with great horror. The countess of Peterborough's house, where the primate [Usher] then lived, being just over against Charing-Cross, several of her gentlemen and servants went up to the leads of the house, from whence they could plainly see what was acting before Whitehall. As soon as his majesty came upon the scaffold, some of the houshold told the primate of it: and asked him, whether he would see the king once more before he was put to death? He was, at first, unwilling; but, at last, went up: where, as the ceremonial advanced, the primate grew more and more affected; and when the executioners in vizards began to put up the king's hair, the archbishop grew pale, and would have fainted, if he had not been immediately carried off." (*s*)

Very different was that tragical incident relished by Goodwin the free-will man. I have proved, in a foregoing part of this work, (*t*) that he considered all "kingship as the great antichrist:" and, in perfect consistency with this mad and detestable principle, he "not only justified putting the king to death, but magnified it as the glorious est action men were capable of." What half killed the most reverend Calvinist of Armagh, made the heart of that irreverend free-will man of Coleman-street to leap for joy. Loyal Usher began to swoon at the sight of majesty on a scaffold: but the Arminian rebel John Goodwin vindicated, and in folio too, the stroke of that nefarious axe which deprived majesty of life.

A single question and answer shall, for the present, wind up the topic of loyalty.—Whom did Providence honour with being the auspicious instrument of entailing the British crown on the house of the amiable and illustrious monarch who now adorns the throne? His Calvinistic majesty king William III.

5. "Oh, but Calvin himself pronounces the decree of reprobation an horrible decree."—I know not which exceeds: Mr. Sellon's ignorance, or Mr. Wesley's disingenuity. Calvin no where stiles "reprobation," an "horrible decree." These two Arminians, therefore, are, in plain English, a pair of horrible liars.

It is in treating of God's determination to permit the fall of Adam, that Calvin says, *Decretum quidem horribile fateor; inficiari tamen nemo poterit, quin præscíverit Deus, quem exitum esset habiturus homo, antequam ipsum conderet.* (*u*) **i. e.** "I acknowledge this decree to be an awful one: it is however, undeniable, that, before the creation of man, God knew what the event of it would be."

I would willingly imagine, that Mr. Wesley is not so wretched a Latinist as to believe that he and his subaltern acted fairly, in rendering the word *horribilis*, as it stands in the above connection, by the English adjective horrible. Though there is a sameness of sound, there is no necessary sameness of signification, in the two epithets. We have annexed a secondary idea to the English words "horror" and "horrible;" which the Latin "*horror*" and "*horribilis*" do not always import. I shall give two or three

(*q*) Life of Laud, p. 119.
(*r*) Bishop Saunderson's Pax Ecclesiæ: p. 63, 64.
(*s*) Biog. Dict. vol. xi. p. 338.
(*t*) Introduction.
(*u*) Calv. Instit Lib III. cap. xxiii. Sect. vii.

instances: taking care, for the sake of poor Mr. Sellon, to add English explanations of the Latin passages I bring.

When Cicero says, *Horribile est, causam capitis dicere; horribilius, priore loco dicere:* (*x*) is not this the meaning? "It is an awful undertaking, to plead a cause in which life and death are concerned; more awful still, to be the first opener of such a cause." —When Virgil (*y*) mentions the *horribilius irae* of Juno; what are we to understand, but the tremendous resentment of the goddess?—The same poet's (*z*) *horrentique atrum nemus imminet umbrâ*, must be rendered by, "the impending grove is dark with solemn shade." Similar (as Servius observed) is that of Lucan: *Arboribus suis horror inest:* (*a*) *i. e.* "There is something venerable in a grove of trees."—Nor did the noble and profoundly learned Daniel Heinsius use an improper term, when, (speaking of Julius Scaliger) he said, *Cujus nomen sine horrore et religione commemorare non possum:* (*b*) *i. e.* "The very mention of his name strikes a sort of religious awe upon my mind."

Calvin, therefore, might well term God's adorable and inscrutable purpose respecting the fall of man, *decretum horribile: i. e.* not an horrible, but an awful, a tremendous, and a venerable decree. A decree, the divine motives to which can never be investigated by human reason in its present benighted state; and concerning which, we can only say, in the language of Scripture, "How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!"

TO CONCLUDE.

From what has been observed, relative to the great Protestant doctrines, now distinguished by the name of Calvinistic, we may too easily perceive how deeply, and how generally, we are revolted and gone from the religion of Jesus Christ, or (which is the self-same thing) from the spirit and principles of the religion established in this land. What an ingenious writer remarks, is melancholy, because true: "The Church of England are Predestinarians by their articles; and preach free-will."(*c*) The greater the pity, and the greater the shame.

For this dreadful declension from the Scripture and from the Church, we are, partly, indebted to that door of endless prevarication, opened to the clergy by bishop Burnet, in what he entitles his Exposition of the XXXIX Articles: a performance, for which (notwithstanding its merit in some respects) the Church of England is, upon the sum total, under no very great obligation to his lordship's art and labour. It is true, that work is not so commonly nor so assiduously studied, of late years, as it was half a century ago.—Many of our divines have tender eyes: and, for fear of endangering those valuable organs, by the perusal of a formidable volume, choose to take matters upon trust, and borrow the needful evasions, *viva voce*, from one another. Even the lax theology of Tillotson is almost grown obsolete.

Where shall we stop? We have already forsook the good old paths trod by Moses and the prophets, and by Christ and the apostles: paths in which our own reformers also trod, our martyrs, our bishops, our clergy, our universities, and the whole body of this Protestant, *i. e.* of this once Calvinistic nation. Our liturgy, our articles and our homilies, it is true, still keep possession of our church-walls: but we pray, we subscribe, we assent one way; we believe, we preach, we write another. In the desk, we are verbal Calvinists: but no sooner do we ascend a few steps above the desk, than we forget the grave character in which we appeared below, and tag the performance with a few minutes' entertainment compiled from the fragments bequeathed to us by Pelagius and Arminius; not to say by Arius, Socinus, and by others still worse than they. Observe, I speak not of all indiscriminately. We have many great and good men, some of whom are, and some of whom are not, Calvinists. But, that the glory is, in a very considerable degree, departed from our established Sion, is a truth which cannot be contravened, a fact which must be lamented, and an alarming symptom which ought to be publicly noticed.

In the opinion of the late Dr. Young, "almost every cottage can shew us one that has corrupted, and every palace one that has renounced the faith." (*d*) Are matters much mended since that pious and respectable Arminian launched the above complaint? I fear not. Is there a single heresy, that ever annoyed the Christian world, which has not its present partizans among those who profess conformity to the Church of England? At what point our revoltings will end, God alone can tell. But this I affirm, without hesitation, and on the most meridian conviction, that Arminianism is the poisonous wood to which the waters of our national sanctuary are primarily indebted for all their

(*x*) Orat. pro Quinct.

(*y*) Hoc quondam monstro horribiles exercuit iras inachiæ Juno pestem meditata juvencæ. Geor. lib. iii.

(*z*) Æneid. I. 169. (*a*) Pharsal. iii.

(*b*) Heinsii. Orat. i. in Obitum Jos. Scal. p. 3. —Edit. Lugd. 1615.

(*c*) Letters on the English Nation, by Battista Angeloni; vol. ii. Letter 34, p. 69. Edit. 1755. This performance is, by some, ascribed to Dr. Shebbeare

(*d*) Centaur not fabul.

embitterment. In particular, Arianism, Socinianism, practical Antinomianism, and infidelity itself, have all made their way through that breach at which Arminianism entered before them. Nor will the (*e*) Protestant religion gain ground, or finally maintain the ground it has got; neither is it possible for the interests of morality itself to flourish; till the Arminian bond-woman and her sons are cast out: *i. e.* till the nominal members of our church become real believers of its doctrines; and throw the exotic and corrupt system of Van Harmin, with all its branches and appurtenances, to the moles and to the bats.

Let not my honoured brethren of the clergy deem me their enemy, because I presume to remind them of the truth. God is witness that I wish you prosperity, ye that are of the house of the Lord. Permit the obscurest of your number to submit, without offence, the foregoing particulars to your attentive consideration. May none of your venerable order be justly ranked in time to come, among those half-conformists, who fall in with the ceremonies, but fall out with the doctrines, of the Church. Halt not between God and Baal. Give no occasion to our adversaries to speak reproachfully of us. Let it not, any longer, be thrown in our teeth, that "no set of men differ more widely from each other than the present clergy; though they all (*f*) subscribe to one and the same form of doctrine." Subscription is, in virtue and in fact, a solemn bond of engagement to God, and of security to men, that the subscriber fairly and honestly, without reserve, evasion, or disguise, absolutely and nakedly believes the things to which he sets his hand.—Query: What firm hold could a temporal monarch have on the allegiance of his sworn subjects, should the same horrid prevarications find their way into the minds of political swearers, which, it is to be feared, have obtained among some theological subscribers? A remark of the late Dr. Daniel Waterland's is at once so important and so pertinent, that, though I have formerly quoted it in another publication, I cannot restrain myself from introducing it here. "If either state-oaths, on the one hand, or church subscriptions, on the other, once come to be made light of; and subtleties be invented, to defend, or palliate, such gross insincerity; we may bid farewell to principles, and religion will be little else but disguised atheism."(*g*) This flame of gross insincerity has already, in part, caught hold of the church. And who can tell how much further it may spread!

The men, who lately petitioned the legislature to overthrow the religious constitution of their country, and whose party is not yet extinct, resemble, too much, a certain set of innovators, who, in the last century, began with pecking at the Church, and ended with demolishing the state. What security can such persons give the government that the same leaven of iniquity is not working even now? "O, they say that they are very loyal." True: and, when they subscribed

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(*e*) In the reign of Elizabeth, a pamphlet appeared, entitled, The Book of the Generation of Antichrist: written, indeed, by a very acrimonious Puritan; yet, as far as matters of mere doctrine were concerned, perfectly harmonizing with the creed of the Church of England. Among other particulars, the author, with equal humour and truth, traced out the following genealogy of free-will, merit, unholy living, and Popery. "The Devil begot darkness, Eph. vi.—Darkness begot Ignorance, Acts xxii.—Ignorance begot Error and his brethren, 1 Tim. iv.—Error begot Free-will and Self-love, Isa. x.—Free-will begot Merits, Isa. lvii.—Merits begot Forgetfulness of Grace, Rom. x.—Forgetfulness of God's Grace begot transgression, Rom. ii.—Transgression begot Mistrust, Gen. v.—Mistrust begot Satisfaction" (*i. e.* the opinion that human works and penances would satisfy God's justice for sin), Matt. xvii.—Satisfaction begot the sacrifice of the Mass, Dan. xii." How justly the links of this chain are connected!

(*f*) The late learned and candid Dr. Doddridge has a passage, concerning the sacred nature and obligation of ecclesiastical subscriptions, which deserves to be pondered with the utmost seriousness.—He introduces it, under the article of perjury.

"Care should be taken, that we do not impair the reverence due to an oath, by using or imposing oaths on trifling occasions, or administering them in a careless manner. The reverence of an oath requires that we take peculiar care to avoid ambiguous expressions in it, and all equivocation and mental reservation. Something of this kind may be said of subscription to articles of religion: these being looked upon as solemn actions, and nearly approaching to an oath. Great care ought to be taken, that we subscribe nothing that we do not firmly believe."

The Doctor then proceeds to particularize the most plausible of those fashionable evasions, under the thin shelter of which some subscribers (like a certain bird, who, when she hides her head, fondly thinks herself quite concealed) are supposed to lurk. The said evasions are as follow. "If the significations of the words be dubious, and we believe either sense, and that sense in which we do believe them is as natural as the other; we may, consistently with integrity subscribe them.—Or, if the sense in which we believe them, be less natural, and we explain that sense, and that explanation be admitted by the person requiring subscription in his own right: there can be no just foundation for a scruple." But, in both these cases, it is easy to discern that subscription would evaporate into a pompous nothing.

The Doctor goes on. "Some have asked, that, if we have reason to believe, though it is not expressly declared, that he, who imposes the subscription, does not intend that we should hereby declare our assent to those articles, but only that we should pay a compliment to his authority, and engage ourselves not openly to contradict them: we may, in this case, subscribe what is most directly contrary to our belief: or, that, if we declare our belief in any book, (as for instance,) the Bible, it is to be supposed that we subscribe other articles only so far as they are consistent with that; because we cannot imagine that the law would require us to profess our belief of contrary propositions at the same time."

And now, what says the good Doctor, by way of answer to the three quibbles above started? He overthrows them all, with the stroke of his pen, in the following memorable terms: "But subscription upon these principles seems a very dangerous attack upon sincerity and public virtue: especially in those designed for public offices." Dr. Doddridge's Course of Lectures, p. 162.—Ed. 1763.

(*g*) First defence of Queries against Dr. Clarke. Preface, p. 4.

to the Liturgy and Articles, what was it but saying (in a manner still more solemn, than if they had only declared it by word of mouth), that they were very orthodox, and very good friends to the Church of England? Is it any breach of candour to surmise that they who are capable of dissembling with God may also be capable of dissembling with men? If they did these things in a green tree, what will they do in a dry! Can civil obligations be considered as binding those slippery consciences, on which the infinitely superior sanction of the most religious and sacred stipulation has no force nor tie? Should Providence have so dreadful a judgment in store, for this now highly favoured land, as permissively to crown the designs of these schemers with effect; *actum est* may be the epitaph inscribed on the tomb of our national Christianity. We may convert our Churches, some into warehouses, and others into dancing-rooms; make one grand bonfire of our Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy; and tear up our Bibles into waste paper.

"Oh, but the petitioners have a great respect for the Bible." Who says so? "Why, they themselves." This is just nothing to the purpose. They have demonstrated their insincerity in other matters: and therefore have no right to draw a bill of credit on our belief as to this.

The author of the Confessional (pity it is, that the master of such fine talents should employ them in so bad a cause), sees, with joy, the daring measures pursued by that shameless faction, which openly seeks to compass the ruin of the Church. Let the bishops look about them. No less is aimed at than the demolition of the hierarchy itself. The writer last mentioned has thought proper to give more than one intimation that, together with the doctrines and formularies of the establishment, a blow is meditating against our highest order of ecclesiastics. My proofs are these. "In all exclusive establishments, where temporal emoluments are annexed to the profession of a certain system of doctrines, and the usage of a certain routine of forms, and appropriated to an order of men so and so qualified; that order of men will naturally think themselves interested that things should continue as they are. A reformation might endanger their emoluments. For though it should only begin with such things as are most notoriously amiss, the alteration of which would no way affect their temporal interests; yet by opening a door to farther enquiry, which would be the natural effect of it, their dignities and revenues might possibly be brought into question, and be thought to need some regulations, which it can hardly be supposed they would approve. So that they who ask, who knows where a reformation may end? by way of giving a reason why it should not be begun; are certainly not unwise in their generation."(*h*) This is what may be termed, a very broad hint, at the very least. But what honest intelligencer will give information by halves? Behold, therefore, a farther opening of the budget, in the passage that follows, "The infection of the times has in some degree laid hold even of those venerable personages" [*i. e.* the bishops], and produced appearances of secularity, which, whenever a reformation shall be happily brought about, we may be sure will not be suffered to disparage their sacred characters." (*i*) Thus the secret is out. The Calvinism and the episcopacy of the Church give equal umbrage to the petitioning clergy: who are therefore labouring to roll away both these stones of offence; and, by one happy manœuvre, to rid us of orthodoxy and prelacy together.

See, Right Reverend Fathers, to what point Arianism, Socinianism and Arminianism, are driving. It appears, that a number of the very men, who have solemnly sworn canonical obedience to your lordships, are actually labouring to annihilate the mitre, and to spring a mine under every cathedral in England. A striking instance, that they, who could subscribe to articles which they disbelieve, can also digest the guilt and the shame of a violated oath. Too evident it is, that the Strand petitioners (stranded may their attempt be!) though declared enemies to the (*k*) orthodoxy, are strongly agitated by the levelling principle, of the ancient Puritans. Should your lordships (which God forbid) ever condescend to acquiesce in any of the alterations demanded by these fiery claimants, their restlessness and insatiable lust would still cry out for more. Were they to gain but a single point, it would encourage them to say, with their predecessors of old, *Ne ungulam esse relinquendam.*(*l*) You yourselves would be, at best, the *ultimò devorandi.*

(*h*) Confessional, 3d Edit.—Pref. to first Edit. p. xii.

(*i*) Confessional, p. 371.

(*k*) It has already been proved, that the Puritans agreed with the Church of England, in all articles of faith.

(*l*) "He (Secretary Walsingham) offered in the Queen's name, that the three ceremonies, at which they [the Puritans] seemed most to boggle, that is to say, kneeling at the communion, the surplice, and the cross in baptism, should be expunged out of the Book of Common Prayer, if that would content them. But thereunto it was replied in the words of Moses, *Ne ungulam esse relinquendam*: that they would not leave so much as an hoof behind. Meaning thereby, that they would have a total abolition of the Book, without retaining any part or office in it in their next new-nothing. Which peremptory answer did much alienate his [the secretary's] affection from them: as afterwards he affirmed to Knewstubs; and Knewstubs to Dr. John Burges of Colesbill, from whose pen I have it." Heyl. Hist. Presb. p. 360, 365.

Your lordships lament the visible encroachments of Popery.—Arminianism is at once its root, its sun-shine, and its vital sap.

Your lordships see, with concern, the extending progress of infidelity.—Arminianism has opened the hatches to this pernicious inundation: by going about to evaporate the complete redemption, and the finished salvation, absolutely wrought by Christ, into (what all the art of man can never really make it) a *vox, et præterea nihil.* As if the gospel of grace was only a frigid declaration of the terms and conditions on which we are to save ourselves; and as if Christ himself was little or nothing more than a moral philosopher. Happily for the intrinsic dignity of Christianity, the religion of Jesus is not that poor, unmeaning thing, which the modern misrepresentation induces too many to believe. But can it be matter of reasonable wonder, that they, who are imposed upon by such misrepresentation, should turn their backs on a seeming phantom which has nothing to recommend it; and dismiss it, with a sneer, to the shades of contempt?

I wish that the workings even of Atheism itself may not administer to your lordships just ground of indignation and alarm. —For this also, Arminianism has paved the way: by despoiling the Divine Being, among other attributes, of his unlimited supremacy, of his infinite knowledge, of his infallible wisdom, of his invincible power, of his absolute independency, and of his eternal immutability. Not to observe, that the exempting of some things and events from the providence of God, by referring them to free-will, to contingency, and to chance, is another of those back lanes, which lead, in a direct line, from Arminianism to Atheism. Neither is it at all surprising, that any, who represent men as Gods (by supposing man to possess the divine attribute of independent self-determination), should, when their hand is in, represent God himself with the imperfections of a man: by putting limitations on his sovereignty; by supposing his knowledge to be shackled with circumspection, and darkened with uncertainty; by connecting their ideas of his wisdom and power with the possibility of disconcertment and disappointment, embarrassment and defeat; by transferring his independency (*m*) to themselves, in order to support their favourite doctrine, which affirms that the divine will and conduct are dependent on the will and conduct of men; by blotting out his immutability (*n*), that they may clear the way for conditional, uncertain, variable, vanquishable, and amissable grace; and, by narrowing his providence, to keep the idol of free-will upon its legs, and to save human reason from the humiliation of acknowledging her inability to account for many of the divine disposals: so that according to this scheme, we may write, under the majority of incidents that come to pass, this motto, *Hic Deus nihil fecit.*—Who sees not the atheistical tendency of all this? Let Arminianism try to exculpate herself from the heavy, but unexaggerated, indictment. Which if she cannot effect, 'twill be doing her no injustice to term her Atheism in masquerade.

Your lordships cannot be insensible of the contempt and insignificancy into which many of your clergy are fallen.—Arminianism is one grand source of this likewise. Even those of the laity, whom fashion, or prejudice, or inclination hath Arminianized, too well know what judgment to form of such spiritual guides as subscribe to the whiteness of snow, though they believe it to be black as jet. Let the clergy learn to despise the sinful pleasures, maxims, pursuits and doctrines, of this world; and the world will, from that moment, cease to despise the clergy.

Your lordships observe with pain the glaring and almost universal decay of moral virtue.—This has been a growing calamity, ever since the restoration of the Stuart line in the person of Charles II. With that prince, Arminianism returned as a flood; and licentiousness of manners was co-extensive with it. We have had, since that (otherwise happy) period, more than a hundred years' experience of the unsanctified effects which naturally result from the ideal system of free-will and universal redemption. What has that system done for us? It has unbraced every nerve of virtue, and relaxed every rein of religious and of social duty. In proportion to the operation of its influence, it has gone far toward subverting all moral obedience; and seems to endanger the entire series even of political and of ecclesiastical subordination.

Tantum [EA] *religio potuit suadere malorum!*

Look round the land, and your lordships cannot fail of perceiving that our fiercest

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(*m*) I myself know several Arminians, who have declared to me, in conversation, that, so far as concerns the *ipsa determinatio*, or the very act of the will's determinating itself to one thing in preference to another, the said human will is *horrendum dictu!*) independent of God himself. I pray God to give them experimental demonstration that they are not so independent as they imagine; by bringing them to a better mind.

(*n*) A worthy and ingenious pen presented the public some years ago with the following lines; in which this topic is very properly handled.

"Shall Wesley sow his hurtful tares,
"And scatter round a thousand snares?
"Telling how God from wrath may turn,
"And love the souls he thought to burn.
"And how, again, his mind may move
"To hate where he has vow'd to love;
"How all mankind he'd fain would save,
"But longs for what he cannot have.
"Industrious thus to sound abroad
"A disappointed changing God!
"Blush, Wesley, blush at thy disgrace;
"Haste thee to Rome, thy proper place," &c.

See a poem, entitled, Perseverance: by the late Mr Thomas Gurney.

free-willers are, for the most part, the freest livers; and that the practical belief of universal grace is, in too many instances, the turnpike road to universal sin.

Your lordship's mark, with becoming disgust, the continued existence of Methodism. —Arminianism is the Pandorean box from which this evil also hath issued. And though Methodism appears, at present, rather to resemble a standing pool than an increasing stream; we know not how soon it may become a running water, and enlarge itself into an overflowing flood; if the corrupt tenets, vented with such raging zeal in Mr. Wesley's meeting-houses, should unhappily be re-echoed from the pulpits of the established Church. For certain it is, that those of the clergy who fly the fastest and the farthest from doctrinal Calvinism are plunging more deeply than they imagine into the grossest dregs of Methodism.

A

WORD CONCERNING

THE BATHING-TUB BAPTISM.

Mr. John Wesley having thought it convenient, in his remarks on Mr. Hill, to pretend absolute ignorance of the above mentioned operation, which he, some years ago, performed on Mrs. L. S. (see the second edition of my letter to him); and the party herself, from whose own lips I had the account, having given me leave to publish her name on the occasion (a liberty which I would not have taken, without her previous consent);—Be it known, that the person, who was the subject of 'that blest bathing-bout,' is Mrs. Lydia Sheppard, now living in the Borough of Southwark.

Since Mr. Wesley's virtual denial of the fact, she has been again consulted: and I now, by her authority, subjoin the following circumstances, several of which I tenderly omitted, when I first gave the anecdote to the public.

Antecedently to the ceremony, Mr. Wesley told her that, to satisfy weak minds, he had occasionally baptized some persons, by immersion at Bristol, and elsewhere; and would do the same for her, to make her easy. The time and place were accordingly appointed. A house in Long Lane, Southwark, was to have been the scene of action: and the water, and other requisite conveyances, were actually got in readiness. But the matter having taken air, and the curiosity of various people being excited, Mr. John did not choose to accomplish the business, in the presence of so many spectators, as were, then and there, expected to assemble. Thus, the administration was adjourned, and another place fixed upon: at which place, Mr. John Wesley did, with his own hands, baptize the said Mrs. Lydia Sheppard, by plunging her under water. And a fine plunging it had like to have proved.

Does the reader ask, in what font this baptism was administered? The font was a common bathing-tub.—Is it further enquired, in what chapel did the font stand at the time? The chapel was, truly, a chapel *in cryptis*: to wit, a common cellar.—Am I asked, of what cathedral was this subterraneous chapel a part? The cathedral or mother church, was neither better nor worse than a cheesemonger's house, in Spitalfields, London.—Who were the witnesses to this underground baptism? a party, it seems, carefully grafted from, what Mr. Wesley calls, his classes and bands.

And, now, what will that gentleman allege, in extenuation of his affected ignorance of this whole matter? Surely, even he will not persist in pretending to forget so remarkable a transaction: especially, when such an explicit series of striking circumstances arises to refresh his memory!—Possibly, he may, on this occasion, repeat his former climax of "a Cynic, a Bear, a Toplady." But, I assure him, I will not retaliate the compliment, by crying out, a Hottentot, a wolf, a Wesley.—No. The weapons of my warfare are of a milder temperature. I would much rather endure scurrility than offer it.

But I still adhere to my primitive demand, with which I sat out several years ago, when the present controversy with the Arminians began to wax warm: namely, let Mr. Wesley plead his own cause, and fight his own battles. I am as ready as ever to meet him with the sling of reason and the stone of God's word in my hand. But let him not fight by proxy. Let his cobblers keep to their stalls. Let his tinkers mend their brazen vessels. Let his barbers confine themselves to their blocks and basons. Let his bakers stand to their kneading-troughs. Let his blacksmiths blow more suitable coals than those of controversy. Every man in his own order.

Should, however, any of Mr. Wesley's life-guard-men, whether gowned or aproned, Swiss or English, step forth to their tottering master's relief,

> "*In squalid legions swarming from the press,*
> "*Like* Egypt's *insects from the mud of* Nile;"

I shall, probably, not so much as give them the reading. Or, if any of them happen to fall under my perusal, and I deem it proper to repress the vanity of the vain, Mr Wesley himself will still be my mark: and I shall, if Providence permit, continue to imitate the conduct of that philosopher, who thrashed the master for the ill behaviour of the scholars. Though after all, if Mr. Richard Hill's two masterly pamphlets (one

entitled, A Review of the Doctrines taught by Mr. John Wesley, with a Farrago annexed; the other, *Logica Wesleiensis*, or the Farrago double distilled) make no advantageous impression on 'the John Goodwin of the present age;' he may, from henceforward, be, fairly and finally, consigned to the hospital of incurables.

CHRONOLOGY OF ENGLAND.

A List of the Kings of England, from Egbert, down to his present Majesty.

	A.D.	A.D.		A.D.	A.D.
EGBERT	829	838	Henry III.	1216	1272
Ethelwulph	838	857	Edward I.	1272	1307
Ethelbald	857	860	Edward II.	1307	1327
Ethelbert	860	866	Edward III.	1327	1377
Ethelred I.	866	872	Richard II.	1377	1399
Alfred	872	900	Henry IV.	1399	1413
Edward I.	900	925	Henry V.	1413	1422
Athelstan	925	941	Henry VI.	1422	1461
Edmund I.	941	948	Edward IV.	1461	1483
Edred	948	955	Edward V.	1483	
Edwy	955	959	Richard III.	1483	1485
Edgar	959	975	Henry VII.	1485	1509
Edward II.	975	979	Henry VIII.	1509	1547
Ethelred II.	979	1013	Edward VI.	1547	1553
Sweyn	1013	1014	Mary	1553	1558
[Ethel II. restd.]	1014	1015	Elizabeth	1558	1603
Edmund II.	1015	1017	James I.	1603	16-5
Canute	1017	1036	Charles I.	1625	1649
Harold I.	1036	1039	[Republic]	1649	1660
Canute II.	1039	1041	Charles II.	1660	1685
Edw III. Conf.	1041	1066	James II.	1685	1688
Harold II.	1066		WILLIAM III.	1688	1702
William C.	1066	1087	Anne	1702	1714
William, R.	1087	1100	George I.	1714	1727
Henry I.	1100	1135	George II.	1727	1760
Stephen	1135	1154	George III.	1760	1820
Henry II.	1154	1189	George IV.	1820	1830
Richard I.	1189	1196	[William IV.]	1830	
John	1196	1216			

EGBERT.

The sixteenth king of Wessex (comprehending the present counties of Hants, Berks, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, succeeded Brithric, A.D. 800. He was descended from Cerdic, a Saxon (*a*) General, who resolving to seek his fortune in Britain, arrived here A. D. 495, and, after having founded the kingdom of the West-Saxons, and being twice crowned, died in 534, leaving his dominions to his son Cenric. During the reign of Brithric, Egbert had rendered himself extremely popular in Wessex; which Brithric could not observe without jealousy. Egbert perceiving this, found it for his safety to fly into France, where he was kindly received by Charles the Great.

Brithric, having accidently tasted some poison, which his wife Edburga had mixed up for some other person, died A. D. 799. Edburga was obliged to fly the kingdom; and a solemn embassy was sent over to Egbert, with an offer of the crown of Wessex; which he accepted. A. D. 809, he totally subdued the Britons of Cornwall. The next year, 810, Andred king of Northumberland (comprehending the counties of Lancaster, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland, York, and Durham) submitted to Egbert. By the year 829, at farthest, he finished his conquests, and became sovereign of all England. (*p*) He was, indeed, only in actual possession of Wessex, Sussex, Kent, and Essex; but he had made the kingdoms of Mercia, Northumberland, and East-Anglia, tributary to himself. Thus he ended the famous heptarchy, which had lasted, (reckoning from its original, *viz.* the arrival of Hengist, A. D. 449,) about 380 years. Egbert dying, A. D. 838, was succeeded by his only son

2. ETHELWULPH. (A. D. 838—857.)

This prince, A. D. 840, resigns the kingdoms of Kent, Essex, and Sussex, (including Surrey,) to Athelstan, his natural son. A.D 852, the two kings gave battle to the Danes, at Okley in Surrey, and gained a complete victory: which however, Athelstan did not long survive.

A.D. 855, Ethelwulph goes to Rome, upon superstitious motives; and his son Ethelbald takes that opportunity of aspiring to the throne. The king returning inme-

(*a*) The old Saxons were, originally, inhabitants of the Cimbrian Chersonesus, now called Jutland; whence being driven by the Goths, they settled in Germany, and made themselves masters of those tracts of land lying between the Rhine and the Elbe. Their territories, bounded on the West, by the German ocean, extended, Eastward, to the border of Thuringen: consequently, they were masters of Saxony, Westphalia, and as much of the Low Countries as lies north of the Rhine. As to the very first origin of the Saxons, previous to their possession of Chersonesus, we know nothing at all about it. The numerous conjectures that have been made concerning it only leaving us, if possible, still more in the dark.

Nor is the true etymology of the name, Saxon much less difficult to fix.

1. Some derive it from Seax, a sword, or cutlass: whence those old verses:

Quippe brevis gladiust apud illos Saxa *vocatur;*
Unde sibi Saxo *nomen trazisse putatur.*

In like manner, the Quirites have their name from quiris, a short spear; and the Scythians, from scytton, to shoot from a bow.—Add to this, that the arms of Saxony are, at this very day, two short swords in cross.

2. Mr. Camden agrees with those who derive the name of Saxon from the Sacæ, or Sassones, mentioned by Pliny, a very ancient and considerable nation in Asia; and that the Saxons are, as it were, Sacæsons, *i. e.* sons of the Sacæ; and that out of Scythia, or Sarmatia Asiatica, they came, by little and little, into Europe, along with the Getæ, the Suevi, and the Daci.

3. Scaliger will have them to be descended from the ancient Persians.

(*p*) But his repose was soon disturbed by the Danes, who, A.D. 833, landed at Charmouth in Dorsetshire; where Egbert, engaging them, was entirely defeated: and, fixing, narrowly escaped with life. A. D. 835, they paid him another visit: but he quite defaced the dishonours of his former defeat, by gaining a great victory over them, at Hengston-Hill, in Cornwall. (The Danes had made two descents on England, previous to these: the first at Portland, in 789; the second, in the Isle of Sueppy, A. D. 832.) At the battle of Charmouth, were slain, among others Herefort, bishop of Winchester; and Wigferth, bishop of Sherborne.

diately, is forced to compromise matters, by resigning Wessex to his son, and reserving only Kent, Essex, and Sussex, to himself. Ethelwulph outlives this partition but two years. He was a very conscientious, exemplary prince. He died, A. D. 857, leaving four sons, Ethelbald, already in possession of Wessex; Ethelbert, who, by virtue of his father's last will, succeeded him in the kingdoms of Kent, Essex, Sussex and Surrey, (comprised now under the kingdom of Kent;) Ethelred; and Alfred; who both, successively, mounted the throne.

3. ETHELBALD, A. D. 857—860.

Reigned in Wessex two years, during his father's life; and about two and a half, after his decease. He died about 860, leaving behind him a bad character; and was succeeded by his second brother

4. ETHELBERT, A. D. 860—866.

Who, already possessed of Kent major, did, by acceding to Wessex, unite the kingdoms again. This king, by giving the Danes money, in order to make them go away, only allured them to make their descents the oftener. He died, A. D. 866, leaving behind him, two sons, Anhelm and Ethelward; neither of whom succeeded him: his younger brother, Ethelred, mounting the throne, by virtue of his father Ethelwulph's will.

5. ETHELRED I. A.D. 866—872.

His reign was short and troublesome: being one continued conflict with the Danes. Ivar, or Hinguar, a Danish king, landing here, made very considerable conquests, Ethelred, though very unfortunate, was extremely courageous. He received his death's wound, at the battle of Marden, in Wiltshire, fought with the Danes, A. D. 872, and was buried at Winborne.

6. ALFRED. A.D. 872—900.

Ethelred left several children, who were barred from the succession by the will of their grandfather, Ethelwulph; which adjudged the crown to Alfred, justly styled The Great. Scarce had this most excellent prince been a month on the throne, when, in the battle of Wilton, he was worsted by the Danes. In the year 877, they invade Wessex; and the next year, Alfred finds himself deserted by all: and is forced to conceal himself in a shepherd's house, in the isle of Athelney, in Somersetshire. But shortly after, letting his friends know where he was, he so concerted measures that, putting himself once more at the head of an army, he defeated the Danes, at the battle of Edington, in Somersetshire Thus though he succeeded to the throne, A.D. 872, yet he was not thoroughly settled in it until the year 878. From this time he bent all his thoughts how he might render his people free and happy at home, and secured from foreign attacks. To that end, he first puts his navy on a very formidable footing; and then, having thus guarded his coasts, he fortifies the rest of the kingdom with castles and walled towns. Next he set himself to make and compile a body of laws, and to guard private persons as much as possible from oppression, he was the immortal instituter of juries, and ordained, that, in all criminal cases, a man should be tried by his peers. He was, likewise, probably, the first who divided England into shires (from the Saxon word, scyre, to branch or divide), hundreds, and tythings. He regulates the militia, so as to have them ready for service in case of invasion, at a short warning; he introduces and promotes a very extensive commerce with other nations; invites over some learned men from abroad; and A.D. 886, founds four colleges at Oxford: one for divinity, one for grammar and rhetoric, one for logic, arithmetic, and music; and, in the other, Johannes Scotus (surnamed Erigena, *i. e.* Irishman, from the word Erin, or Irin, the true name of Ireland) professed geometry and astronomy. With regard to the administration of national affairs, he set up two councils, wherein every thing was debated: 1. A cabinet council. 2. Another answerable to what is now called the privy council. To these he added the old Saxon Wittenagemot, or general assembly of the realm; much of the same nature with what is now called the parliament. Some time after, he introduces the way of building with brick, and stone: houses, &c. until then, being usually built of wood. In the distribution of his time, he was very exact: allotting eight hours in the day for the dispatch of public business; eight for sleep, study, and necessary refreshment: and (pursuant to a vow he made, while he lay concealed in Aldeny) eight to acts of devotion. He died, A.D. 900, *æt.* 52. *regni* 29. He was born at Wantage, in Berks: and buried at Winchester, without the North-gate, since called the Hide. He was, without doubt, one of the best, the greatest, and most glorious princes, that ever wore a crown. He was succeeded by his son

7. EDWARD I. A.D. 900—925.

He was inferior to his father in every thing, except in valour and success. He is usually supposed to have founded the university of Cambridge, A.D. 915. His reign, which lasted more than twenty-four years, was, upon the whole, a happy and glorious one. By his first wife, he had two sons; Elsward, who survived him but a few days; and Edwin, who was put to death by Athelstan, A D. 938.

By a second wife named Edgiva, he had two sons; Edmund, and Edred; who both mounted the throne.

8. ATHELSTAN. A. D. 925—941.

Notwithstanding Edward left three surviving sons, and eight daughters, all legitimate; yet his natural son Athelstan, whom he had by a concubine named Egwina, is, by the clergy and nobility, elected king. He proved a valiant and successful prince; loved at home and respected abroad. He died at Gloucester, A.D. 941, *æt* 46, *regni* 16, and was buried at Malmesbury. He left no issue; by which means

9. EDMUND, I., A.D. 941—948,

Eldest son of Edward I., is unanimously placed on the throne. In the year 948, being at Puckle-church, in Gloucestershire, he saw one Leolf, a noted robber, who had been condemned to banishment, dining at a table in the same hall with himself. The king, enraged, orders him to be apprehended: on which the hardy villain draws his dagger, to defend himself. Edmund incensed to the last degree, leaps from his throne, and catching him by the hair, drags him out of the hall. In the struggle, Leolf wounds him in the breast; and the imprudent king expires on the body of his murderer. This was the end of Edmund, *æt.* 25, *regni* 8. He was buried at Glastonbury; of which he made Dunstan the first Abbot.

10. EDRED. A.D. 948—955.

Though Edmund had two sons (by his wife Elgiva) namely Edwy and Edgar; yet his brother Edred was placed on the throne. He was remarkable for his successes against the Danes; and after a seven years reign, died, A.D. 955. Though he left two sons, Elfred, and Bedfrid, they were set aside: and he was succeeded by

11. EDWY, A.D. 955—959,

Son of Edmund I. his elder brother. This prince was so very handsome, that he acquired the surname of Pancaulus. Dunstan, who had been a favourite with Edred, being disgraced by Edwy, foments a rebellion in Mercia. The Mercians choose Edgar for their king, in which Edwy is obliged to acquiesce. But this partition, together with seeing Dunstan and his monks triumphant, so preyed upon his spirits as to throw him into a deep melancholy; of which he died, A.D. 959, after a short reign of somewhat above four years. Dying childless he was succeeded by his brother

12. EDGAR, A.D. 959—975,

Who, hereby, united the kingdoms, lately divided. His reign was remarkable for the continued peace with which it was attended; whence he had the name of Edgar the Peaceable. This uninterrupted calm was owing neither to his valour, nor to his pusillanimity; but to the great preparations he had made, to defend himself in case of any attack. This rendered him so formidable that none of the neighbouring princes durst venture to begin with him. Keeping his court once at Chester, he was rowed down the river Dee, to the monastery of St. John the Baptist, by eight kings (himself sitting at the helm), *viz.* Malcolm, king of Cumberland; Mackus, lord of the Isles; and six Welch princes, Dufnal, Sifert, Howell, Jago, Inchell, and Jevaff. By promising every criminal, capitally convicted, his pardon, on condition of bringing him so many wolves' tongues by such a time, he cleared England of wolves, in the space of three years. After reigning sixteen years, he died, A. D. 975, *æt.* 32, leaving two sons: 1. Edward, who succeeded him; born by Elfleda, his concubine; at least the marriage was very doubtful. 2. Ethelred, the youngest by the beautiful Elfrida (daughter of Ordang, earl of Devonshire), whom he had married. Edgar seems to have been rather a great than a good prince.

13. EDWARD II. A. D. 975—979.

Commonly called the martyr (though very improperly), was, partly through the imprudence and partly through the intrigues of Dunstan, acknowledged as king, at the age of fourteen years. He reigned but four years, for, A. D. 979, being on his return from hunting, he called at Corfe Castle (in the isle of Purbeck, Dorsetshire), to pay his respects to his mother-in-law, Elfrida, who lived there with her son Ethelred. Being told that the king was at the gate, Elfrida ran out to receive him, and earnestly pressed him to alight and come in and to refresh himself. But, as Edward's design was only to call to see her, as he passed by her castle, he excused himself from going in, and only desired a glass of wine, that he might drink her health. Hardly had he lifted the glass to his mouth, when a ruffian (some say Elfrida did it with her own hands) stabbed him in the back with a dagger. Perceiving himself wounded, he set spurs to his horse, and quickly gallopped out of sight; but being unable to keep to the saddle through loss of blood, he fell, and was dragged a considerable way, till his horse voluntarily stopped at the door of a cottage which stood by the road side. Elfrida to conceal her crime, had his corpse thrown into a well; but it was soon discovered and removed to Shaftesbury. Elfrida (according to the custom of those times), thinking to atone for what she had done founded two monasteries: one at Ambresbury, in Wiltshire; and the other at Wherwell, near Audover; in which latter she shut herself up, to do penance the rest of her life.

14. ETHELRED II. A. D. 979—1013.

Edward the martyr, (and a martyr he was to the ambition of his mother-in-law, who was determined at all events to see her own son on the throne) was succeeded by

his half-brother, Ethelred the second, Edgar's son by Elfrida. In this king's reign was perpetrated the massacre of the Danes. But Sweyn, king of Denmark, hearing of it, soon took a severe revenge. He landed thrice in England. The two first times he did incredible damage, and carried off immense booty. The third time, which was in the year 1012, or 1013, he made himself master of the whole kingdom.

15. SWEYN, FIRST DANISH KING.
A. D. 1013—1014.

Sweyn, king of Denmark, was the first Danish king of England. His reign was very short; for he died suddenly the next year, being 1014. Whereupon,

ETHELRED RESTORED.

Ethelred was, by the English, recalled to the throne: who, after a reign of continued bloodshed and disquiet, died at London, A. D. 1015. From his remissness and inactivity, he obtained the surname of The Unready. He left the kingdom involved in the utmost misery and poverty, confusion and desolation. He was succeeded by his son

16. EDMUND II. A. D. 1015—1017,

Sur-named Ironside, from his great robustness of body. The Danes, however, declare for Canute (son of Sweyn) now in England

In one year, 1016, Edmund and Canute fought five pitched battles. The same year, Edmund sent a challenge to Canute; which the latter did not accept: but proposed referring the decision of their claims, to a certain number of plenipotentiaries, nominated by each party. The proposal was gladly received by the lords who sided with Edmund; so he was obliged to acquiesce in it. The congress was held accordingly, in Alney (a little island in the Severn, opposite to Gloucester); where peace was quickly concluded, by a partition of the kingdom between the two competitors. All the country south of the Thames, together with London, and part of Essex, was adjudged to Edmund; the rest of the kingdom to Canute. Matters being thus settled, the two kings met in the Isle of Alney, and, after mutually swearing to keep the peace, each retired to the dominions assigned him.

Edmund died the next year, 1017, and was buried at Glastonbury, beside his grandfather Edgar. He was a just, magnanimous and heroic prince: and, had his success in life been equal to his merit, he would have vied with the greatest and the best of monarchs.

By his wife, Algitha, he left two sons, Edmund and Edward. With him the Saxon monarchy in a manner ended, and gave place to the Danes; after it had lasted one hundred and ninety years, from the establishment by Egbert: four hundred and thirty-two, from the founding of the Heptarchy; and five hundred and sixty-eight years, from the arrival of the Saxons under Hengist.

17 CANUTE, SECOND DANISH KING.
A. D. 1017—1036.

Canute, already sovereign of great part of England, found means, though not directly by dint of arms, to make himself master of Wessex; and, thereby, of the whole realm. A. D. 1018, or thereabouts, he marries Emma, of Normandy, widow of Ethelred the second.

A. D. 1027, he subdues Norway; of which he is crowned king. This conquest satisfying his ambition, he, thenceforward gave himself up to acts of devotion; and continued to the end or his days, humble, modest, just, and truly religious: a character very different from that which he bore during the former part of his reign. Dying, A. D. 1036, at Shaftesbury, he was buried at Winchester. He left three sons; 1. Sweyne, to whom he bequeathed Norway: 2. Harold, to whom he gave England: and Canute, commonly called Hardicanute, whom he had by Emma, and to whom he assigned Denmark.

18. HAROLD I. THIRD DANISH KING.
A. D. 1036—1039.

Harold accordingly succeeds his father, first in Mercia only, and then, through the interest of earl Goodwin, in Wessex also. His reign was short, and remarkable for nothing of moment. He was surnamed Harefoot; because, according to some, one of his feet was hairy all over; according to others, because he would never mount a horse, always choosing to walk on foot: but most probably from his swiftness in running. He died at Oxford, A. D. 1039, and was succeeded by his brother,

19. CANUTE II. OR HARDICANUTE, FOURTH DANISH KING—A. D. 1039.

So called, from the robustness of his constitution. He was a prince, in whose whole character there was nothing of the amiable, the respectable, or the beneficent: being cruel, avaricious, haughty, oppressive, and intemperate. He died, probably in a drunken fit, at Lambeth, unlamented, A. D. 1041.

20. EDWARD III. THE CONFESSOR.
A. D. 1041—1066.

Hardicanute, leaving no issue, the nobles were embarrassed whom to elect. There were,

1. Edward (afterwards named the Confessor), son of Ethelred the second, by Emma of Normandy. But then,

2. There was another Edward (son of Edmund Ironside, and who, with his brother

had been sent in the beginning of Canute's reign, into Hungary, where he now was), one degree nearer the crown; being, as I have said, son to Edmund the second, and by consequence, nephew to the confessor. On the other hand,

3. There had been an uninterrupted succession of four Danish kings, for twenty-eight years: and Sweyn, son to Canute the first, was still living.

However, Edward, son of Ethelred the second, was chosen by the interest of Earl Goodwin, whom he had gained. His election was quickly followed by a general expulsion of the Danes. Edward (though sainted, about 200 years after his death, by Pope Alexander the third) was a prince of weak, narrow genius; a mean dissembler; unsteady, malicious, and revengeful, where he entertained any dislike; and yet good-natured, even to folly, where his caprice leaned that way: a despicable king; a very bad husband to a most virtuous and amiable wife (Editha, daughter of earl Goodwin); and not only an undutiful, but a cruel son, to his mother, Emma of Normandy. 'Tis true she had disobliged him, by marrying Canute, her first husband's mortal enemy; but chiefly by one of the marriage articles, in which she consented that the crown of England should go to the issue she might have by Canute: which, however, it did not.

On Edward's accession, he not only stript her of all her possessions, allowing her only a very slender pension; but, likewise, in fact, kept her a prisoner at Winchester, where, after about eleven years' confinement, in great poverty, she was released by death, A. D. 1052. Thus died Emma of Normandy, a sad sacrifice to the revenge and inhumanity of her own son! she who was the widow of two kings (Ethelred II. and Canute I.); mother of two more (Hardicanute, and this Edward); and daughter of a duke of Normandy, little inferior to a king!

Toward the latter part of this reign, Harold (son of earl Goodwin, lately deceased) forms a design of mounting the throne. At the same time, Edward, not troubling himself to fix the succession, employs himself solely in building a church at Westminster, and finished it just before his death, which happened A. D. 1065, or the beginning of 1066.

He made no manner of figure, either as a good man, or a great; and yet he must have a place in the calendar! and, for no reason in the world, be called a confessor!

21. HAROLD II. A. D. 1066.

Edgar Atheling (grand nephew to Edward the Confessor, and son to Edward, the son of Edmund Ironside) was next the throne: but Harold had laid his plan so well that he got himself elected. His late father, the great earl Goodwin, was of Danish extraction.

Harold's reign, short as it was, was molested by the invasions and restless hatred of his brother, Toston (whom for mal-administration, he had formerly removed from the government of Northumberland; which act of disinterested justice, Toston could never forgive). But his most formidable and most successful foe was William the Bastard of Normandy, afterwards named the Conqueror: who, having waited some time for a wind, at length set sail from St. Valery, and lands at Pevensey (now called Pensey) in Sussex, on the 29th of September. Thence he marches to Hastings, where he encamps. King Harold (who was then in the north, repelling an invasion from Norway), hearing of William's descent, moves toward Hastings. October the 14th, being Harold's birth-day, the two armies engage, near that place. Harold, after acquitting himself with a valour, prudence, and magnanimity, which well deserved a crown, yields, at last to destiny, and falls among the slain: soon after, his troops are totally routed. This battle (commonly called the battle of Hastings) was fought on the spot where the town of Battle now stands, so named from this day's action. Thus died Harold, after a short reign of less than a twelve-month. Though unfortunate, he was possessed of every quality that is requisite to form a great prince and an amiable man. His mounting the throne was the only fault that could be laid to his charge.

22 [1.] WILLIAM I. A. D. 1066—1087.

On gaining the battle of Hastings, the conqueror approaches London. The magistrates meet him with the keys, and the nobles offer him the crown; which he accepts. Though, at his coronation, he took the usual oath, yet his reign was excessively violent and tyrannical; and the English were mortified, pillaged, and oppressed to the last degree. A. D. 1087, being at war with Philip, king of France, he laid seige to the city of Nantes, which he reduced to ashes. The heat of the season, and his standing too near the fire, to see his orders executed, threw him into a fever, which interrupted the progress of his arms. Another accident likewise proved fatal to him: for, being at this time excessively corpulent and unwieldy, he hurt the rim of his belly, against the pummel of his saddle, as he was leaping a ditch, on horseback, in Normandy: this increasing his fever, he was carried on, in a litter, to Roan; where (after expressing great concern for the sins of his life, and owning himself an usurper of the crown of England) he died, September 9th, 1087, and was buried at Caen, after a reign of fifty-two years in Normandy, and almost twenty-one in England. By his wife Matilda, daugh-

ter to the earl of Flanders, he left three surviving sons; Robert, duke of Normandy; William and Henry; of whom the two last successively mounted the throne.

23. [2.] WILLIAM II. A. D. 1087—1100.

Duke Robert, eldest son of the Conqueror, should have succeeded to the kingdom: but his brother William (surnamed Rufus, from the redness either of his hair or his complexion) found means to supplant him. Robert was one of the most amiable princes in all respects (if you except his indolence), that ever lived: on the contrary, William had every evil quality that could disgrace a man, and degrade a prince. His valour (the only property in him, that had even the least appearance of excellence) was more properly a brutal fierceness. A. D. 1098, he builds Westminster Hall. A. D. 1100, as he was hunting at Choringham, in the New Forest, in pursuit of a stag he had wounded, one Walter Tyrrel, a French knight, shooting at the same stag, pierced (as 'tis said) the king in the breast; who fell down dead on the spot, without speaking a word. Thus died William Rufus quite unlamented, in the forty-fourth year of his age; after a reign, or rather tyranny of almost thirteen years: and was buried at Winchester.

24 [3.] HENRY I. A. D. 1100—1135.

Though the youngest of the Conqueror's sons, yet he found means to make a strong party for himself; which became still stronger in a short time; those who were in the interest of his brother Robert choosing, at last, to declare for Henry, lest the kingdom should be involved in a civil war. His election, however, was very irregular and tumultuary; being entirely popular. He was even crowned on the fourth day from Rufus's death, before the states had confirmed his election. At first, he gave hopes of being a just, beneficent king; but the mask soon fell off, and his reign was, for the most part, one series of tyranny and oppression. A.D. 1106, he entirely strips duke Robert his brother of all Normandy; and having taken that most amiable but unfortunate prince, prisoner, at the battle of Tinchebray, he brought him over to England, and shut him up in the castle of Cardiffe in Glamorganshire; where he continued a prisoner, till his death, which happened not till twenty-six years after, A. D. 1133.

Henry did not very long survive his injured brother: for having eaten to excess of some lampreys, he died December 2, 1135, *an. æt.* 68, *regn.* 36, and was buried at Reading. His courage, his capacity, and his acquired (*q*) learning, were great: but then he was haughty, cruel, covetous, insatiably avaricious, and lustful beyond most.

By his wife Matilda, (who was daughter to Malcolm, king of Scotland; by Margaret, sister to Edgar Atheling, who was grandson of Edmund Ironside) he left only one daughter, Matilda, married, A. D. 1109, to the emperor Henry IV. Of his surviving natural children (which were twelve), Robert, duke of Gloucester, who made so great a figure in the next reign, was the most eminent.

25. [4.] STEPHEN. A. D. 1135—1154.

Henry thought he had secured the succession to his daughter, the empress Matilda, but he was mistaken; for he was succeeded by Stephen de Blois, earl of Bologne, his nephew; whose mother, Adela, was daughter to William the Conqueror, and married to the earl of Blois, by whom she had four sons, of whom Stephen earl of Bologne was one.

Upon the death of Henry (in whose court Stephen had been educated), the clergy led the way, by declaring for his nephew: and the nobility, though they had thrice sworn to Matilda, soon followed the example. Stephen's reign was a very turbulent one. Desirous to retrench the pride and luxury of the clergy, he makes them his determined enemies; and they quickly gain over the people to their side. In this juncture, the empress Matilda lands in England, to assert her right to the Crown. Her brother (though illigetimate) Robert, duke of Gloucester, had, some time before, headed a revolt; the design of which was to place her on the throne: but Stephen having defeated him, he flies over to his sister, who, at his persuasion, comes hither to head her friends in person. At first she takes up her quarters with Adeliza (daughter to Godfrey, the first earl of Brabant, and fourteen years wife to Henry I.), the queen dowager, in the castle of Arundel. Hence, at the queen's intercession, Stephen generously gives her leave to go, unmolested, to Bristol: where, and at Gloucester, she manages so artfully as to gain over both nobles and clergy to her party, and, by their means, almost all the people. A civil war breaks out: Stephen is reduced to extreme perplexity, yet preserves his intrepidity. At length the duke of Gloucester's forces and those of king Stephen engage: the latter is defeated, taken prisoner, and sent to Matilda, who is so base as to lay him in irons, and confine him in the castle of Bristol. After this Stephen's youngest brother, Henry de Blois, at first abbot of Glastonbury, now bishop of Winchester, sides with Matilda. But her unsufferable haughtiness quickly alienates the

(*p*) Whence he acquired the surname of Beauclerck.

affections of him and all her new subjects. The bishop declares again for his brother: the revolt from Matilda is general: she betakes herself to the castle of Winchester, where she is closely besieged. Making a sally, a battle ensues: her troops are defeated: the duke of Gloucester is taken prisoner, and soon after exchanged for king Stephen, who now, once more, sees himself at liberty. Matilda flying from place to place, is forced, about four years after, to quit the kingdom, A. D. 1146, earl Robert having been first slain. Thus Stephen is again master of England. But, A. D. 1152, Henry, Duke of Normandy, (afterwards Henry II.) son to Matilda, by Geoffrey Plantagenet, earl of Anjou (whom, A. D. 1127, she had married, upon the death of her former husband, the Emperor Henry IV.) looking on himself as undoubted heir to the crown, came over hither, in order to strengthen his party. He and Stephen had given each other battle, at Wallingford, in Berks, had it not been for the persuasions of the earl of Arundel, who inclined Stephen to peace. In short, Duke Henry and the king held a conference on the opposite banks of the Thames (which, at Wallingford, is very narrow), where they agreed on a truce. The next year it was settled that Stephen should enjoy the crown for life, but that Henry should be next successor: which he accordingly was.

Stephen outlived this agreement but eleven months; dying at Canterbury, of the cholic, October 25, 1154, *an. æt.* 50, *regn.* 19, and was buried at Feversham. Stephen, abstracted from his ambition in mounting the throne, was possessed, not only of the whole circle of virtues; but, which rarely is the case, adorned with every amiable and graceful qualification, which could set off those virtues to advantage. After giving him such a character, it would be needless to observe that he was, in particular, valiant, merciful, just, generous, and a lover of his people.

26 [5.] HENRY II. A. D. 1154—1189.

Pursuant to treaty, Henry Plantagenet, (otherwise called Fitzempress) son to the earl of Anjou (by Matilda, daughter of Henry I. and relict of the emperor Henry IV.) succeeds to the crown without opposition. He lands December 7, and is crowned the 19th. He was in a most flourishing condition, revered every where, and extending his conquests in France, till disturbed by the ingratitude and unparalleled insolence of Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury; who was solely indebted to Henry for all his preferments. This haughty prelate was son of Gilbert Becket, a citizen of London, by Matildis, said to be the daughter of a Saracen, who had taken this Gilbert, Thomas a Becket's father, prisoner, when he went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Thomas spent his youth in the study of the law. In process of time he was taken from thence, and made archdeacon of Canterbury Shortly after, the king, taking a fancy to him, made him lord high chancellor. Now it was that his pride began to be insupportable. The very bits in the bridles of his horses were silver. Attending the king, in the war of Thoulouse, he maintained, at his own expense, 700 knights, and 1200 foot. Haughty and insolent as he was to every body else, he was all submission to the king; till Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury dying, he was promoted to that see, by the king's recommendation. Henry, who imagined he should have a pliant archbishop, ready to sacrifice every thing to his will, quickly found himself mistaken. As soon as Becket was consecrated, he sent back the great seal to the king, and affected mortification and retirement. He knows the king was desirous of reducing the power of the clergy within reasonable bounds; and determines, from the moment he arrived at the pinnacle of preferment to oppose it with all his might. The first occasion of this famous quarrel happened A. D. 1163. One Philip de Broc, canon of Bedford, having committed a murder, the king would have had him capitally punished; but this was opposed by Becket, who was for setting all ecclesiastics above king and law too. Matters at length came to that pass that Thomas, being condemned to imprisonment of body and confiscation of goods, flies over to Flanders, in disguise, and is received into the protection of Lewis, king of France. This was the latter end of the year 1163.

A. D. 1166, dies Henry's mother, the empress Matilda, *æt.* at 64, and was buried, according to some, in the abbey of Bec, in Normandy; according to others in the suburbs of Roän. On account of her being daughter of a king (Henry I.), wife to an emperor (Henry IV.), and mother of a king (Henry II.), she had this epitaph;

"*Ortu magna, viro major, sed maxima partu,*
"*Hic jacet* Henrici *filia, sponsa, parens.*"

The breach between Becket and his sovereign still continued. In November, 1168, they held a conference, near Paris, in the presence of the French king: when Henry made this proposal to Becket; "Pay me the same regard as the greatest of your predecessors paid to the least of mine, and I shall be satisfied." The pride and obstinacy of the ecclesiastic would not let him promise this: so the conference came to nothing. In 1169, another was held at a place called Mons Martyrum: but the prelate's inflexibility rendered it as fruitless as the first. A third was held, in 1170, at Montmirail, but without effect; and a fourth, the same

year, at Amboise, where all difficulties were at length surmounted; chiefly through the good offices of Rotrou, archbishop of Roan. The reconciliation was sincere on Henry's part; who, to convince the world of it, even condescended to hold the mad prelate's stirrup, as he mounted his horse. Thus, after about seven years' exile, the imperious Becket was restored to his bishopric and his country; whither he returned, with a resolution to revenge his past disgraces on the king, the very first opportunity that offered. Henry, though the injured party, was unfeigned in his reconciliation; but Becket, the aggressor, could never forgive his king whom he had insulted. No sooner is the furious priest returned to England, than he suspends the archbishop of York, and excommunicates the bishops of London, Durham, and Exeter, who had sided with the king. The Christmas-day following, mounting his archiepiscopal chair at Canterbury, he solemnly excommunicates two barons; Nigel de Sackvil and Robert Brock: the first, for detaining (as was alleged) a manor belonging to the see of Canterbury; the other for cutting off the tail of a horse, that was carrying provisions to his palace. The truth is, he was determined to exercise his authority with a higher hand than ever: and to brave the king, by shewing him he was not afraid to revive the ancient quarrel. The excommunicated bishops appeal to the king, who is still in Normandy. Henry, tired and exasperated at being incessantly plagued with the insolence of a subject whom he had raised from the dust, could not help crying out; "How unhappy am I, that, among the great numbers I maintain, there is not a man dares revenge the affronts I perpetually receive from the hands of a wretched priest." These words were not dropt in vain. Four barons, who were in waiting, resolved to free the king from this enemy. Their names were Reginald Fitzurse, William Tracey, Richard Britton, and Hugh Morvill. Landing in Kent, they repair to Canterbury; and, on the 30th of December, 1170, entering the cathedral, where the archbishop was at vespers, they first upbraid him with his pride, obstinacy, and ingratitude: to which he returned so resolute an answer as to give them occasion to effect their purpose. One Edward Ryme, who was waiting on the archbishop, had his arm almost cut off, by receiving the first blow that was made at Becket's head, occasioned by the archbishop's having called Fitzurse, "a pimp." In short, they hacked the prelate, with their swords, in such a manner, that his blood and brains flew all over the altar. After committing this action they retired peaceably: none offering to stop them. Not daring to return to the king, they went and stayed a year at Knaresborough castle, in Yorkshire, belonging to Hugh Morvill: after which, Hoveden says, they went to Rome, for absolution: and were enjoined to go to Jerusalem, and do penance on the Black Mountain for life. However, it is certain, that William Tracey retired to Mort in Devonshire, twenty-three years after the death of Becket. The insolent prelate possessed the qualifications of a Popish saint, in too eminent a degree not to be canonized after his decease; particularly that leading one, without which a man can neither be saint nor martyr in the court of Rome's account—a blind, absolute attachment to the holy chair; and of consequence, a desire to elevate the hierarchy of antichrist above all law, and the rights of mankind. Miracles (as usual) were quickly ascribed to the new saint; foreigners, in vast numbers, flocked, from all parts of Europe, to Canterbury, to implore an interest in his merits and intercession; and presents, of immense value, were offered up to his tomb.

A. D. 1171, Henry resumes his design of conquering Ireland; a design which he had formed before, but found it necessary to defer, on account of his quarrel with Becket. The king, this year, had as fair an opportunity, as his heart could wish, of putting his desire into execution. For, Dermot, king of Leinster, having debauched and carried away the wife of O-Rorick, king of Meath; the latter, to be revenged, levied an army, and (with the help of Roderick, king of Connaught) invaded Dermot. Dermot (being abandoned by his own subjects, to whom his arbitrary measures had rendered him extremely odious) fled into France, where our king Henry then was, to implore his aid. Henry caught at the proposal: but not being at leisure to assist him himself, on account of the war he was carrying on in France, he gives Dermot leave to go into England, and obtain assistance from what barons he could until himself could support him with stronger forces. Dermot comes accordingly, and makes an agreement with Robert Fitzstephen, and Richard de Clare (surnamed Strongbow), earl of Pembroke. To the first he gave hopes of his making a considerable fortune in Ireland: to the latter he promised his only daughter in marriage, and to settle the succession on him. Fitzstephen, being first ready, accompanies Dermot into Ireland, with four hundred men. Landing at Waterford, the Irish king leads him before Wexford, which, being presently taken, is given to Fitzstephen, who there settles the first English colony ever planted in Ireland. After this exploit, Maurice de Prendergest, an English baron, arriving with fresh troops, reinforces Fitzstephen's army to three thousand; with which he next subdues the king of Ossory. By this time, Roderick, the king of Connaught, takes the alarm; and offers Fitzstephen a large sum,

if he would quit the island; but in vain. Dermot, himself enters into treaty with Roderick, to send away the English: when, just in the crisis, arrives the earl of Pembroke, with twelve hundred men. He marries Dermot's daughter; and, his father-in-law, dying soon after, the earl takes possession of the kingdom of Leinster. After the death of Dermot, the English adventurers make great progress: chiefly by means of their cross-bows, with which the Irish were greatly intimidated, having never seen any (much less felt them) until then. In short, the English advance to Dublin, and take it. Henry, hearing of this prodigious success, grows jealous of the adventurers, and recals them: on which Fitzstephen, and the earl of Pembroke, send deputies, to assure him of their submission, and that their conquests were at his command: which so far appeased him that he suffers them to stay in Ireland. A. D. 1172, Henry sails in person, from the coast of Pembrokeshire, into Ireland, with four hundred sail. On his arrival, the Irish unanimously submit. All the kings of the island waited on him at Waterford (where he landed), and swore allegiance. Thus, says Rapin, Henry, without spilling one drop of blood, became master of Ireland, in less time than was sufficient to travel over it. After placing fresh garrisons at Waterford and Wexford, and some other maritime towns, he marched to Dublin: and there, without the city, had a palace built of wattles, according to the fashion of the country; and kept his court until the beginning of February. Having made, during his stay at Dublin, several regulations for the government of his new conquest, he set sail again for England, after not quite four months, continuance in Ireland; leaving at Dublin, Hugh Lacy, to govern the island in his name, by the title and style of Justiciary of Ireland. The earl of Pembroke died A. D. 1176.

The same year that Henry left Ireland, he was absolved by the Pope's legate of Becket's murder, upon terms equally advantageous to Pope and clergy, and dishonourable to so great a king. Among the rest, one was, that he should go barefoot to Becket's tomb, and there, upon his naked back, receive four or five lashes from each of the monks belonging to the monastery of St. Austin: which he actually submitted to, the next year.

A. D. 1173, his queen (Eleanor of Guienne), exasperated at her husband's frequent and open violations of his nuptial vow, enters into a conspiracy with three of his sons, Henry, Richard (his successor), and Geoffery; who, without any scruple, joined with her in the design of dethroning their father: but without effect; his vast successes against Scotland, together with his rapid conquests in France, and all crowned with the reduction of the rebels in England, rendering their unnatural schemes abortive. His eldest son, Henry, died, A. D. 1183, with great signs of remorse for his undutiful conduct. A. D. 1186, Richard openly revolts in France, but is obliged to make his submission. A. D. 1189, he discovers that his favourite son John had a chief hand in exciting the troubles against him in France; and, notwithstanding the particular tenderness with which he had always treated that unworthy son, he had endeavoured, might and main, to dethrone him. His grief threw him into a disorder which soon carried him off: but not till after he had uttered the most bitter and terrible imprecations against his sons, which he could never be prevailed with to revoke. He died at Chinon, in Poictou, the 6th of July, 1189, *an. æt.* 57, *regn.* 35, and was interred at Font Evraud. His surviving sons, by Eleanor of Guienne, were, Richard and John, who both succeeded him. King Henry was valiant, prudent, generous, politic, studious, learned, and of an exalted genius: but, on the other hand, his haughtiness, lust and ambition were boundless. His reign had been one series of glory and happiness, had it not been for the unfortunate quarrel with Becket, and the repeated rebellions of his sons.

27. [6.] RICHARD I. A. D. 1189—1196.

Commonly called (for his valour, the only commendable quality he had) Cœur de Lion, succeeded his father; and, in 1190, taking the crusade, he sets out for France, in order to go to the Holy Land: but not till he had released his mother queen Eleanor, who had languished in prison for the last sixteen years of her husband's reign.

Sailing from Marseilles, he makes himself A. D. 1191, master of the isle of Cyprus Isaac, king of that isle, having stript and imprisoned some of Richard's army, who, on their way to Palestine, had been wrecked on the Cyprian coasts. Isaac, being taken prisoner at Limisso, besought Richard not to put him in irons: but the English king, insulting his misfortunes, granted his request literally, and ordered him to be bound in fetters of silver. Being arrived in the Holy Land, Richard gives astonishing proofs of his valour: and, embarking for Europe, A. D. 1192, the ship in which he was, suffered shipwreck between Aquileia and Venice. After this, he imprudently ventures himself into the dominions of the duke of Austria (whom he had mortally offended, when they were in Palestine together, at the seige of Acres), where, though disguised as a pilgrim, and travelling on foot, he was discovered, seized at a small village near Vienna, and delivered to the duke: by whom

he was afterwards given up to the emperor, Henry VI., who without any ceremony clapped him into close confinement. During this time, his brother John was trying in England to take advantage of Richard's imprisonment, and raise himself to the throne: and, the better to succeed in his design, laboured all he could with the emperor to detain his illustrious prisoner; and entered into close treaty with Philip of France, who from motives both of policy and revenge (for they had differed much and often in the Holy Land) had nothing more at heart than to embroil Richard's affairs.

Meanwhile, Eleanor, the queen dowager, tried all she could to counteract the ambition of her younger son, and procure Richard's enlargement. But the obstacles were many: the Pope refused to interfere in his favour; the emperor, who detained the king, was insatiably covetous; and the French king, together with prince John of England, had offered the emperor very highly, if he would make Richard's confinement perpetual. However, chiefly through the representations made by the Diet of the Empire, Richard is at length set at liberty upon paying the emperor 100,000 marks of silver, and giving hostages for the payment of 50,000 more. The emperor quickly repented of his bargain: and sent after Richard in hopes of seizing him again: but the king had made too much haste, and arrived safe at Sandwich, March 20, 1194, after four years' absence, fifteen months of which he had spent in prison. His subjects received him with great demonstrations of joy. His first care was to quell his brother John's faction; which done, he is re-crowned; and causes a sentence to pass against John, confiscating his lands, and declaring him incapable of succeeding to the crown: but, at the intercession of their mother, queen Eleanor, he pardons John in the year 1195, at Roan, where, by her means, they had an interview. Being engaged in a war against Philip of France, he besieges Chaluz; from the walls of which city an archer shot him with an arrow, which fixing in his shoulder, close to his neck, proved his death; not so much from the real mortality of the wound itself, as by the unskilfulness of the surgeon that drest it. Perceiving himself near death, he bequeaths all his dominions to his brother John, and expires, A. D. 1199. By his own desire, expressed in his last will, he was interred at Font-Evraud, in Anjou, at his father's feet; in testimony of his grief for the many sorrows he had occasioned him. Richard, though valiant beyond most men that ever lived, was yet, upon the whole, but a very indifferent king; who spared neither the lives, liberty, nor purses of his subjects. His rebellion against his father; his inextinguishable thirst of money; his ungovernable pride; and his unbounded lust (even to the commission, it is said, of the sin against nature); will for ever, and indelibly, stain his memory. He left no issue by his wife Berenguella, of Navarre.

28. [7.] JOHN. A. D. 1199—1216

Prince John succeeded to the throne solely by testamentary right, *i. e.* by virtue of his brother's will; to the prejudice of Arthur, duke of Bretagne, son to Geoffrey, (third son of Henry II.) John's elder brother. [It should have been observed, in its proper place, that prince John was, in the reign of his father Henry, A. D. 1185, made chief governor of Ireland. The king intended to have crowned him monarch of that island, and the Pope had, for that purpose, sent over a crown of peacock's feathers interwoven with gold: but, on second thoughts, Henry laid aside his design, for fear of strengthening the ambition and enflaming the jealousy of his other son Richard. John was well received in his government, at first; but, in a short time, so alienated the hearts of the Irish, that Henry was obliged to recal him.]

John's reign in England was a series of disquiet and misfortune, both to himself and his people The chief events were these:

1. The loss of almost all the English dominions in France, conquered from him by Philip Augustus, the French king.

2. A. D. 1215, the barons take arms in the cause of liberty; make themselves masters of London; and besiege the king in the Tower: who is forced to yield, and, in fact, throw himself on their mercy. In consequence of this success,

3. They oblige him to sign *Magna Charta*; which he does in the open air, in a meadow called Runnemead, between Staines and Windsor, June 5, 1215, at the same time he signed the Charter of Forests.

4. John, who had signed these charters with no intention to keep them, got the Pope to absolve him of his oath. Retiring to the Isle of Wight, he waits the arrival of foreign troops whom he had sent for; on whose coming, as they did in shoals, the barons retreat to London: and the whole kingdom is ravaged by a merciless army of foreign savages, divided into two bodies, one headed by John himself, the other by his natural brother William (surnamed Longsword) earl of Salisbury, king Henry's son by Rosamond Clifford. Never was England in so sad a condition. The confederate barons, in despair, make an offer of the crown to prince Lewis (son of Philip, king of France) who afterwards mounted the French throne by the name of Lewis VIII. King Philip promises to assist them; vast preparations are made in France; prince Lewis, in the beginning of 1216, lands at Sandwich, takes Rochester, and sees himself

on a sudden master of almost all the south of England. But,

5. The meanest thing, which even John the meanest as well as worst of princes ever did, was his resignation of his crown on his knees, to Pandulph, the Pope's legate, in Dover church, A. D. 1213. He laid the crown, and other regalia, at Pandulph's feet (as representative of the Pope); offering at the same time a sum of money by way of tribute, which the humble legate, to shew the grandeur of his master, spurned with his foot. John then signed a resignation of the kingdom of England and lordship of Ireland to the Pope. The legate kept the crown and sceptre five days; and then restored them to John, as a vassal of the holy see. The next year, 121 , he resigns his crown a second time to the Pope [who was Innocent the XIIth] in the person of Pandulph, at Westminster.

Whilst Lewis is in England, John, after the misfortune of losing all his baggage by a flood in the marshes on the borders of Lincolnshire and Norfolk, falls sick, and dies at Newark, October 18, 1216, and is buried, without pomp, at Worcester.

From every part of his conduct, both before and after his accession to the crown, it is evident that John was one of the worst men that ever lived; and one of the worst kings that ever reigned.

29. [8.] HENRY III. A. D. 1216—1272.

Henry, son to John by his third wife, Isabel of Angouleme, succeeded his father, at the age of ten years. Prince Lewis of France was still in the kingdom pushing his conquests. But after the coronation of young Henry, Lewis, meeting with little success, returns to France, A. D. 1217.

Henry proved a very bad king; though bad as he was, he appeared to some advantage after the reign of a worse, his father and predecessor.

Henry's genius was wretched and despicable, he was a slave to his favourites; and by his high notions of kingly power made both himself and his people unhappy. He was haughty, capricious, deceitful, and covetous; yet though covetous, he was not rich; not having sense enough to manage the money he so insatiably thirsted after. His treatment of the barons; his confirmations and violations of the charters, demonstrate that he paid no sort of regard to his word, his bond, or the most solemn oaths. But, with all his other vices, he was not incontinent. In a word, there have been, in some respects, worse kings in England; but few characters more truly contemptible than Henry the third. James the first, if any, exceeding him in the latter.

Returning from Norwich, A. D. 1272, (where he had been to punish some rioters) he was taken ill at St. Edmund's Bury; but, continuing his journey, reached London, where he died the sixteenth of November, *æt.* 66, *regn.* 56, and was buried at Westminster. By his wife Eleanor of Provence, he had two sons, Edward and Edmund; the former of whom succeeded him.

30. [9.] EDWARD I. A. D. 1272—1307.

Edward (the first of that name since the Conquest; but the fourth from Egbert) surnamed Longshanks, was in Sicily when his father's death was notified to him. The English had conceived a very great esteem for him, during the late reign, owing to the proofs he had given both of his valour and clemency; he succeeded without opposition, the barons even swearing allegiance to him in his absence. He did not arrive in England until the year 1274; after which he was presently crowned. The chief events of his reign were,

1. His wars with Lewellyn, prince of Wales; which, at length, A. D. 1282, ended in his entire reduction of that important country (by the battle of Snowdon, in Caernarvonshire, in which Lewellyn's forces were defeated, and himself slain); which, A. D. 1283, he united to England. After his victory, Edward builds the castle of Aberconway, at the foot of Snowdon-hill. A.D. 1284, the king had a son (afterwards the unfortunate Edward II.) born at Caernarvon.

2. A. D. 1296, in the battle of Dunbar, he conquers Baliol, king of Scotland; soon after which, Baliol comes to Kincardin, where Edward was, and makes a formal resignation of his kingdom to Edward; signing at the same time an instrument of express conveyance, to which the great seal of Scotland was affixed, and the greatest part of the Scotch barons likewise set their hands. Afterwards, Edward received homage from the states of Scotland, who, repairing to Berwick, swore allegiance to him.

☞ Now it was, that Edward removed the Scotch regalia into England; together with the famous stone on which the inauguration of the Scotch kings was always performed. The history of this stone is as follows: Keneth II. king of Scots, having, A. D. 840 (soon after the succession of Ethelwulph, the second king of England) given the Picts a total defeat, near the monastery of Scone, placed a stone there (which fabulous tradition reported to be the same that served Jacob for a pillow), and enclosed it in a wooden chair, for the inauguration of the kings. It had been brought out of Spain into Ireland, by Simon Ereccus; afterwards, out of Ireland into Scotland. This stone the Scots, for many ages, looked upon as their palladium; on the preservation of which, and its continuance in their nation, depended their sovereignty and independency

as a kingdom. On it was engraved the following distich:

"*Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum*
"*Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.*"

This stone Edward conveyed to Westminster Abbey, (where it still continues) to make the Scots believe that the time appointed for the dissolution of their monarchy was really come.

3. The next year, A. D. 1297, one William Wallace, a man of mean birth but great genius, excites the Scots to revolt. Matters come to that pass that, in 1299, all the English are forcibly driven out of Scotland. A. D. 1306, Edward carries his arms into Scotland, and a third time sees himself master of that kingdom. But another revolution happening there soon after, Edward, exasperated to the last degree, resolved (to use his own phrase) "utterly to destroy all Scotland, from sea to sea."

Vast preparations were made; an army was gathered, the finest England had ever seen; Edward marches to Carlisle, with full intent to make good his threats. But Providence suddenly put an end to his days and his projects. Finding himself taken ill, and knowing he should die, he sent for his son, and exhorted him to these three things:

1. Vigorously to push the war against Scotland and to carry his bones with him, at the head of the army.

2. Never to recal Gaveston (an infamous young man, a great favourite with the prince, but whom the king had formerly banished, as a corruptor of his son).

3. To send his heart to the Holy Land. Then, desirous, if possible, to die in Scotland, a country he had thrice conquered; he moved, by easy journeys toward that kingdom. When he had advanced as far as the little town of Burgh upon the Sands, in Cumberland, he there resigned his last breath, July 7, 1307, aged sixty-eight, after a most glorious reign of more than thirty-four years and a half. His body was removed to Westminster, and interred near Edward the Confessor: upon his tomb is this line:

"*Edwardus primus, Scotorum Malleus, hic est.*"

He was remarkably tall and handsome; but still more distinguished by the excellencies of his mind. His virtue was both eminent and universal; if we except his implacable enmity to Scotland, and his ambition; of which latter he had, perhaps, too great a share. His only surviving son, by his wife, Eleanor of Castile, was his successor, who ascended the throne by the name of

31. [10] **EDWARD II. A.D. 1307—1327.**

The second of this name, since the Conquest; the fifth since Egbert. He was commonly called, Edward of Caernarvon, from the place of his nativity, no sooner was he on the throne than in violation of his oath made to his father some years back, and of his promise to him on his death-bed, he recalls his old favourite, Piers Gaveston (he was a Gascon by birth; the handsomest young man of his age, and as profligate as handsome), which was the original spring of all his troubles afterwards. A. D. 1311, he is obliged by the barons to re-banish Gaveston; but within a few months, recalls him. A civil war being raised, Gaveston is besieged and taken in Scarborough Castle, by the earl of Pembroke, and his head is presently after struck off by the earl of Warwick. A. D. 1319, a new brace of favourites having succeeded Gaveston in the king's affections, *viz.* the two Spencers, father and son, Edward is forced to banish these two; but quickly recalls them. At length, A. D. 1326, his queen, Isabel of France (infamous for her affection to Roger Mortimer, the younger; to which, however, she was, probably, first induced by the king's criminal passion for the late Gaveston, and afterwards by the continual insults and mortifications she was forced to put up with from the succeeding favourites) found means to raise a faction against him; which faction being supported by her brother Charles the Fair, king of France, ends in Edward's deposition, A. D. 1327, by his own parliament, which declare his son (Edward III.) king in his room. But the prince, being unwilling to accept the crown, without his father's consent, solemnly vowed he never would: on which the parliament send deputies to Edward, now in confinement at Kenelworth Castle, to persuade, or rather force, him to resign the crown to his son; which, finding there was no remedy, he was obliged to do. Thus ended the reign of Edward II.; a prince; not entirely destitute of all good qualities, but of a very mean capacity, and ruined by an obstinate attachment to his favourites, whom he would never willingly part with, though petitioned ever so humbly and frequently by an injured nation. [This unfortunate monarch, after his deposition, was kept prisoner, by his wife, in Kenelworth Castle, for some time; but dreading his restoration, she, in concert with her paramour, Roger Mortimer, ordered Sir John Maltravers, and Sir Thomas Gurney to remove Edward from Kenelworth to Berkeley Castle: where he was very soon murdered in his bed. A pillow was first laid on his mouth, to prevent his cries from being heard; and then, thrusting a pipe of horn up his body, they ran a red-hot iron through that, and so burnt his bowels. All this happened in the year 1327. He lies in Gloucester Cathedral. As to queen Isabel (her son, the young king, being a minor) she and Mortimer, earl of March, seized on the government until the

new king should come of age: and, partly by their infamous and avowed passion for each other; and, partly, through the haughty and oppressive manner in which they governed; the king, her son, A. D. 1330, stripped her not only of her power, but also of her dowry, and confined her to her house at Risings, near London, where, after an imprisonment of twenty-eight years, she died, A. D. 1358. As to her gallant, the earl of March, being impeached of high treason before the parliament, and found guilty, he was hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Tyburn (then called Elms), A. D. 1330. His descendants, by the female line, mounted, afterwards, the throne; as we shall see hereafter: [*viz.* Edward IV., Edward V. and Richard III.]

32. [11.] EDWARD III. [VI.] A.D. 1327—1377,

Called, from the place of his birth, Edward of Windsor. His reign was long and glorious, of which the chief events were,

1. The downfal of his mother, queen Isabel, and Mortimer, A. D. 1330, as related above.

2. The birth of his son, prince Edward, at Woodstock, A. D. 1330, who proved one of the greatest ornaments to mankind that this or any other nation ever produced. From a suit of black armour, which he usually wore in fight, he was called Edward the Black Prince. He was made duke of Cornwall, A.D. 1337, and was the first person that ever bore the dignity of duke in England. He married his cousin, Johanna of Kent (commonly called the fair), Countess Dowager of Holland, and daughter of Edmund, earl of Kent, who was beheaded in the beginning of this reign, by the intrigues of Isabel and Mortimer. By her he had one son, afterwards Richard II. Prince Edward died of a fever, June 8, 1376, *æt.* 46, inexpressibly lamented by the king his father, and the whole nation. He lies in the cathedral of Canterbury. It was said of him (as it was afterwards of the duke of Marlborough) that he never went on an expedition in which he did not succeed; nor ever undertook a siege which he did not carry.

3. A. D. 1333, King Edward, by gaining the battle of Halydon Hill, reduces Berwick upon Tweed, and annexes it for ever to the crown of England. In this, and two or three of the following years, he more than once makes himself master of Scotland.

4. A. D. 1340, he assumes the title of king of France, and quarters the arms of that kingdom with his own; subjoining for motto, *Dieu et mon droit.* [N.B. Upon the death of Charles the Fair king of France, in 1329, Edward as nephew of that monarch (who was brother to Isabel, the queen dowager of England, mother of Edward) laid claim to the crown. But, Philip de Valois succeeding by virtue of the salique law, Edward took the first opportunity of making war upon him.]

5. The year 1346 was remarkable for the famous battle of Cressy, in which king Edward, and his glorious son, the Black Prince, did wonders almost more than human. With an army of 30,000 men, they beat Philip at the head of 100,000. Edward, seeing that victory would probably declare for his troops, purposely leaves the honour of the day to his son, and stood off on a rising ground, where he could see the issue of the fight. The prince having routed the greater part of the French forces, there yet remained one body to reduce, commanded by the king of Bohemia. Toward this, the heroic prince directed his steps. The enemy give way; multitudes drop; the remainder fly, and are pursued with incredible slaughter. The old king of Bohemia was slain, as he wished to be, fighting for France; and his standard (on which were embroidered, in gold, three ostrich feathers, with this motto, *Itch Dien, i.e.* I serve, alluding to his being in the service of France) was taken and brought to the Black Prince, who, in memory of the event, bore from thenceforward, three ostrich feathers in his coronet (as his successors have done ever since,) and adopted the motto for his own. In this famous battle, the English first made use of cannon: a thing yet unheard of among the French. The field of action were the plains between Aberville and Cressy, in Picardy. The day was Saturday, August 24. France lost eleven princes; upwards of eighty standards; 1200 knights; and about 30,000 soldiers. The Black Prince was just turned of the sixteenth year of his age at this time.

6. A. D. 1347, the king takes Calais (which continued in the hands of the English until the reign of Mary the bloody, when it was taken for the French king, by the duke of Guise, A. D. 1558.

7. A. D. 1348, one half of the nation is swept away by a most dreadful plague.

8. Philip de Valois, the French king, dying, in 1350, is succeeded by his son John; who being, A. D. 1356, taken prisoner by the Black Prince, at the battle of Poictiers, is, the year following, conducted to London. Thus there were, at one time, two kings prisoners in England; John of France; and David king of Scotland, who was confined at Odiham, in Hampshire.

9. The king institutes the Order of the Garter, A. D. 1349.

10. In 1359, he ravages France, to the very gates of Paris.

11. In 1369, dies Edward's queen, Philippa of Hainault; to whom he had been married forty-two years, and who was, in every respect, a most excellent princess She lies at Westminster.

12. A. D. 1377, that eminent instrument of God, John Wickliffe, began to make a great figure.

And this same year dies king Edward, of the shingles, at Shene, (now Richmond, near London) June 21, *an. regn.* 51, *æt.* 65. He lies in the church of Westminster.

In this prince's general character, every thing that is great and good was united. His greatest foible was his falling in love with Alice Pearce (who had been lady of the bed-chamber to his late queen), in his old age, A. D. 1376, and making her his mistress, against the united voice of his parliament and kingdom. But where is virtue without a foil?

33. [12.] RICHARD II. A. D. 1377—1399.

SURNAMED OF BORDEAU.

King Edward was succeeded by his grandson, Richard (only son of Edward the Black Prince, by Johannah of Kent).

Were virtue hereditary, this prince had been an ornament to the throne: but in every quality he was the reverse of his illustrious father He succeeded to the crown at eleven years of age. His uncles, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster; and Edmund of Langley, earl of Cambridge, (afterwards duke of York) govern the state until 1380; when Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, is made sole governor of the king.

In 1381 happened the insurrection of Wat Tyler; and the same year Richard marries Ann of Luxemburgh, sister of the emperor Wenceslaus.

About this time the king's disposition began to shew itself. He appeared to be totally void of merit, but most extravagantly conceited: a slave to his pleasures; and a dupe to flatterers, whom unfortunately he looked upon as his friends. A. D. 1386, the nation is threatened with an invasion from France; on which Richard calls a parliament, who refuses to supply him, except he dismisses his favourites; (the chief of whom were, Alexander Neville, archbishop of York; Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, a most abandoned young man, but a darling of Richard's; Michael de la Pole, a Merchant's son of London; and judge Tresilian.) —Richard refuses, and treats the parliament with the utmost disrespect, indecency, and contempt; but is at length forced to comply. After this, the parliament, as guardians of the nation they represented, found themselves obliged so far to consult the common safety, as to appoint fourteen commissioners to govern jointly with the king.

No sooner is the parliament broke, than he recalls his favourites, and loads them with greater honours than ever. In concert with these, A.D. 1387, he forms the design of making himself absolute; and even gets the judges to decide that the king is above law. The barons are necessitated to take up arms in their own and the people's defence: on which, Richard resolves to go over into France, and, by the surrender of Calais and Cherburgh to the French king, obtains forces of him to reduce and enslave his subjects, but the barons happily discovering the plot, it comes to nothing. At length, A. D. 1397, he so manages as to pack a parliament to his mind; which he adjourns from Westminster to Shrewsbury (whence this infamous assembly got the name of the Shrewsbury parliament:) where they carry the kingly power higher than any English monarch had yet pretended to. A. D. 1398, he confiscates to himself all the estates of seventeen whole counties. This year dies John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, Richard's uncle. A. D. 1399, being in Ireland, to quell rebellion there, a conspiracy is formed against him here. The English malecontents invited over from France (whither he had been most unjustly banished by Richard, who had also confiscated his whole estate), Henry (presently after Henry IV.) duke of Hereford; or, rather duke of Lancaster. This prince was first cousin to Richard; being son to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, who was fourth son to Edward III. Richard's grandfather. Duke Henry, upon the strength of this invitation, lands at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire; and soon sees himself joined, in effect, by almost the whole kingdom. Some time after, Richard lands at Milford-haven, from Ireland, and, being at a loss which way to turn, shuts himself up in the castle of Aberconway. Hither the duke of Lancaster sends deputies to him. To these, Richard makes the offer of resigning his crown, on condition that his own life, and the lives of eight more, to be named by him, should be preserved: and an honorable pension be assigned to himself. Upon this he is removed to Flint Castle, where he and the duke of Lancaster have an interview. From hence they travel together to London; where Richard is confined in the Tower. On September 29, the duke, attended with a great number of lords, goes to him (the day before the parliament was to meet); when Richard delivers up the regalia, and, with his own hands, signs an instrument, wherein he confesses himself unworthy and unfit to reign. The next day parliament being met, articles of accusation were drawn up, consisting of thirty-three particulars; after which, the parliament, with one consent, pronounced him deposed. On this, the duke of Lancaster, standing up, and crossing himself, claims the crown; which is unanimously adjudged to him.

Thus ended the reign of Richard II., who first suffered himself to be corrupted by flattery; next obstinately adhered to his flatterers, though exclaimed against by all

his people; and lastly, to complete his misfortunes, aimed at rendering himself arbitrary and depostic: which three things were the united source of his ruin.

[After his deposition, he was soon removed, by Henry, from the Tower of London, to Pontefract Castle, where he came by an unnatural end, in February, 1400. Some say, that he was starved to death: others, that he was run through with a sword, by Sir Piers Exton, who (they add) repaired to Pontefract for that very purpose. He died aged thirty-three years; of which he had reigned twenty-two. His body was indecently buried at Ilng's Langley, in Herts; but afterwards honourably removed to Westminster, by Henry V. the first year of his reign.]

34. [13.] HENRY IV. A. D. 1399—1413.

Thus Henry IV. mounted the throne. He was, as said above, son to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster (son to Edward the third, by queen Philippa) by his first wife, Blanch of Artois. Duke Henry's right was, no doubt, unquestionable in itself, because it was a parliamentary one: but still, if we go by hereditary succession, there was one nearer the crown than he; *viz.* Edmund Mortimer, earl of March; who married Philippa, daughter to Lionel, duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III., by virtue of which marriage the earl was (had the nation consented) next heir to the crown.

Presently after Henry's accession, the parliament (not that which had deposed Richard) past this extraordinary sentence on the late king; *viz.* "That he should be confined during life; and should himself be the very first person put to death, if any should attempt his deliverance." A conspiracy being formed against Henry the next year, was, no doubt, the occasion of Richard's untimely death, as related above, pursuant to sentence of parliament.

Henry, every time he went to bed, had his crown laid upon his pillow. Some time before he died, being fallen into so strong a fit, that he was supposed to have breathed his last, his son, prince Henry, (afterwards the glorious Henry V.) took it up and carried it away. The king, coming to himself, and missing the crown, enquired what was become of it? Being told, he sent for his son, and asked him, "whether he meant to rob him of his royalty, even before he was dead?" The prince, after a dutiful and affectionate answer, laid the crown in its place again.

Henry died March 20, 1413, *æt.* 46, having reigned thirteen years and a half, wanting a few days. He was far from making any great figure while on the throne; nor yet was he despicable; especially in point of valour. His main care was to preserve the crown he had acquired; which, tottering more than once, made him spend his days in a jealousy, suspicion and continual alarm, hardly compatible with true peace of mind.

He was surnamed of Bolingbroke, a town in Lincolnshire, the place of his nativity.

The little regard he shewed for the liberties of his people; the death of Richard, his predecessor; and his being the first burner of the Wickliffites; will be everlasting blots in his fame. He lies in the cathedral of Canterbury. By his first wife, Mary Bohun (daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford), he had, besides two daughters, four sons; namely, Henry, his successor; Thomas, duke of Clarence; John, duke of Bedford; and Humphrey, created duke of Gloucester, by his brother, Henry V.

In Henry IV.'s reign flourished William of Wickham, and Chaucer the poet.

35. [14.] HENRY V. A. D. 1413—1422,

Surnamed of Monmouth, succeeded his father. [He was, from his very childhood, of a warlike, enterprising disposition; which his father observing with jealousy, he was soon excluded from all civil and military employ. Reduced thus to a state of idleness, his active genius would not suffer him to lie still: he accordingly gave into all the excesses, which a prince of spirit and vivacity, corrupted by a set of young courtiers and flatterers, can be supposed to allow himself in. His court was a receptacle of libertines, buffoons, and parasites. And yet, amid all his extravagancies, some rays of generosity, virtue, and magnanimity, would discover themselves on occasion. A particular instance of his moderation, gave hopes to the people that he would one day prove a beneficent king. A favourite servant of his being, in the year 1412, arraigned for felony, before William Gascoigne, the lord chief justice; prince Henry, in hope of overawing the judge by his presence, sat by during the trial. But his presence not hindering the condemnation of the criminal, the prince was so enraged, that he gave the judge a box on the ear. The magnanimous chief justice immediately ordered him to be arrested on the spot, and committed prisoner to the king's bench. The prince, conscious of his rashness, and struck, no doubt, with the impartiality and intrepidity of the judge, suffered himself to be led away to prison, like a private person, without offering the least resistance. He is said to have carried his frolics so far, as among other pranks, to disguise himself, and lay in wait for the receivers of his father's revenues, and in the person of a highwayman, to set upon and rob them. In such rencounters, he sometimes happened to be soundly beat; but always rewarded such of his father's officers as made the stoutest resistance. In these

wild sallies, the famous Sir John Fastolff (corruptly called Falstaff) was usually one.]

Upon his accession, he dismisses all his former riotous companions; chooses a council, composed of persons most eminent for integrity and ability; and gave indisputable proofs of a total reformation.—This great prince, on October 25, 1415, with an army of less than ten thousand men, beat the French army, consisting of a hundred and fifty thousand. This memorable battle was fought in Artois, near the castle of Azincourt; from which the battle itself has taken its name. In short, within the course of four or five years, Henry made himself master of almost all France. At length, he died of a flux (others say, of an acute fever, attended with a dysentery; and Peter Bassett, who was his chamberlain, that he died of a pleurisy), at Vincennes, near Paris, August 31, 1422, aged thirty-four, after a short, but most glorious reign, of between nine and ten years. He was a prince who raised the English name, and his own, to the highest pitch of glory. He possessed every qualification, both of body and mind, requisite to form the best, the greatest, and most amiable of men. His severity to the Lollards, in the beginning of his reign; and particularly his suffering that great and good man, Sir John Oldcastle, baron of Cobham, to fall a sacrifice to the bigotry and cruelty of Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury; was the greatest, perhaps the only real, blot in his reign. His body was brought into England, and buried at Westminster. His queen (Catherine of France, whom he married in 1419) caused a statue of silver gilt, as large as the life, and extremely like him, to be laid on his tomb: but, about the latter end of Henry VIII. the head, being of massy silver, was broken off and carried away, together with the plates of silver that covered his trunk, which now remains alone, and is heart of oak. By his queen, he left only one son, an infant; who succeeded him, by the name of

36. [15.] HENRY VI. A. D. 1422—1461.

This mean and unfortunate prince was but nine months old when his father died. John duke of Bedford, and Humphrey, duke of Gloucester (sons to Henry IV. brothers of the late, and uncles of the reigning king,) are made the chief managers of affairs, the first in France, the latter in England. They conducted their administrations with the greatest fidelity to their nephew, and with a prudence and vigour which proved them to be persons of the most eminent abilities. The English affairs went on well in France until the year 1429, when Joan of Arc (a village in Lorrain, where she was born) was raised up by Providence to turn the balance of success in favour of the French. [This extraordinary young woman (commonly called the Maid of Orleans, from her being present when the English were forced to raise the siege of that city) was afterwards taken prisoner by the duke of Burgundy at the siege of Compiegne, and delivered up to the duke of Bedford, who had her tried and burnt for a Witch at Roän, where she was executed, May 30, 1431.] Notwithstanding a long train of losses and misfortunes on our side, Henry being about nine years old, goes over, and is crowned king of France, at Paris, in 1430.

A. D. 1444, Henry marries Margaret of Anjou, who, instantly perceiving the weakness of his genius, so managed as to rule him absolutely from the very day of her arrival. A. D. 1447, was remarkable for the murder of that noble, heroic, and amiable prince, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, whom Margaret could never forgive, because he opposed her marriage with the king his nephew. She therefore joined with William de la Pole, marquis of Suffolk; Henry Beaufort (great uncle to the king) and bishop of of Winchester; and others of that faction, to accomplish his destruction. Being imprisoned on some false pretence at Edmondsbury, where the parliament was then sitting, he was found the next morning dead in his bed. This and many other acts of violence quite alienated the people from the queen and her ministry: who, at length, became so arbitrary and oppressive that Richard, duke of York (descended from Lyonel, duke of Clarence, son of Edward the third) began to cast a longing eye on the crown. With this view he, at several different times, raises armies. Particularly, in 1455, he engages with Henry, at St. Alban's: where Henry not only loses the victory, but is likewise taken prisoner by the duke of York, by whom he is respectfully conducted to London: where the parliament made the duke protector of England; the sovereignty being still vested in the king. A. D. 1460, the queen and her ministry form a project of putting all the Yorkists to death; on which the duke of York, with other lords, put themselves at the head of forty thousand men. Queen Margaret, who was assembling her forces at Coventry, marches towards London, in order to give the Yorkists battle. The earl of March (presently after Edward IV.) son of the duke of York, together with two other lords, is detached, at the head of twenty-five thousand men, to meet her. The two armies engage near Northampton; where Margaret is defeated, king Henry, who was in her camp, taken prisoner; and the enterprizing queen is forced to fly into the north. But, in the battle of Wakefield, soon after, Margaret is successful, and the

duke of York slain: which his son Edward, earl of March, hearing, loses neither his courage nor his hopes. Heading his troops, he defeats the earl of Pembroke (near Mortimer's Cross in Hertfordshire), who had been sent against him by Margaret. The young earl, marching immediately to London, Margaret retires to the north. On his arrival in the city, he is received with open arms, and universal acclamations. Henry is deposed, by the joint consent of the people, and such of the nobility, magistracy, and gentry, as were in town; and the earl of March mounts the throne, by the name of

37. [16.] EDWARD IV. [VII.]

A. D. 1461—1483.

[Thus ended, at present, the reign of Henry VI. Incapacity for public affairs, and a stupid insensibility of misfortune, appear to have been his chief characteristics. He was, however, remarkably moral; or rather innocent: not so much from principle as for want of sense, spirit, and activity to be otherwise. After his marriage queen Margaret (a woman of unbounded haughtiness, and insatiably fond of power) was the governing person: and by endeavouring to render the king, (or, rather, herself, who, with her corrupt set of favourites did every thing) absolute master of the lives and properties of his subjects, occasioned her own, her husband's and her son's ruin, together with the ruin of the whole house of Lancaster. It may not be amiss to observe, in this place, that Henry was, by the earl of Warwick's faction, released from the Tower, on October 25, 1470, and restored to the throne: on which king Edward (who was forced to take shelter in the dominions of his brother-in-law, the duke of Burgundy) was, by the parliament which was called soon after, declared a traitor; his paternal estates confiscated; and the statutes of his reign annulled. But on the fourteenth of March following, Edward lands at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, and getting together some forces, marched to London: which opening her gates to him, he made his public entry into the city, April 17, 1471. Meanwhile, Henry, who seemed born for no other end than to be the sport and football of fortune, was re-committed to the Tower, whence, about six months before, he had been taken to remount the throne. Henry did not long survive this reverse of fortune: for Edward, soon after, gaining the famous battle of Tewkesbury (in which queen Margaret was taken prisoner, together with her son prince Edward, and her general, Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, the unfortunate Henry was despatched in his confinement: some say by the hands of Richard, duke of Gloucester (afterwards Richard the third), the brother to king Edward. As to queen Margaret, she was, upon the loss of that battle, shut up in the tower of London; where she remained a prisoner, till A. D. 1475, when she was ransomed by her father (Renè, of Anjou, king of Sicily) for 50,000 crowns. As to her son, the heroic prince Edward, who was eighteen years of age, he was soon dispatched in cold blood; and the duke of Somerset quickly lost his head on the Scaffold.]

King Edward was chiefly indebted for his advancement to Richard Neville, earl of Warwick. And through his incurring the resentment of this earl, he had, two or three years after, almost lost for ever the crown he had gained by his means. The affair was this. In 1465, Edward sends the earl of Warwick on embassy to the French king, Lewis XI. The earl's business was to demand Bona of Savoy, in marriage, for his master. Lewis consents, and Warwick is not a little pleased with the success of his negotiation. But while this affair was transacting in France, Edward falls in love at home with Elizabeth Woodville, whom he saw by accident in Northamptonshire. This young lady was a widow (but in the full bloom of beauty), having been married to Sir John Grey of Groby. She was daughter to Jacquelina of Luxemburgh, duchess of Bedford (relict of the famous John duke of Bedford, son of Henry IV., and regent of of France, in the reign of his nephew, Henry VI.), who had married Sir Richard Woodville. In short, the king marries her, without sending to consult with the earl of Warwick: who, upon his return, was so incensed at his being thus mocked, that he never forgave Edward afterwards; of which he convinced him, by actually dethroning him, in the year 1470, as we have heard above: but, on Edward's recovery of the crown, the earl of Warwick was slain in the battle of Barnet, which was fought on Easter Sunday, April 14, 1471. The battle of Tewkesbury, fought on the third or fourth of May following, was decisive, and settled Edward firm on the throne for life. A. D. 1475, Edward has a conference with Lewis XI. of France, on Pequigny bridge, near Amiens, with a grate between them. In 1478, George, duke of Clarence, king Edward's brother, fell a sacrifice to the jealousy and resentment of the queen, of his other brother, the duke of Gloucester, and of the king himself. Being, in a lame, underhand manner, condemned for treason; all the favour duke George could obtain of the king his brother was the liberty of choosing what kind of death he pleased; on which, to avoid appearing on the scaffold, he desires to be drowned in a butt of malmsey wine: which was done. Edward died the ninth day of April, 1483, *æt.* 42, *regni.* 22, some say, he died of an ague; others of a surfeit; and

some, that he was poisoned by his brother, Richard, duke of Gloucester. He was, perhaps, the handsomest man in all Europe: valiant, affable, and naturally generous. But then he was certainly cruel on some occasions; witness, in particular, the deaths of Henry the sixth's son, prince Edward; king Henry the sixth himself; and his own brother, the duke of Clarence. He was, at all times lustful and incontinent; and could be perfidious upon occasion, when he had any turn to serve by it. His queen, Elizabeth Woodville, brought him three sons and eight daughters. One of his sons died an infant; the other two were murdered, as we shall soon see. The princess Elizabeth, his eldest daughter, was, in process of time, married to Henry VII. Edward was succeeded by his eldest son.

38. [17.] EDWARD V. [VIII.] A. D. 1483.

This unfortunate young prince was between twelve and thirteen years old, at the time of his accession. His reign (improperly so called), or rather his life, ended within three months after. He was at Ludlow, in Shropshire, when the king his father died: his uncle Richard manages so that the queen dowager disbands her troops: presently after he seizes on the young king at Stony Stratford. The queen mother, perceiving what these steps tended to, takes sanctuary, by night, in Westminster Abbey; carrying with her the duke of York, her younger son, aged nine years; and others of her family. The duke of Gloucester conducts the king, in a very respectful manner, to London: where, calling a grand council, he gets himself declared protector. Having made such alterations at court as he thought necessary in order to his design, he moves, in council, to have the king's brother, Richard, duke of York, taken out of his mother's hands. The cardinal archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Bourchier, is accordingly sent to the queen at Westminster: who, after much dispute, and with a shower of tears, delivers him up to the prelate; who (little suspecting what the protector had in view) delivered him to the duke of Gloucester. This designing prince now pretended to carry on the preparations for the king's coronation: and at once, to amuse the people, and favour his own plot, he removes his two nephews, from the bishop of London's house, to the Tower (whence the coronation procession generally used to begin). And now the villian communicates his intentions to Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham. This nobleman, (upon a promise of certain lands belonging to the earldom of Hereford which he had claimed during the late reign, but without success), readily came into Gloucester's designs. Their emissaries next endeavour to scatter reports against the legitimacy of Edward the fourth and his children. Soon after, they hire one Dr. Shaw, a venal priest, but famous preacher; who, in a sermon at Paul's Cross, defamed the late king and his posterity, and extolled Gloucester to the skies. But this having no effect on the people, the duke of Buckingham harangues the citizens at Guildhall; pressing them to petition Gloucester to accept the crown. The people were shocked, and kept a profound silence. Buckingham then orders the recorder to address them: after which some of the mob, and others, hired before hand, cried out, Long live king Richard! next day Buckingham, with the lord mayor and others, waited on the protector, at his house in Thames-street, and offered him the crown: which, after a long scene of affectation and artifice, he accepted, and was, on June 22, 1483, proclaimed by the name of

39. [18.] RICHARD III. A. D. 1483—1485.

Presently after his barefaced usurpation of the crown, Richard resolves on the deaths of his nephews, king Edward and the duke of York. In order to accomplish his bloody design with the less odium to himself, he takes a journey to Gloucester; whence he sent an express command to Brackenbury, governor of the Tower, to murder the two princes. The governor excusing himself, Richard sends him an order in writing, requiring him to deliver to James Tyrrell, the oearer, the keys and government of the Tower, for one night. Brackenbury obeyed, and Tyrrell brought in his agents (whose names were, Miles Forest, and John Dighton) to execute the king's will. That very night the two princes were smothered in their bed, and then buried under a little stair-case. At least, this is what Tyrrell himself afterward confessed, who was executed in the reign of Henry the seventh. The bones of the royal brothers were supposed to have been found in the reign of king Charles the second, A. D. 1674; who, upon the presumption, had them put into a marble urn, and interred in Westminster Abbey. Richard was hardly warm on the throne, when the duke of Buckingham claimed the lands of Hereford, pursuant to promise. But Richard had changed his mind, and refused to keep his word. Some say that it is a mistake; and that Richard gave him the lands agreed upon. However, it is certain that Buckingham, some way or other disgusted with Richard, retired in discontent to his castle at Brecknock: where Morton, bishop of Ely, was confined by Richard. Here the duke and the bishop consult how they may dethrone the king. Henry, earl of Richmond, (soon after, Henry VII.) was the person on whom they fixed for the crown. [This prince, with his uncle Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, had

embarked for France, A. D. 1471, soon after the battle of Tewkesbury; but, being driven on the coast of Bretagne, they were detained by the duke of that county, who assigned them the town of Vannes for their habitation, with an honourable allowance: but though they were treated in a ceremonious manner, they were kept against their wills and very narrowly watched.] The earl of Richmond's mother, Margaret, countess of Richmond, (only daughter of John Beaufort, duke of Somerset; grandson of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, fourth son of Edward III.) was informed of the plot, by one Reginard Bray, whom the duke of Buckingham and bishop of Ely had sent to acquaint her with it. She was told, at the same time, that in order to bring matters to bear the earl her son must marry the princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. and desired her (the countess) to apply to the queen mother for her consent: she did so, and obtained it. The countess then sent to her son (still in Bretagne), who, imparting the affair to the duke of Bretagne, was enabled, by his assistance, to appear on the coast of England: but, meeting with a storm, was obliged to put back. Mean while Richard calls a parliament, by which the earl of Richmond is attainted: and it being discovered that the earl's marriage with the princess Elizabeth was the basis of the plot, Richard contrives to make away with his queen (Ann Neville, daughter of Richard Neville, earl of Warwick) in order to marry his niece, the princess Elizabeth, himself: in which, however, he did not succeed. The bishop of Ely having made his escape from the castle of Brecknock, flies into Flanders: the duke of Buckingham is betrayed into Richard's hands, and beheaded at Shrewsbury.—The earl of Richmond, on his return to Bretagne, finding it unsafe for him to stay there, escapes into France, and puts himself under the protection of Charles VIII., who resolves to assist him. August 6, 1485, the earl lands at Milford Haven. Thence advancing to Shrewsbury and Litchfield, his army continually increasing all the way), he goes to Bosworth, in Leicestershire, where the two competitors met, each at the head of his army. Victory declares for the earl. Richard, seeing the day lost, rushed, in despair, among the thickest of the enemy, and fell covered with wounds: having enjoyed the crown but two years and two months, which he had gained by so many ill actions. This battle was fought August 22, 1485. Richard's body being found among the slain, stark naked, covered with blood and dirt, was, in that condition, thrown across a horse, with his head hanging on one side, and his legs on the other, and so carried to Leicester: where after being two days exposed to public view, it was, without ceremony, interred in St. Mary's church. The stone coffin, in which his corpse lay, was made a drinking trough for horses, at the White Horse Inn, in Leicester. He was aged about three or four and thirty years. With him ended the race of Plantagenet in England.

40. [19.] HENRY VII. A. D. 1485—1509.

Earl Henry, having gained the battle of Bosworth, caused *Te Deum* to be sung on the spot; all the troops, falling on their knees, to bless God for the victory. Presently after he is proclaimed king by his army. [It may now be proper to trace the pedigree of this prince. Catherine of France, widow of Henry V. married Owen Tudor, a Welsh gentleman, of mean descent, but the handsomest man of the age. By him she had three sons; Edmund, Jasper, and Owen. Edmund was created earl of Richmond, by his half-brother Henry VI., who gave him to wife Margaret, only daughter of John Beaufort, duke of Somerset, grandson to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, fourth son of Edward the third. From this marriage of Edmund with Margaret sprung Henry VII., who was consequently grandson to Henry the fifth's widow, by his father's side; and by his mother's, the fifth from Edward III.] With regard to Henry's accession, or rather military election, there is one particular deserves to be considered. Either the next heir of the York line ought to have succeeded; or the next heir of the Lancastrian. If of the former, then Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward the fourth, should have succeeded, in her own right, immediately on the death of Richard the third, and earl Henry should have actually married her, previous to his assuming the title of king: or, if the Lancastrian house ought to have succeeded, there was one before Henry: I mean his mother, Margaret, countess dowager of Richmond, who was still living. (r) So that, either way, by Henry's ascending the throne when he did, the line of regular succession was broke. Such a cobweb, such a shadow, is what some pompously call "Indefeasible hereditary right."

Marching up to London, he is well received in that city. There he institutes the yeomen of the guard. He is crowned, October 30, previous to the sitting of parliament, which did not meet until November 7. And January 18, 1486, he is married to the princess Elizabeth; to whom his detestation of the house of York, made him a very indifferent, not to say bad, husband. That same year, he confines his mother-in-law, the queen dowager, Edward the fourth's

(r) She did not die until the first of Henry VIII.

widow, in the monastery of Bermondsey, Southwark; where she continued, deprived both of liberty and estates, until her death, which did not happen until several years after. She was buried at Windsor, by the side of her royal husband, Edward IV. Scarce was Henry warm on the throne, than he was disturbed by Lambert Simnel, a baker's son, who (through the contrivances of one Richard Simon, an Oxford priest) passed with many for Richard duke of York, son of Edward the fourth, who had been murdered by Richard the third. Simnel was, at this time, about fifteen years old. Passing into Ireland, he is proclaimed and actually crowned at Dublin. Returning, some time after, to England with an army composed of Irish and Germans, and headed by the earls of Lincoln and Kildare, his troops give battle to Henry, June 6, 1487, at Stoke, in Nottinghamshire. Victory declares for Henry; the earl of Lincoln is slain; and Simnel himself, being taken prisoner, is made a turnspit in the kitchen of the monarch he sought to dethrone. In the year 1493, Margaret, duchess of Burgundy, (daughter of Richard duke of York, [who was slain in 1460, at the battle of Wakefield] and sister of Edward IV.) in hopes of dispossessing Henry, and restoring her own house of York to the crown, sat up one Perkin Warbeck, to personate her nephew, Richard duke of York, whom Richard the third, her brother, had murdered in the Tower. [This Perkin Warbeck was son to John Osbeck, a converted Jew, of Tournay, who had long lived in London. King Edward IV. being acquainted with this Jew, stood godfather to one of his children; to whom he gave the name of Peter; whence was formed the diminutive, Peterkin or Perkin. The boy was so handsome, and endowed with qualities so far above his birth, that many suspected him to be the illegitimate child of Edward: and, indeed, it is something extraordinary that that prince should stand godfather to one of so mean parentage.] The young imposter acted his part so well that for at least five years together, he gave Henry infinite alarm and uneasiness; and, more than once, made him shake in his throne. At length, being forced to surrender, he was hanged, November 23, 1499: after having been acknowledged for lawful king in Ireland, France, Flanders, England, and Scotland.

In the beginning of 1502, Henry's daughter, the princess Margaret, is married to James IV. of Scotland: from which marriage sprung, in process of time, James the first of England.

Toward the latter end of his reign, Henry gave full range to his avarice; and, without regard to equity, justice, or common humanity, plundered his subjects to fill his coffers. His two chief tools for this purpose were Sir Richard Empson, and Edmund Dudley. [But these two infamous oppressors of their country paid dear for their activity in the following reign; being both beheaded on Tower-hill, August 17, 1510.]

After a reign of nearly twenty-four years, Henry died at Richmond, April 22, 1509, *æt.* 52. By his queen, Elizabeth (daughter of Edward IV. and Elizabeth Woodville), he had four sons, and four daughters. Prince Arthur, the eldest, died A. D. 1502, at Ludlow Castle (where he was sent to keep residence as prince of Wales), *æt.* 17, and was buried at Worcester. Henry, his second son, succeeded him. Edmund and Edward died in their childhood; as did two of his daughters, Elizabeth, and Catherine: Margaret (as has been observed) married James the fourth of Scotland; and Mary married first Lewis the twelfth of France; and after his death, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, reckoned the handsomest man of the age.

As to the character of Henry, it is very far from an amiable one. His two grand objects were to preserve the crown he had acquired, and to heap up money. In enmity he was implacable; and his avarice was insatiable. His temper was gloomy, morose, haughty, and suspicious. His inextinguishable abhorrence of the house of York, together with his affectation of despotism on all occasions, and his rapacious covetousness, which knew no bound either of justice or mercy, are indelible stains on his memory. If he was, in many respects moral, it seems to have been more owing to the phlegm of his constitution, than to principle. That he was extremely politic, is certain: but this was not so much the effect of genius, as of distrust, which made him for ever uneasy, and for ever on his guard. He lies in his own chapel at Westminster.

He rebuilt the palace of Shene, near London, after it had been burnt down; and gave it the name of Richmond (from his having been earl of Richmond), which it still bears.

41. [20.] HENRY VIII. A. D. 1509—1547

Succeeded his father, at the age of eighteen years, wanting two months and six days. He had the advantage of a very learned education, for a prince; and was also a distinguished master of the heroic exercises then in use. The year he came to the crown he married his brother Arthur's widow, Catherine of Arragon; pursuant to his late father's intention and desire. The principal events of this reign were,

1. The rise, prosperity, and fall of Thomas Wolsey; who, from being no more than a butcher's son at Ipswich, where he was born, in 1741, was advanced to the highest honours, both secular and ecclesias-

tical. He commenced A. B. at Oxon, at the age of fourteen; was soon after elected Fellow of Magdalen, and A. D. 1500, presented, by the marquis of Dorset, to the rectory of Lymington in Somersetshire: where he had not long resided before he was yet in the stocks for drunkenness, and raising a riot at a fair in the neighbourhood. Being made chaplain to Henry VII. in 1506, he insinuated himself into the favour of Richard Fox, bishop of Winton; by whose recommendation he was sent ambassador from that king to the Emperor Maximilian, and, upon his return, made dean of Lincoln. Upon the accession of Henry VIII. bishop Fox introduced him to the new king, who, for many years together, thought he could never give him sufficient marks of his regard. In 1513, he became prime minister; in 1514, bishop of Lincoln; administrator of the see of Tournay in Flanders, and archbishop of York; in 1515, he received a cardinal's hat; was made lord chancellor; adminstrator of the bishoprics of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford; together with the addition of several prebendaries to increase his revenues.

FREE THOUGHTS

On the projected application to Parliament, in the Year 1771, for the Abolition of Ecclesiastical Subscriptions.

Hold fast that thou hast; that no man take thy crown.
Rev. iii. 2.

'To be impugned, from without; and betrayed, from within; is certainly the worst condition a Church can fall into: and the best of Churches, the Church of England, has had experience of both. It had been to be wished, and (one would think) might have been expected, that, when Providence had took the work of destroying the Church of England, out of the Papists' hands, some would have been contented with her preferments, without either attempting to give up her rites and liturgy, or deserting her doctrine. But it has happened much otherwise."

Dr. South's Preface to his Animadv. on Sherlock.

In consequence of an advertisment, which made its appearance in the London papers, some clergymen lately met at the Feathers Tavern, in the Strand, to consult upon ways and means, of applying to parliament, for "relief in the matter of subscription to the Liturgy and xxxix Articles." About fourscore, I am told, attended: some from motives of curiosity; some as observers of the rest; and some to lend a helping hand to the business in agitation.

To the few reverend gentlemen (for, it seems, they were much the minority) who heartily fell in with the purpose of this extraordinary meeting, I beg leave to submit the following hints:

I. Is not every king of England, for the time being, the supreme visible head of our national Church?

II. Should not, therefore, these ecclesiastical male-contents have begun at the right end, by first petitioning his majesty for leave to assemble on an occasion, and to deliberate on a question, wherein not only the forms but the very essence also, of our religious constitution, are so deeply and directly concerned? The king, I am aware, cannot himself introduce a bill into the house of commons. But, surely, the king's permission was, in law and regularity, absolutely requisite, prior to such a public meeting, called for such a purpose. And both the calling and the holding of such a meeting, for such a purpose, was neither more nor less than an open insult offered to the supreme visible head of the Church of England.

But we will suppose the male-contents not to have thus stumbled at the threshold, by assembling on such business, without the king's license first had and obtained. We will imagine them to have done no more than appoint a committee to draw up a petition of leave to the throne. Even that step must have proceeded on this horrid and unsurmisable implication, that, to gratify an exceeding small handful of clergymen, the king would forfeit his own royal word, and even violate his still more sacred oath. For,

III. Has not the king, solemnly and publicly, declared again and again, that he will inviolably preserve our present settlement in Church and State? Nay, was not this a very material part of the coronation oath? Can we then think that his majesty will ever consent to unsettle and new model that Church which he has both promised and sworn to maintain and defend? Impossible I dare believe the king would sooner fling his crown into the sea.

Amidst all the political defects with which the Revolution was attended, considerable care was, nevertheless, taken of the Church. Witness that part of the statute, 1 Will. c. 6. whereby it was "enacted, that the following oath shall be administered to every king or queen, who shall succeed to the imperial crown of this realm, at their respective coronations;" the form of which oath, so far as relates to the matter in hand, ran thus:

"*Archbishop*, or *bishop*. Will you, to the utmost of your power, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the gospel, and Protestant reformed religion established by law?

"The *king* or *queen* shall answer: all this I promise to do. After this, laying his or her hand upon the holy gospels, he, or she, shall say, the things which I have here before promised, I will perform and keep; so help me God: and shall then kiss the book."

But even this security was not deemed sufficient. A flaw, tantamount to a trap-door, was still supposed to remain. The Church of England might possibly, in after times, be so remodelled, by the joint authority of the three estates, as to be no longer the same identical church it was before: and

yet, by being re-modelled, on the authority aforesaid, might still be, literally, the religion established by law.

This trap-door required effectual stopping up. And effectually stopped up it was by the act which united England and Scotland into one kingdom, 5 Ann. c. 8., which celebrated statute enacts, that, "After the demise of her majesty queen Anne, the sovereign next succeeding, and so for ever afterwards, every king or queen succeeding and coming to the royal government of the kingdom of Great Britain, at his or her coronation, shall, in the presence of all persons who shall be attending, assisting, or otherwise, then and there present, take and subscribe an oath to maintain and preserve inviolably the settlement of the Church of England, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof, as by law established within the kingdoms of England and Ireland, the dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, and the territories thereunto belonging."

To a prince, who has both taken and set his hand to such an oath as this, no petition, for leave to innovate on the church, could, with any shew of decency, be presented. And yet, without such leave, the intentional innovators had no shadow of right to assemble for the purpose they did. Either way, they are hemmed in with insurmountable embarrassment. What then remains for them to do? Simply this alternative: either to rest contented with the Church, as she now stands; or fairly to quit her, and, like honest men, avail themselves of the toleration.

IV. These very gentlemen, who are so extremely sanguine for an alteration, and who so liberally exclaim against being held down to creeds and articles; these very gentlemen, I am persuaded, would, without any scruple at all, subscribe to Arian Creeds and Arminian Articles; if the former were three dozen, and the latter thirty-nine hundred. It is not subscription itself, which so much constitutes the grievance complained of; but the stubborn orthodoxy of the things subscribed. Castrate the liturgy, articles, and homilies, of their Calvinism, and Trinitarianism, and I will answer for it subscription will no longer be considered as "a yoke of bondage, which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear."—But,

V. Why is subscription, even on its present footing, so tragically decried as "a yoke?" Supposing it to be ever so galling in itself, it certainly need never have galled the reverend shoulders of those divines who groan under it. Did any body compel these labourers into the established vineyard? No; but the grapes were so inviting, that the hedge of subscription, with all its supposed prickliness, was deliberately struggled through, notwithstanding conscience was ure to get a few scratches (not to say lacerations) in the passage.

Was there no act of toleration; were persons, who dissent from the establishment, liable to positive penalties for that dissent; were all means of subsistence cut off from Arminian and Anti-Trinitarian preachers: much might be offered in mitigation of conformity without conviction. This would furnish ample matter of solid complaint. Subscription, in that case, would indeed be a badge of slavery and a yoke of oppression: even of such oppression as would make humanity weep; and of such slavery as would make Protestantism tremble to her centre.—But, blessed be God, these happy nations know nothing at present of this black, bigoted, unprotestant intolerancy. Such as cannot freely and conscientiously subscribe to our ecclesiastical forms are at full and just liberty to exercise their ministry among what denomination they choose. A circumstance, which, however, serves to render those persons quite inexcusable who, for the sake of a larger dividend of the loaves and fishes, solemnly subscribe, and as solemnly testify their uncompelled assent, to certain standards, which at the very same time, they disbelieve, oppose, and would gladly overthrow: men, who (to borrow the phraseology of a late celebrated doctor), though "never trained," either by grace or sincere inclination, "to pace in the trammels of the church;" are yet so far "tempted by the sweets of her preferments," as to sacrifice conscience to profit, principle to ambition, and integrity to promotion.

VI. Does the projected plan, for a repeal of subscriptions, come with a good grace from some of those very ecclesiastics who have, themselves, actually submitted to this imaginary grievance, and who hold all their preferments by virtue of that self same submission? What can the world think of such divines? It must think this: that there are certain clergymen, whom no ties however sacred can bind; who make Scripture, conscience, church, and all things else, bend to secular interest: men who can swallow subscriptions, promises, and declarations of assent, without assenting to what they declare, without intending what they promise, and without believing what they subscribe: who having (many of them, at least) taken care, in the first place, to get snugly beneficed; are, by a shameless stroke of after-policy, seeking to demolish the gate by which they entered, and to kick away the ladder by which they ascended: who, in short, while they eat the bread of the Church, are lifting up their heel against her; and like the ungrateful boy in the fable, think to enjoy more of the golden eggs, by killing the fowl that lays them.

"Possibly, however, these non-assenting clergymen might have subscribed heedlessly and ignorantly, in their youth; without duly considering what they did. Would you have such dissemble their dissatisfaction after they perceive their error?" By no means. Let them avow their dissatisfaction; but let them also act accordingly. Let them retract their subscriptions, not by word and in tongue only, but in deed and in truth, by renouncing the preferments, as well as the doctrines, of the church; and all the world will call them honest men. While I was over in Ireland, I was informed that the late bishop of Cl———r had been advised, b several of his friends, to give this conclusive proof of his integrity. But dear as Arianism was to his lordship, a mitre was dearer: (s) and he choose rather to (t) break his heart in lawn sleeves, than by resigning them, to demonstrate that he acted on principles purely conscientious.

With regard to those of our own inferior clergy who are embarked in the present expedition against the Church, their design is, evidently, to burn the title-deed, and yet keep possession of the estate: to shake off subscription, without shaking off its lucrative appendages. Not considering, that, if the requiring of subscription be an unlawful imposition, the advantages resulting from a submission to it must have been unlawfully obtained: and what a person has obtained unlawfully must, when he comes to a better mind, be surrendered and renounced, if he mean to act as a man of principle. Either, therefore, those clergymen who repent of subscribing are not so deeply wounded in conscience as they profess; or wounds of conscience are, in their estimation, lighter than the dust on the scale, when weighed against worldly ease, profit and advancement.

VII. Had not, and has not, the Church of England as much right as any other society to judge for herself what doctrines are scriptural, and to establish them accordingly? I do not mean to insinuate that our own Church, or any church whatever, has the least right to obtrude her own judgment on such individuals as cannot see with her eyes. And I will venture to be quite positive that the present governors of the Church are perfectly remote from the least desire to tarnish the glory of her moderation, by wishing to bring back the persecuting days of Charles I. and Charles II. But may not the Church, without the least shadow of persecution, continue to fix the terms on which she will admit persons to take the charge of her flock, and to minister at her altars? Must she, in order to prove her catholicism, throw down her fence, and reduce herself, from a garden, to a common, that all beasts of the field may riot on her spoils, and every wild ass quench his thirst at her fountain? For,

VIII. What would be the consequence, if subscription was totally set aside, and if clergymen were not restrained to the use of the liturgy? The consequence would be this: Papists on one hand, and the dregs of the dissenters on the other, would pour in upon us as a flood, and over-run the Church, as the Goths and Vandals first over-ran, and then destroyed, the Western empire.

Let the reader observe, I say not "the Dissenters;" but, "the dregs of the Dissenters:" such as Deistical, Arian, Socinian, Pelagian Dissenters. Nor can the Dissenters, as a body, be displeased at my using such a term. Every society has its dregs.—God knows the established Church is not without them. Our Protestant Dissenters, considered in the aggregate, are most justly entitled to respect and Christian affection. I speak, therefore, above, only of such individuals as come within the compass there specified. Nor do I presume to judge even those. I am personally acquainted with many Deists, Arians, Socinians, and Pelagians; whom, as men of parts, and as worthy members of society, I honour and esteem: yet I should be very sorry to see any of them trail in gowns and cassocks, and disseminate their doctrinal tares from the pulpits of our parish churches. I may have a sincere and very great regard for a neighbour, without wishing him to marry into my family.

While our present out-works are suffered to stand, we have this grand consolation left; *viz.* that Arians, Socinians, Pelagians, &c. cannot, with any colour of decency, pretend that their mistaken opinions have the sanction of law and establishment. Let who will be for them, the Church is not—*Medicus, qui omnia fecit ut sanaret, partes suas peregit.* The wise and pious vigilance of our Protestant ancestors has guarded the purity of the Church, by every religious and almost every civil precaution, which

(s) I must, however, do justice to the memory of that celebrated prelate by publishing the following anecdote, which I had from unquestionable authority, and to which I cannot help yielding the most implicit credit. As his lordship was possessed of a very ample fortune, exclusive of his high preferment in the Church, he found himself able to appropriate the whole revenue of his see (amounting to near £4000 per annum), to the purposes of charity; and I have been assured that, upon inspection of his books after his decease, it appeared that the entire profits of his bishopric had, for many years, been so devoted.

(t) Occasioned by the apprehensions of a gathering storm, which thickened every day, and bade fair for speedily ending in a deprivation, by the joint authority of Church and state.

human care and foresight could devise. If, notwithstanding all these prudent precautions, any are found, who creep into the established ministry, bringing in with them destructive heresies, the Church and constitution are not to blame, but the intruders themselves; whose conduct proves, that the most solemn tests and engagements have, with these theological Samsons, no more efficacy than a thread of tow, which is broken when it toucheth the fire. (*u*)

"What use of oaths, of promise, or of test.
"Where men regard no God but interest?" (*x*)

Mille adde catenas,
Effugiet tamen hæc sceleratus vincula Proteus.

But shall we totally demolish and set aside subscription, only because it is not found, in every respect, fully to answer its original design? The very same argument would hold for a repeal of the penal laws against Popery. Shall a man unhang his doors, take down his window shutters, and leave his house open all night, for this sage reason, because doors, and window shutters are sometimes found an ineffectual barrier against house-breakers?

IX. After all, more than a bare superseding of subscription is palpably the drift of the present enterprise. Not only subscription to the Articles and Homilies, but to the Liturgy also, is classed under the predicament of "grievous oppression."—Now the persons who flinch at subscribing and declaring their assent to the Book of Common Prayer would most certainly (if subscription and assent were dispensed with) scruple to use that book: for, if they would not hesitate to use it, why should they scruple to subscribe it?

The matter then is plainly this: those Arians, Arminians, &c. who have hitherto stayed out of our ecclesiastical pale would gladly get within it: and the few Arians, and many Arminians, who are within it, wish to have the Church Arianized and Arminianized, as well for their own private convenience, as for the more easy admittance of their brethren who are hankering at the gate. For the accommodation of those who have struggled in, and in complaisance to those who yet tarry out, the whole ecclesiastical edifice, founded on the Rock of Scripture, and cemented with the blood of our martyrs, is forsooth, to be taken down, and not one doctrinal stone left upon another. In particular, the doctrine of the Trinity, and that of gratuitous predestination (the two master pillars of the sacred structure), must be removed from the premises and thrown, like degraded idols, to the moles and to the batts; else it seems we cannot shew a due degree of brotherly attention to the tender consciences of those good Christians who wish to erect free-will, merit, chance, and Unitarianism, upon the ruins of that Church which once shone (and, were all her professing sons true to her principles, would continue to shine) the glory of the reformation, and the excellency of the whole earth.

X. Would it be for the credit of the Protestant religion, in general, and of the Church of England in particular, to be perpetually shifting and tacking about, never continuing in one stay, but (to use the expression of a certain Arminian) always flitting and "tossing from system to system?" Our Articles have already passed one revisal, since their first publication, in 1552. Our Liturgy has been reviewed no fewer than four times. Must we be incessantly doing and undoing? Is the Church of England, like Penelope's web, to experience a regular vicissitude of weaving and unravelling? or must she, like the image at Loretto, never appear two days together in the same dress? are we ever learning, yet never able to come to, the knowledge of the truth? Is religion so far the daughter of time as to be susceptible of daily improvement, like the handy-craft arts? To answer these questions in the affirmative, would be to expose religion itself to the scorn and laughter of every rational being. And yet, unless these questions are to be answered affirmatively, whither do our projected alterations tend?

XI. Supposing, for argument's sake, that many things in the Church of England might be altered even greatly for the better; the present is certainly a very unfit time for such an enterprize. What if a set of writers who have little or no turn for mathematics, should undertake to revise and correct the philosophical works of Sir Isaac Newton? Now, every man must admit that a concern for religion is by no means a characteristic of the present age. Consequently, had the Church in reality any tares to be rooted up, the wheat would run at least a very dangerous risk of being torn up also. The safest way therefore would be to let both grow together until harvest.

"What! would you oppose all reformation?" I am only for opposing the measures of those (at best, mistaken, perhaps designing) brethren, who are evidently for reforming us out of the reformation.

"Have you no regard to the ease of scrupulous consciences?" I have the tenderest regard to it. But the question has two edges. It concludes as much, at least, for my argument as against it. For is scrupulousness of conscience peculiar to Arians, Socinians, and Pelagians? have not the orthodox their scruples also? And must

(*u*) Judges xvi. 9. (*x*) Waller.

no provision be made for the scruples of the elder branch? Must the younger (*i. e.* Protestants of the modern cast) run away with all the attention of legislature?—Besides; those of our reformed brethren, who are restrained from falling in with the Church, by scruples truly conscientious, are under no sort of obligation to put a force upon conscience, by smothering their scruples. They are at unrestrained liberty to indulge any scruples that can arise, and to follow conscience whithersoever she goes. If, therefore, conscience is all, conscience has no reason to complain. She may, in these happy nations, pursue her own dictates without impediment; and choose her own faith and worship, both as to mode and substance.

XII. Let us, for a moment suppose the superseding scheme to have taken full effect. We will imagine the Liturgy, Articles, and Homilies, to be actually shorn of their orthodoxy; and subscription to be totally rescinded. Old things are done away; behold all things are become new. Still there will be plenty of male-contents. We shall be as far or farther from unity than ever. It is impossible, in the very nature of things, for any church upon earth to be so constituted as to satisfy every body. All the difference would be that many Churchmen, and many dissenters, would change places. Many Dissenters would commence Churchmen; and every true Churchman would and must commence Dissenter. All would be turned upside down, and a total reverse of things ensue. Papists, Arians, Socinians, Infidels, and such like, would be the only gainers by the exchange. These would laugh to see themselves at the top of the wheel: and the established Church, from that fatal moment, degenerate into the common sewer of every heresy under Heaven.

XIII. The political consequences of such a religious revolution are likewise to be preconsidered. We already, as a nation, too much resemble a house divided against itself. How exceedingly indiscreet, therefore (to call it by no harsher name), is the ill-timed zeal of such clergymen, who labour to stir the fire with a sword, by seeking to add the fury of religious discord to the rage of civil dissention? Who can foretell, or even foresee, the destructive effects, which might follow from the coalition of this double flame? Let us remember how dear the hot innovating spirit of the first Arminians had like to have cost their country. The States of Holland were pushed to the very brink of total ruin by the rashness of that obstinate faction, who could not find in their hearts to let religion stand as the reformation had left it.

XIV. In vain would subscription to our established forms and formularies be set aside, unless the projectors could procure the Bible also to be cried down by public authority. The business will be but half done while the Scripture is permitted to stare those refining gentlemen in the face. They should therefore, to be consistent, move for the utter abrogation of that. For (according to their idea of intellectual liberty) it must be a most grievous encroachment on the right of private judgment, that candidates for the Christian ministry should be obliged to testify their belief of that old fashioned book. Since it can hardly be supposed that they who deem it a badge of oppression to subscribe a set of doctrinal articles, deduced from the Scriptures, should with perfect complacency be ready to subscribe the Scriptures themselves, whence those very articles are deduced. This would indeed be straining at a gnat, and swallowing a camel.

Instead, then, of beating about the bush, by a petition against the liturgy and articles, let the reverend petitioners spring the grand quarry at once. Let them honestly, and without mincing the point, lay the axe to the root, by addressing parliament against the *πρωτον κακον*, whence the liturgy and articles were derived. What avails it, to exhaust your indignation on the rivulets? Act as men of spirit, and roundly attack the fountain. You will never be able to give the *coup de grace* to the Church of England while you suffer the prophets, evangelists, and apostles, to stand full in your way. Treat them, therefore, O ye reputed successors of those apostles, as Nero wished to treat the Roman citizens: piously endeavour to cut off both Bible and Church at one blow.

A paragraph or two, to the following purport, would serve to adorn your intended petition.

And whereas there is a certain obsolete work, made up of divers treatises, collected into a thick volume, which volume was, by the ignorance and superstition of our blockheaded forefathers, looked upon as sacred, and as written under the influence of Divine Inspiration: We, your petitioners, being happily emancipated from the shackles of prejudice, and having dilated into true liberality of sentiment, do give it as our opinion, that the obtruding of the said book upon the free-born minds of men is a most grievous hardship, and unsufferable imposition. For we can easily prove that the book aforesaid is stuffed with a detail of many improbable, not to say impossible facts; and, moreover, fraught throughout with a great number of doctrines equally repugnant to reason and dangerous to morality: such as, that three are one, and one is three (which we can mathematically demonstrate to be impossible); not to mention the wicked doc-

trines of election, justification, atonement, imputed righteousness, original sin, efficacious grace, regeneration, the indwelling of the Spirit, final perseverance, &c. &c. All which are irrational in themselves, and of very licentious tendency: not to add, that they are quite obsolete and worn out with age; and therefore it is high time that both they, and the book which inculcates them, were dead, buried, and forgot.

Your petitioners do also beseech the wisdom of this nation, in parliament united, to relieve us reverend divines from another very irksome grievance, which renders our useful lives not a little miserable. We mean the superstitious observance of what is commonly called the Lord's Day. On this day, those of us who subsist by the Church, and who cannot afford to keep curates, are forced to undergo the intolerable drudgery of reading public prayers, and of preaching eight, ten, and sometimes fifteen minutes; both which burthens are very oppressive and unreasonable: seeing the Sabbath was intended for a day, not of labour, but of rest: which rest cannot, in equitable construction, be deemed general, unless it extend to clergy as well as laity.

And whereas there is a vexatious and unreasonable canon (*y*) whereby we are enjoined not to appear in public without cassocks, nor to wear any light coloured stockings: We, your aggrieved petitioners, not being content with breaking the said canon, do pray and desire that it may be totally and finally repealed; and that a law may pass entitling us to dress like other men. Not as if we thought that our profession has any reason to be ashamed of us; but we, being ashamed of our profession, do testify our earnest wish of being permitted to wear laced hats, ruffled shirts, and all other ornaments pertaining to men of this world: and that none but dissenting teachers may be obliged to go in constant mourning: We also humbly submit it to the consideration of legislature, whether it might not be fitting to confer the following mark of honourable distinction on us, the ecclesiastical sons of liberty, who assembled, for the above and other equally good purposes, at the Feathers Tavern: *viz.* that we, who make this noble effort in favour of religious freedom, may be entitled to wear a white feather in our hats, in lieu of a rope and rose, to the intent, that every Deist, Papist, Arian, Socinian, and Pelagian, who meets us in the streets, may know us, bow to us, and give us the wall accordingly.

In acceding to the supplication now presented, and in retrieving us from the egregious grievance of subscription in time to come (though even that will be no absolution of us from the guilt of having already subscribed to the wicked Liturgy, Articles and Homilies in time past), ye will confer a signal favour on us your petitioners who, as in duty bound, will ever, &c.

To speak seriously, I really think these gentlemen are most justly entitled to some trophy of distinction. If, as the public have lately seen, a Gloucestershire (*z*) painter brought in his bill for altering the Belief in a parish chancel; much more may the reverend brethren of the Feathers association bring in theirs, for the superlative merit of attempting the overthrow of Creeds, Articles, Liturgy, Homilies, Church, and all. And what is the true reason of this prodigious wrath against our Liturgy, Homilies, Articles, and Creeds? The true reason is apparently this: those excellent forms of sound words have given Arianism and Arminianism a blow under the fifth rib; of which Arianism and Arminianism will never be healed until these forms are annihilated.

I have, with all the humility which becomes so obscure an individual, but at the same time with a degree of that freedom which the nature and importance of the subject demand, ventured to lay before the public what occurred to me on the point in question. May I, without the appearance of presumption, be permitted to add that, convinced as I am of the utility and necessity of ecclesiastical subscription, I am no less strongly convinced that the requisition of subscription is, at present, extended too far? It must be acknowledged that religious liberty is not, strictly speaking, so completely established among us as Christian benevolence requires, and the rights of mankind demand. Remote as I am, and hope ever to be, from Arianism and Socinianism, I yet most sincerely wish that neither Arians nor Socinians might, as such, lie, in any respect, at the mercy of their fellow creatures. I should rejoice, unfeignedly, to see the act of toleration no longer clogged with the following restrictive clause: "Provided that nothing in this act shall be construed to extend to give any clause, benefit, or advantage——to any person that shall deny in his preaching or writing the doctrine of the

(*y*) Canon 74.

(*z*) The London and Western papers, for August, 1771, had the ensuing article; which, however it may carry the appearance of humour, was affirmed to be literally true: "The following is a true copy of a painter's bill, at Cirencester, in Gloucestershire, delivered to the churchwardens of an adjoining parish:

"Mr. Charles Ferebee, churchwarden of Siddington, to Joseph Cook, debtor.

"To mending the Commandments,
"Altering the Belief, and
"Making a new Lord's Prayer. } 2 i 0

Blessed Trinity as it is declared in the aforesaid articles" [*i. e.* in the XXXIX Articles] "of religion."

The toleration of Protestants should, by every law both of God and nature, and of civil policy, be absolutely unlimited. It is as much their due as the air they breathe, or as the light by which they see. They are not to ask it as a favour; but may claim it as a debt. Keep Antitrinitarians out of the Church by all means: but let them enjoy every advantage of civil society; together with the free exercise of their religion, only *extra ecclesiam*, not within the establishment.

It is equally injurious to the right of private judgment to exact subscription to the doctrinal articles of the Church of England from those very persons who declare themselves dissenters from that Church. No dissenting minister is legally entitled to the benefit of the Act of Toleration, until he has, at the general or quarter session of the peace, declared his approbation of, and likewise subscribed to, all the Thirty-nine Articles, except the thirty-fourth, thirty-fifth, thirty-sixth, and the first clause of the twentieth. This is, to very many dissenting Protestants, a real grievance, and calls for legal redress. God forbid that the Church should ever accommodate her doctrines to the religious mistakes of those who differ from her: but surely the state ought to be the common guardian of every well behaving Protestant without excepting one. A man may be a good subject, and a valuable member of the community, without coming up to the orthodoxy of the XXXIX Articles. A toleration, truly Protestant, requires a more generous and expanded basis.

Here, then, I most heartily join hands with the adversaries of subscription. As far as the Protestant Dissenters are concerned, I should, as a well-wisher to mankind, rejoice to see subscription, I will not say relaxed, but entirely taken out of the way. I mean, subscription to all the Thirty-nine Articles, those only excepted which are directly pointed against the Church of Rome: and to them, I dare believe, every Protestant dissenter in the king's dominions would cheerfully set his hand.

The toleration is not complete until matters are put on this footing. A sword still hangs by a thread over the heads of reputed heretics; which is liable at any time to fall and do mischief. Surely, bare connivance is too slender a security for the property and freedom of any Protestant whatever!

May I likewise be allowed just to hint at another real grievance, equally oppressive and absurd? I mean the exaction of subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles from those of the laity who take the academical degrees in law or physic. Nay, I have been informed (but I will not venture to affirm), that subscription is required even of those who proceed doctors in music. If so, can any thing be more unreasonable? As if men could not be able lawyers, physicians, or musicians, without being (*a*) orthodox.

But this affects not the clergy. It is absolutely necessary, for the honour of Christianity, and for the good of souls, that they should be sound in the faith, and give sufficient security for their being so. Experience proves that some of us are not a little centrifugal. Great care, therefore, should be taken to retain us within the orbit of orthodoxy. There have been instances more than a few, of eccentric divines, who have, indeed, gravitated very strongly towards the emoluments of the Church: but who were, nevertheless, exceeding prone to recede from her doctrines. The repelling force of the Thirty-nine Articles themselves proved insufficient to restrain those stars-ecclesiastical from availing themselves of the emoluments: nor was all the attractive power of the emoluments able to procure any quarter for the doctrines. Predestination (for instance) has

(*a*) The late earned and truly respectable Dr. Daniel W—t—l—d gave a very remarkable proof how forcibly this kind of prejudice and bigotry are sometimes seen to operate even on, otherwise, exalted minds. The main circumstance on which the whole spirit of the following fact turns may, to some readers, appear rather indelicate. However, as Dr. Middleton did not disdain to write it; and as bishop Warburton did not scruple to let it be published (for I suppose the copy of the letter was communicated by his lordship to the editors of Dr. Middleton's Works); I need not apologize for reciting it. "In his" (*i. e.* Dr. W.'s) "last journey from Cambridge to London, being attended by Dr. P———e, and C———n the surgeon, he lodged the second night at Hodaden; where being observed to be active on the road, he was advised to have a clyster: to which he consented. The apothecary was presently sent for: to whom Dr. P———e gave his orders below stairs, while Dr. W. continued above: upon which the apothecary could not forbear expressing his great sense of the honour which he received, in being called to the assistance of so celebrated a person, whose writings he was well acquainted with. The company signified some surprise to find a country apothecary so learned. But he assured them that he was no stranger to the merit and character of the Doctor, but had lately read his ingenious book, with much pleasure, (entitled) The Divine Legation of Moses.—Dr. P———e, and a Fellow of Magdalen there present, took pains to convince the apothecary of his mistake: while C——n the surgeon ran up stairs with an account of his blunder to W. who, provoked by it into a violent passion, called the poor fellow a puppy and blockhead, who must needs be ignorant in his profession, and unfit to administer any thing to him, and might possibly poison his bowels: and, notwithstanding Dr. P———e's endeavours to moderate his displeasure, by representing the expediency of the operation, and the man's capacity to perform it; he would hear nothing in his favour, but ordered him to be discharged, and postponed the benefit of the clyster until he reached his next stage." *Middleton's Works, vol. i.* p. 484, 485. Quarto.

As if the apothecary was necessarily incapable of administering a clyster, only because he admired The Divine Legation of Moses!

been dehorted from as poison; while the preferments appending to the supposed belief of it were enjoyed as nectar.

What does this prove? thus much: that, through the depravation and frailty of human nature, the solemn three-fold band of subscription, assent, and approbation, does not (as already observed) perfectly answer the end of its intention. It does not, so universally as might be wished, preclude all diversities of opinions from the Church, nor establish absolute unity of consent touching true religion. What then? must it (to repeat the important question) be therefore totally abolished? Nay: but if any proper expedients can be farther devised for that purpose, let it rather be strengthened. We will suppose a husband breaks through his marriage articles. Would not the injured party be insane to imagine that her destroying those articles, by committing them to the flames, would add to her security?

If unsound doctrines make shift to creep now and then into the Church, notwithstanding the hedge of subscription by which she is guarded, what would become of her if she dismissed her guard, and the hedge was totally removed? On the whole, I take leave of the subject with the same ardent wish for the Church of England which a celebrated historian expressed for the State of Venice: *Esto Perpetua!*

A CAVEAT AGAINST UNSOUND DOCTRINES.

Being the substance of a discourse preached in the parish church of St. Ann, Blackfriars; on Sunday, April 29, 1770

Seeing, then, that we have such hope, we use great plainness of speech. 2 Cor. iii. 12.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS Sermon was first preached at St. Matthew, Bethnal Green, April 22. Some persons then present, to whose judgment and request I pay the highest deference, desired me to retrieve as much of it as I could, the Sunday following, at St. Anne's; with a view to its being taken in short hand and published.

The loss of my nearest relative, soon after this Sermon was preached, and the many avocations occasioned by that lamented and unexpected event account but too well for the delay with which the publication has been attended. Having, however, transcribed it at last, from the notes of the person who penned it at the time of its delivery, I now transmit it to the press, most affectionately and respectfully inscribed to my dear London friends; whose favours, equally great, numerous, and unmerited, I have no other public way of acknowledging.

London, July 3, 1770.

SERMON I.

And if there be any other thing that is contrary to sound doctrine. 1 Tim. i. 10.

ST. PAUL is commonly, and most probably, supposed to have written this Epistle about A. D. 65, that is, about two years before his own martyrdom, and about thirty-one after our Lord's ascension. He addressed it to Timothy; who, though a very (*b*) young man, had been some time in the ministry, and was then entrusted with the oversight of the church at Ephesus. In the estimation of unprejudiced reason, honourable age is not that which standeth in length of time, nor that is measured by number of years: but wisdom is the grey hair unto men, and an unspotted life is old age. (*c*)

But Timothy, though young, was far from robust. He was only strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus. His regenerate heaven-born soul dwelt in a sickly infirm body. Whence we read of his ἀσθένειαι, 1 Tim. v. 23, or frequent indispositions: arising, perhaps, originally from a natural delicacy of constitution: and, certainly, increased by a rigid abstemiousness, and constant course of ministerial labours. Thus our heavenly Father, graciously severe, and wisely kind, takes care to infuse some salutary bitter into his children's cup below; since, were they here to taste of happiness absolute and unmingled; were not the gales of prosperity, whether spiritual or temporal, counterpoised, more or less, by the needful ballast of affliction; his people (always imperfect here) would be enriched to their loss, and liable to be overset in their way to the kingdom of God. Wherefore consummate felicity, without any mixture of wormwood, is reserved for our enjoyment in a state where perfect sanctification will qualify us to possess it. In heaven, and there only, the inhabitant shall no more say, in any sense whatever, I am sick. (*d*)

St. Paul, in the opening of his apostolic directions to Timothy, adopts the same simple, majestic, and evangelical exordium, with which the rest of his epistles usually begin. Paul an apostle of Jesus Christ; ordained and sent forth by the head of the Church, the supreme master of the spiritual vineyard: without whose internal, authoritative commission, none have a real right to minister in sacred things, nor to thrust the sickle into God's harvest. For how can men preach to purpose, so as to be instruments of conviction, comfort and sanctification, except they be sent (*e*) of God, and owned of him? whence the apostle adds, by the commandment (*f*) of God our Saviour, and the Lord Jesus Christ, who is our hope. As an English nobleman, who travels to some foreign court, cannot reasonably expect to be received as the representative of his sovereign here, unless charged with an actual delegation, and able to produce the

(*b*) 1 Tim. iv. 12. (*c*) Wisd. iv. 8, 9.
(*d*) Isa. xxxiii. 24. (*e*) Rom. x. 15.

(*f*) Κατ' ἐπιταγήν, according to the positive injunction, or express designation.

credentials of his mission: no more is any individual authorised to arrogate to himself the honour of a divine embassage, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron. (*g*) A sufficient degree of gospel light and knowledge; an ardent love of souls, and a disinterested concern for truth; a competent measure of ministerial gifts and abilities; and, above all, a portion of divine grace and experience; a saving change of heart, and a life devoted to the glory of God; are essential pre-requisites to an evangelical discharge of the sacred function.

The first verse may be read thus: Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ according to the express, or authoritative, designation of Jesus Christ our God, Saviour, and Lord.(*h*) So the passage may be rendered; and so perhaps it ought to be understood, in its natural and most obvious construction.—Now, even supposing that the apostle had not the divinity of Christ immediately in view, at the time of his writing these words; yet, you must either give up his inspiration, or believe that Christ is, with the Father and the Spirit, God over all, blessed for ever: since on a subject of such unspeakable consequence, it would have argued a degree of negligence, little short of criminal, had the apostle expressed himself in terms palpably liable to misapprehension. I therefore conclude that both as a scholar and as a Christian; as Gamaliel's pupil and as an inspired apostle; our sacred penman would have delivered himself in a far more guarded style, had not the Son of God been indeed God the Son. Either Jesus is the God, Saviour and Lord of his people, or St. Paul was guilty of such inexcusable inaccuracy, as every writer of common sense and common honesty would be sure to avoid.

He goes on to style the blessed Jesus our hope. Ask almost any man, "Whether he hopes to be saved eternally?" He will answer in the affirmative. But enquire again, "On what foundation he rests his hope?" Here too many are sadly divided. The Pelagian hopes to get to heaven by a moral life and a good use of his natural powers. The Arminian by a jumble of grace and free-will, human works, and the merits of Christ. The Deist by an interested observance of the social virtues. Thus meritmongers, of every denomination, agree in making any thing the basis of their hope, rather than that foundation which God's own hand hath laid in Zion. But what saith Scripture? It avers, again and again, that Jesus alone is our hope: to the exclusion of all others, and to the utter annihilation of human deservings. Beware, therefore, of resting your dependence partly on Christ, and partly on some other basis. As surely as you bottom your reliance partly on the rock, and partly on the sand; so certainly, unless God give you an immediate repentance to your acknowledgment of the truth, will your supposed house of defence fall and bury you in its ruins, no less than if you had raised it on the sand alone. Christ is the hope of glory. (*i*)—Faith in his righteousness, received and embraced as our sole justifying obedience before God; and the love of Christ (an inseparable effect of that faith), operating on our hearts, and shining in our lives; are the most solid evidences we can have below of our acceptance with the Father, and of our being saved in Jesus with an everlasting salvation.

Unto Timothy, my own son in the faith; grace, mercy, and peace, from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ. Some have thought that Timothy was not converted under the ministry of St. Paul; and they ground their conjecture on Acts xvi. 1, 2; where Timothy is mentioned as a disciple, and a person well reported of by the Christians at Derbe and Lystra, previous to St. Paul's visitation of those places. That Timothy was a nominal professor of religion, and a youth of circumspect behaviour, are evident from that passage: which external form of godliness was probably the effect of the religious (*k*) education he had the happiness to receive from his earliest childhood. But, from St. Paul's compellation of him as his own son in the faith; it may, I think, be reasonably inferred that the young disciple was led from the outer court of mere external profession into the sanctuary of heavenly and spiritual experience, either by the private labours, or under the public ministry, of this apostle. And none but those ministers whose endeavours have been blest to the conversion of souls, and those persons who have been born of God by their instrumentality, can form any idea of that spiritual relation and unspeakably tender attachment which subsist between spiritual fathers and the children of grace whom God hath given them.

Timothy had been a true believer some considerable time before St. Paul wrote this Epistle. Consequently, by the grace, mercy, and peace, which he prayed might be the portion of his beloved converts, we are to understand, not the first vouchsafement, but a large increase, of those spiritual blessings and comforts: that he might have repeated discoveries and continued manifestations of the Father's electing grace; of Christ's redeeming mercy; and experience that sweet peace and joy in believing which are fruits of the Holy Spirit's influence and flow

(*g*) Heb. v. 4.
(*h*) Κατ' επιταγην Θεου Σωτηρος ημων και Κυριου Ιησου Χριστου.
(*i*) Colossians i. 27.
(*k*) 2 Tim. iii. 15.

from fellowship with him. Privileges these which unawakened men will always ridicule; but to which every real Christian will ardently aspire.

Time would fail me, should I attempt to consider all the intervenient verses. I find myself at a loss, not what to say, but what to leave unsaid. However, I shall observe, as briefly as I can, that one grand reason of St. Paul's writing this Epistle was, to put Timothy on his guard against the dissemination of corrupt doctrines, and the insidious arts of corrupt teachers, with which the Church of Ephesus, where Timothy was now stationed, seems to have been particularly infested. Unregenerate ministers are much the same in all ages and in every country: an unconverted preacher in England, and an unconverted preacher in Italy, so far as matters merely spiritual are concerned, stand nearly on a level. These all are, what the Ephesian schismatics were desirous to be, teachers of the law, or legal teachers. And all unconverted people, whether their denomination be Protestant or Popish, desire to be hearers of the law, and are displeased when they hear anything else. We are, naturally, fond of that very law which, unless the righteousness of Christ is ours, is the ministration of death, pronounces us accursed, and binds us over to everlasting ruin. The pernicious error, against which Timothy was directed to guard his flock, was a dependence on the law and the works of it, for salvation. And the reason why this destructive tenet was taught and enforced by some preachers of that day, and has been taught by their successors ever since, is assigned by the apostle; who observes, that those blind guides understood neither what they said nor whereof they affirmed: for if they had understood anything of God's inviolable holiness; of the law's inflexible rectitude, extent, and spirituality; of man's total inability to fulfil it perfectly (and without perfect obedience the law cannot justify); they would, at once, have ceased to be teachers of the law, and simply pointed sinners to that Saviour alone who is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth. (*l*)

Fashionable as the doctrine of legal, conditional justification is, we may say to every individual that embraces it, There is one that condemns you, even Moses, in whom you trust, (*m*) and that very law on which you rest: for its language is, He that breaketh me only in one point is guilty of all: (*n*) and, Cursed is every man that continueth not in all things that are written in the book of the law to do them. (*o*) Show me the man who has never offended in one point; who hath continued in all things prescribed by Jehovah's perfect law; who loves the Lord with all his heart, and his fellow-creatures as himself; show me the man who, from the first to the last moment of his life, comes up to this standard, and then you will show me a man who can be justified by works of his own.

But if no such person could ever be found, Jesus Christ the righteous singly excepted, St. Paul's conclusion stands unshaken, that they who teach or hold justification by any other obedience than that of Christ, neither know what they say, nor whereof they affirm.

Yet, notwithstanding we neither are, nor can be, justified by the law; still the uses of the law are numerous and important: whence the apostle takes care to add, that the law is good, or answers several valuable purposes, if a man use it lawfully. Nothing can be more evident than that, by the law, in this place, is meant the moral law. The ceremonial could not possibly be intended; because it is not now to be adhered to, and is no longer in force: whereas the apostle speaks of a law which is, to this very day, unrepealed, and of standing use: the law is good, if a man use it lawfully Of this law there is a two-fold use: or rather, an use and an abuse. The use of the law is, among other things, first to convince us of our utter sinfulness; and then, secondly, to lead us to Christ, as the great and only fulfiller of all righteousness. Now the law does not answer these important ends directly, and of itself; but in a subserviency to the Holy Spirit's influence; (*p*) when that adorable person is pleased to make the law instrumental to the conversion of a sinner. In which case, having shaken us out of our self-righteousness, and reduced us to a happy necessity of closing with the righteousness of Christ; the law has still another and a farther use, no less momentous: for, thirdly, it from that moment forward stands as the great rule of our practical walk and conversation: seeing a true believer is not without law, (ανομος, a lawless person) towards God; but is εννομος,

(*l*) Romans x. 4.
(*m*) John v. 45. (*n*) James ii. 10.
(*o*) Galatians iii. 10.
(*p*) "A gracious sight of our vileness," says one of the ablest and most useful writers of the last century, "is the work of Christ only by his Spirit. The law is indeed a looking-glass; able to represent the filthiness of a person: but the law gives not eyes to see that filthiness. Bring a looking-glass, and set it before a blind man: he sees no more spots in his face than if he had none at all. Though the glass be a good glass, still the glass cannot give eyes: yet, if he had eyes, he would, in the glass, see his blemishes. The apostle James compares the law to a looking-glass; and a faculty to represent is all the law possesseth: but it doth not impart a faculty to see what it represents. It is Christ alone who opens the eyes of men to behold their own vileness and guilt. He opens the eyes, and then in the law, a man sees what he is."

within the bond of the law to Christ (*q*); not exempted from its control, as the standard of moral action; though delivered from its power and execration as a covenant of works.

These are the three grand lawful uses o the law. On the other hand, if any of us are so deplorably lost to all sense of christian duty and gospel privilege, as to suppose that by our own partial conformity to the law, how sincere soever it be, we can work out and work up a righteousness for ourselves, wherein to stand before the tribunal of God, and for which to obtain any favour at his hand, we use the law unlawfully; we sadly mistake the very end for which the law was promulgated, which was, that, under the efficacy of grace, and the teachings of the blessed Spirit, it might bring us to a knowledge of our (*r*) guilt, and a sense of our (*s*) danger; convince us of our (*t*) helplessness, and, as a schoolmaster, bring us to Christ, that we may be justified by faith, and not by the works of the law; for, by the works of the law, as performed by us, shall no flesh be justified. (*u*)

That grand error of the heart (for it is a heart-error, as well as a head-error; deeply rooted in our corrupt nature, as well as perniciously pleasing to unassisted reason), which misrepresents justification as at all suspended on causes or conditions of human performance; will, and must, if finally persisted in, transmit the unbeliever, who has opportunities of better information, to that place of torment where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.

The apostle goes on: knowing that the law is not made for a righteous man, but for the disobedient, &c. The phrase, a righteous man, means, in its strictly evangelical sense, one that is in Christ; or, who is righteous before God in the righteousness of his Son, apprehended by faith. Now, the law, *i. e.* the damnatory sentence of it, was not designed for such a person. Weak believers have sometimes a good deal to do with the law, and are apt to hover about Mount Sinai; but the law has nothing to do with them; any more than a creditor who has received ample payment from the hand of a surety can have any remaining claim on the original debtor. The law took as it were our heavenly bonds-man by the throat, saying, Pay me that thou owest. And Jesus acknowledged the demand. He paid the double debt of obedience and suffering to the utmost farthing. So that, as some render the words under consideration, the law lieth not against a righteous man; (*x*) its claims are satisfied; its sentence is superseded; its condemning power is abolished. And whoever have been enabled to fly for refuge to the righteousness of Christ, and to lay hold on the hope set before them, may depend on this, as a most certain truth, that Christ hath redeemed them from the curse of the law, having been himself made a curse for them. (*y*) Such are not under the law, whether as a covenant of works to be saved by, or as a denunciation of wrath to be condemned by, but they are under grace: (*z*) under that sweet dispensation of everlasting love which, when made known to the believing soul, at once ensures the practice of universal godliness, and refers the entire praise of salvation to the unmerited grace of Father, Son, and Spirit. I said that the dispensation of grace ensures the practice of universal godliness: for, considered as a rule of moral conduct, the law most certainly is designed for believers. And, indeed, only believers can yield real, acceptable, obedience to the law: for without faith it is impossible to please God, (*a*) and whatever proceedeth not from faith is sin. (*b*) Therefore, if God hath not wrought living faith in your heart, you have never performed one truly good work in your whole life.

St. Paul next proceeds to draw a catalogue of sins, against which the denunciations of the law are most eminently levelled; closing the list with the words first read, "And if there be any other thing that is contrary to sound doctrine." A plain intimation, that error, in principles fundamental, has a very unfavourable influence on practicals: and that, in proportion as the doctrines of God are disbelieved, the commandments of God will be disobeyed. Doctrinals, therefore, are not of that small significance which the injudicious and the heterodox affect to give out. For, though matters of doctrine are, by some, considered merely as the shell of religion, and experience only as the kernel; yet let it be remembered that there is no coming at the kernel but through the shell: and, while the kernel gives value to the shell, the shell is the guardian of the kernel. Destroy that, and you injure this.

The apostle, in the words before us, stamps the evangelical doctrines with the seal of dignity, usefulness and importance: as is evident from the epithet he makes use of. He calls the system of gospel-truths sound doctrine: ὑγιαινουσῃ διδασκαλια, salutary, health-giving doctrine; not only right and sound in itself, but conducing to the spiri-

(*q*) 1 Corinthians ix. 21.
(*r*) Romans iii. 20.
(*s*) Deuteronomy xxxiii. 2. Heb. xii. 18–21.
(*t*) Psalm cxix. 96. Romans viii. 3.
(*u*) Galatians iii. 24; and ii. 16.
(*x*) Δικαιῳ νομος ου κειται.
(*y*) Gal. iii. 13.
(*z*) Rom. vi. 14.
(*a*) Heb. x..
(*b*) Rom. xiv. 23.

tual strength and health of those that receive it: doctrine, that operates like some efficacious restorative on an exhausted constitution; that renders the sin-sick souls of men healthy, vigorous and thriving; that causes them, through the blessing of divine grace, to grow as the lily, and to cast forth the root as Lebanon, to revive as the corn, and to flourish as the vine, to diffuse their branches, and rival the olive tree (*c*) both in beauty and fruitfulness.

On the other hand, unsound doctrine has the very opposite effects. It impoverishes our views of God; withers our hopes; makes our faith languid; blasts our spiritual enjoyments; and lays the axe to the very root of Christian obedience. We may say of it, as the Jewish students said, on another occasion, there is death in the pot. If you eat it you are poisoned. With the utmost attention, therefore, should we attend to the apostle's caveat, and avoid every thing that is contrary to sound doctrine.

Many such things there are. I have not time even to recite, much less to expatiate on, them all. I shall, therefore, only endeavour, as God may enable me, to point out a few very common, but very capital errors, which are totally inconsistent with sound doctrine.

Previous to my entrance on this part of the subject, I would premise two particulars:

1. That what I am going to observe does not proceed from the least degree of bitterness against the persons of any from whom I differ; and,

2. That I am infinitely remote even from the slightest wish of erecting myself into a dictator to others.

The rights of conscience are inviolably sacred, and liberty of private judgment is every man's birthright. If, however, any, like Esau, have sold their birth-right for a mess of pottage, by subscribing to articles they do not believe, merely for the sake of temporal profit or aggrandisement; they have only themselves to thank for the little ceremony they are entitled to.—With regard to myself, as one whom God has been pleased to put into the ministry; above all, into the ministry of the best and purest visible church in the whole world; I should be a traitor to God, to Christ, to the Scriptures and to truth,—unfaithful to souls, and to my own conscience,—if I did not, without fear or favour, declare the entire council of God, so far as I apprehend myself led into the knowledge of it. Inconsiderable as I am, many of you are, no doubt, acquainted with the variety of reports that have been spread (especially since this time of my being in town), concerning me, and the doctrines by which I hold it my indispensible duty to abide. I deem myself, therefore, happy, in having one more opportunity to testify the little that I know concerning that mystery of the gospel which God ordained before the world for our glory. And I desire in the most public manner to thank the great Author of all consolation for a very particular instance of his favour, and which I look upon as one of the most felicitating circumstances of my whole life: I mean my early acquaintance with the doctrines of grace. Many great and good men, who were converted late in life, have had the whole web of their preceding ministry to unravel, and been under a necessity of reversing all they had been delivering for years before. But it is not the smallest of my distinguishing mercies that, from the very commencement of my unworthy ministrations, I have not had a single doctrine to retract, nor a single word to unsay. I have subscribed to the Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy, five separate times; and that from principle: nor do I believe those forms of sound words because I have subscribed to them: but I therefore subscribed them because I believed them. I set out with the gospel from the very first; and having obtained help from God, I continue to this day, witnessing both to small and great, saying no other things than Moses and the prophets, (*d*) Jesus and his apostles, have said before me. And, in an absolute dependence on the divine power and faithfulness, I trust that I shall, to the end, be enabled to count neither health, wealth, reputation, nor life itself, dear to me, so I may finish my course with joy, and fulfil the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God. (*e*)

> "Careless (myself a dying man
> "Of dying men's esteem;
> "Happy if thou, O God, approve,
> "Though all beside condemn."

If the most accomplished and respectable person of all heathen antiquity could declare that he "would rather obtain the single approbation of Cato than have a triumph voted to him by the senate," much more will a Christian minister prefer the approbation of God to all the evanid eclats of an applauding universe.

I shall arm myself, this afternoon, with a two-fold weapon: with the Bible in one hand; and our Church-Articles in the other. I shall appeal at once, for all I have to say, to the authority of God's unerring oracles; and to their faithful epitome, the decisions of the Church of England. They who, perhaps, set light by the Scriptures, may yet pay some decent deference to the Church;

(*c*) Hos. xiv. (*d*) Acts xxvi. 22. (*e*) Acts xx. 24.

and they who, it may be, pay little attention to Church-determinations, will render implicit credit to the Scriptures. So that, between the Bible and the Thirty-nine Articles, I hope I shall be able to carry my point, and, as far as my subject leads me, enter a successful caveat against whatever things are contrary to sound doctrine. In attempting this, I shall fix my foot upon Arminianism; which, in its several branches, is the gangrene of the Protestant Churches, and the predominant evil of the day.

What think you,

I. Of conditional election? We have, indeed, some who deny that there is any such thing as election at all. They start at the very word, as if it were a spectre, just come from the shades, and never seen before. I shall waste no time on these men.—They are out of the pale to which my allotted plan confines me at present. They cannot be Church of England men who proscribe a term that occurs so frequently in her offices and standards of faith; nor can they even be Christians at large who cashier, with affected horror, a word which, under one form or other, is to be met with between forty and fifty times, at least, in the New Testament only.

My business now is with those who endeavour to save appearances by admitting the word, while in reality they anathematize the things. These profess to hold an election: but then it is a conditional one, and founded, as they suppose, on some good quality or qualities foreseen in the objects of it. Thus bottoming the purposes of God on the precarious will of apostate men; and making that which is temporal the cause of that which was eternal. "The Deity," say persons of this cast, "foreknowing how you and I would behave, and foreseeing our improvements and our faithfulness, and what a proper use we should make of our free-will, ordained us, and all such good sort of people, to everlasting life."

Nothing can be more contrary to sound doctrine, and even to sound reason, than this. It proceeds on a supposition that man is beforehand with God in the business of salvation; and that the resolutions of God's will are absolutely dependent on the will of his creatures: that he has, in short, created a set of sovereign beings, from whom he receives law; and that his own purpose and conduct are shaped and regulated according to the prior self-determinations of independent man. What is this but atheism in a mask? For where is the difference between the denial of a first cause and the assignation of a false one?

Quite opposite is the decision of inspiration, Romans xi. 6; where the apostle terms God's choice of his people an election of grace, or a gratuitous election: and observes, that if it be of grace, then is it no more of works; otherwise grace were no more grace: but if it be of works, then is it no more grace; otherwise, work were no more work. Conditional grace is a most palpable contradiction in terms. Grace is no longer grace than while it is absolute and free. You might, with far greater ease, bring the two poles together, than effect a coalition between grace and works in the affair of election. As far, and as high, as the heavens are above the earth, are the imminent acts of God superior to a dependence on any thing wrought by sinful, perishable man.

Consult our seventeenth Article, and you will clearly see whether conditional election be the doctrine of the Church of England. "Predestination to life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby, before the foundations of the world were laid, he hath constantly decreed, by his counsel secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind; and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour." Is there a word about conditionality here? On the contrary, is not election, or predestination unto life, peremptorily declared to be God's own "everlasting purpose, decree, counsel, and choice?" The elect are said to be brought to salvation, not as persons of foreseen virtue and pliableness; but simply and merely "as vessels made to honour." Add to this, that the article goes on to stile election a benefit, or gift; "Wherefore they that be indued with so excellent a benefit."—But how could predestination to blessedness be so termed, if it were suspended on the foresight of something to be wrought by the person predestinated? For a condition in matters of spiritual concern is analogous to a price in matters of commerce: and a purchased gift is just as good sense as conditional grace.

Our venerable reformers were too well acquainted with the Scriptures, and with the power of God, to err on a subject of such unutterable moment. Whence, in the article now cited, they took care to lay God's absolute and sovereign election as the basis of sanctification; so far were they from representing sanctification as the groundwork of election. Our modern inverters of Christianity, the Arminians, by endeavouring to found election upon human qualifications, resemble an insane architect who, in attempting to raise an edifice, should make tiles and laths the foundation, and reserve his bricks and stones for the roof. *Quo sunt hominum virtutes, totidem sunt Dei dona,* said the learned and excellent Du Moulin: and, if sanctification be God's gift, men's goodness could not possibly be a motive to their election: unless we can digest this enormous absurdity, *viz.* that God's gifts

may be conditional and meritorious one of another. Do you imagine that God could foresee any holiness in men which himself did not decree to give them? You cannot suppose it, without believing at the same time that God is not the author of all good; and that there are, or may be, some good and perfect gifts which do not descend from the Father of lights; and that the apostle was widely mistaken when he laid down this axiom, that it is God who, of his own good pleasure, worketh in us both to will and to do.

According to our Church, God's election leads the van; sanctification forms the centre; and glory brings up the rear: (*f*) "Wherefore, they that be endued with so excellent a benefit of God, be called, according to God's purpose, by his Spirit working in due season: they, through grace, obey the calling; they be justified freely; they be made the sons of God by adoption." Hitherto good works are not so much as mentioned. Why so? Because our reformers were Antinomians, and exploded or despised moral performances? by no means. Those holy persons were, themselves, living confutations of so vile a suggestion. The tenor of their lives was as blameless as their doctrine. But they had learned to distinguish ideas, and were too judicious, both as logicians and divines, to represent effects as prior to the causes that produce them. They were not ashamed to betake themselves to the Scriptures for information, and to deliver out the living water of sound doctrine, pure and unmingled, as they had drawn it from the fountains of truth. Hence, election, calling, justification, and adoption, are set forth, not as caused by, but as the real and leading causes of, that moral change which, sooner or later, takes place in the children of God. For thus the article goes on: "They be made like the image of his only begotten Son, Jesus Christ; they walk religiously in good works; and, at length, by God's mercy, they attain to everlasting felicity."

This, then, is the order: 1. Election; 2. Effectual calling; 3. Apprehensive justification; 4. Manifestative adoption; 5. Sanctification; 6. Religious walking in good works; 7. Continuance in these to the end; which last blessing must, of necessity, be included, because the article adds that these elect, regenerate persons attain, at length, to everlasting felicity; which they could not do without final perseverance, any more than you or I, upon our departure from this Church, could arrive at our respective homes if we finally stopt short of them by the way. Such, therefore, being the chain and process of salvation, how impious and how fruitless must any attempt be, either to transpose, or to put asunder, what God has so wisely and inseparably joined together!

Unless we take absolute election into the account, we must either suppose that God saves no man whatever, or that those he saves, are saved at random and without design. But his goodness forbids the first; and his wisdom excludes the latter. Absolute election, therefore, must be taken into the account; or you at once, *ipso facto*, strike off either goodness or wisdom from the list of divine perfections. That scheme of doctrine must necessarily be untrue which represents the Deity as observing no regular order, no determinate plan, in an affair of such consequence as the everlasting salvation of his people. I cannot acquit of blasphemy that system which likens the Deity to a careless ostrich which, having deposited her eggs, leaves them in the sand, to be hatched, or crushed, just as chance happens. Surely He, who numbers the very hairs of his people's heads, does not consign their souls and their eternal interests to precarious hazard! the blessings of grace and glory are too valuable and important to be shuffled and dealt out by the hand of chance. Besides, if one thing comes to pass, either without, or contrary to, the will of God, another thing, nay, all things, may come to pass in the same manner: and then good bye to providence entirely.

When Lysander, the Spartan, paid a visit to king Cyrus (at Corinth, if I mistake not), he was particularly struck with the elegance and order, the variety and magnificence, of Cyrus's gardens.—Cyrus, no less charmed with the taste and judgment of his guest, told him, with visible emotions of pleasure, "These lovely walks, with all their beauty of disposition and vastness of extent, were planned by myself; and almost every tree, shrub and flower, which you behold, was planted by my own hand." Now when we take a view of the church, which is at once the house and garden of the living God; that church which the Father loved—for which the Son became a man of sorrows—and which the Holy Spirit descends from heaven, in all his plenitude of converting power, to cultivate and build anew;—when we survey this living paradise and this mystic edifice, of which such glorious things are spoken, (*g*) and on which such glorious privileges are conferred; must we not acknowledge—Thy sovereign hand, O uncreated love, drew the plan of this spiritual Eden! Thy hand, Almighty power, set every living tree, every true believer, in the courts of the Lord's house. Thy converted people

(*f*) Art. xvii.

(*g*) Psalm lxxxvii. 3.

are all righteous; they shall inherit the land for ever, even the branches of thy planting, the work of thy hands, that thou mayest be glorified. (*h*)

Admitting election to be thus a complete, eternal, immanent act in the divine mind, and consequently irrespective of any thing in the persons chosen; then (may some say) "farewell to gospel obedience; all good works are destroyed." If, by destroying good works, you mean, that the doctrine of unconditional election destroys the merit of good works, and represents man as incapable of earning or deserving the favour and kingdom of God, I acknowledge the force of the objection. Predestination does, most certainly, destroy the merit of our works and obedience, but not the performance of them: since holiness is, itself, one end of election (*i*), and the elect are as much chosen to intermediate sanctification, on their way, as they are to that ultimate glory which crowns their journey's end (*k*): and there is no coming at the one but through the other. So that neither the value, nor the necessity, nor the practice of good works, is superseded by this glorious truth; our acts of evangelical obedience are no more than marshalled, and consigned to their due place; restrained from usurping that praise which is due alone to the grace of God; and from arrogating that office which only the Son of God was qualified to discharge.

That election, as taught by the Scriptures (and thence by our reformers), not only carries a favourable aspect on universal piety and holiness, but even ensures the practice of both, is evident, among many other passages, from that of the apostle, 2 Thess. ii. 13, We are bound to give thanks, always, to God, for you, brethren, beloved of the Lord, because God hath, from the begining, *i. e.* from everlasting, chosen you to salvation through [not for, but through] sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth. How very opposite were St. Paul's views of the tendency of this doctrine from those of the Pelagian and Arminian objectors to it! They are perpetually crying out, that it "ruins morality, and opens a ready door to licentiousness." He, on the contrary, represents the believing consideration of it as a grand incentive to the exercise of our graces, and to the observance of moral duty. Let us, says he, who are of the day, who are enlightened into the knowledge of this blessed privilege, and can read our names in the book of life; let us, who are thus of the day, be sober; putting on the breast-plate of faith and love, and, for a helmet, the hope of salvation: for God hath not appointed us to wrath, but to obtain salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ. 1 Thess. v. 8, 9. Now, if election secures the performance of good works, and, upon its own plan, renders them indispensably necessary; I should be glad to know how good works can suffer by the doctrine of election? You may as well say that the sun which now shines into this Church is the parent of frost and darkness. No: it is the source of light and warmth. And you and I want nothing more than a sense of God's peculiar, discriminating favour, shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost given to us (*l*), to render us more and more fruitful in every good word and work. As an excellent person (*m*) observes, "that man's love to God will be without end, who knows that God's love to him was without beginning."

II. What think you of that fashionable tenet, so contrary to sound doctrine, concerning the supposed dignity and rectitude of human nature in its fallen state? A doctrine, as totally irreconcilable to reason and fact, as if an expiring leper should value himself on the health and beauty of his person; or a ruined bankrupt should boast his immensity of wealth.

As soon as we are born we go astray. Nay, I will venture, on Scripture authority, to carry the point higher still. All mankind are guilty and depraved before they are born. Behold, I was shapen in wickedness, and in sin did my mother conceive me (*n*). A thunder-bolt to human pride, and a dagger in the very heart of natural excellence! Thus speaks the Bible; and thus experience speaks. Our own Church, likewise, delivers her judgment in perfect conformity to both.

ARTICLE IX. *Of Original or Birth-Sin.*

"Original sin standeth not in the following' [or imitation] "of Adam, as the Pelagians (*o*) do vainly talk: but it is the

(*h*) Isa. lx. 21 (*i*) Eph. i. 4.

(*k*) "Because we deny salvation by our own deeds," says one of our good old divines, "the Papists charge us with being enemies to good works. But am I an enemy to a nobleman because I will not attribute to him those honours which are due only to the king? If I say to a common soldier in an army, You cannot lead that army against the enemy; will he therefore say, then I may be gone; there is no need of me? or, if I see a man at his day-labour, and say to him, you never will be able to purchase an estate of 10,000*l. per annum*, by working in that manner; will he therefore give over his work and say he is discouraged?"——Mr. Pare's Comm. on Romans, p. 177.

(*l*) Romans v. 5. (*m*) Dr. Arrowsmith.

(*n*) Psalm li.

(*o*) In this Article express mention is made of the Pelagians; but nothing is, by name, said of the Arminians. The reason is plain. At the time when our Articles passed the two houses of convocation, in the year 1562, Arminius, who was then only two years of age, for he was born A. D. 1560, had not begun to sow his tares: he was no more than a schismatic in embryo. Arminianism is a mushroom of later date than the re-establishment of the

fault" [by imputation], "and corruption [by internal, herditary derivation] "of the nature of every man who naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam: whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is, of his own nature, inclined to evil; so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit. And therefore, in every person born into this world, it" [namely, original, or birth-sin] "deserveth God's wrath and damnation."

Now what becomes of those plausible, sophistical similies, which compare the natural mind of man to a sheet of white paper? or, to a pliant ozier, which you may bend, with ease, this way or that? Or to a balance in æquilibrio, which you may incline to either side, according as you throw more or less weight into the scale? Or to a wax tablet, on which you may stamp what impressions you please? Alas! the impression is already made. The thoughts and purposes of man's heart, previous to regeneration, are (spiritually considered) only evil, and that continually (*p*). When converting grace lays hold of us, there is not only a heart of flesh to be given, but a heart of stone to be taken away (*q*). God must not only write his own law on the minds of his people; but must obliterate the law of sin and death, which has a prior footing in every man that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam. So much for the spiritual and moral rectitude of man while unregenerate.———

What think you,

III. Of conditional redemption? Another modish tenet; and no less contrary to reason and sound doctrine than the preceding. We are gravely told by some that "Christ did indeed die; but he did not die absolutely, nor purchase forgiveness and eternal life for us certainly: his death only puts us into a salvable state; making God placable, and pardon possible." The whole efficacy of his sufferings, according to these persons, depends on our being towardly and complying: which if we are, we then come in for a share in the subsidiary and supplementary merits of Christ; having first qualified ourselves for his aid by a performance of certain conditions required on our part, and entitled ourselves to the favour and notice of God.—According to this scheme (which is only the religion of nature spoiled;—spoiled by an injudicious mixture of nominal Christianity), the adorable Mediator, instead of having actually obtained eternal redemption (*r*) for his people, and secured the blessings of grace and glory to those for whom he died; is represented as bequeathing to them only a few spiritual lottery-tickets, which may come up, blanks or prizes, just as the wheel of chance and human caprice happens to turn. Our own righteousness and endeavours must, first, make the scale of eternal life preponderate in our favour; and then, the merits of Christ are thrown in, to make up good weight. The Messiah's obedience and sufferings stand, it seems, for mere cyphers; until our own free-will is so kind as to prefix the initial figure, and render them of value.—I tremble at the shocking consequences of a system which, (as one well observes) considers the whole mediation of Christ as no more than "a pedestal, on which human worth may stand exalted:" nay, (to use the language of another) which "sinks the Son of God—how shall I speak it?—into a spiritual huckster, who, having purchased certain blessings of his Father, sells them out afterwards to men upon terms and conditions!"

But, my brethren, I hope better things concerning you, even the things that accompany salvation. We have not, I trust, so learned Christ; or, rather, so mis-learned him, and the work he came from heaven to accomplish. God forbid that we should be found in the number of those who adopt a principle so highly derogatory from the glory of divine grace, and so deeply dishonourable to the great Saviour of sinners. To the law and to the testimony. How speaks St. Paul? He avers that Jesus, by the one offering of himself hath perfected for ever the salvation of them that are sanctified (*s*). And our Lord expressly declared, in the most solemn prayer that ever ascended from earth to heaven, I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do (*t*). Who, then, art thou, O man, that darest to tack an imaginary supplement of thy own to the finished work of Christ? Such a conduct,

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church of England by Elizabeth. It was not until the latter end of her reign that Arminianism had any great footing even in Holland, the seat of its nativity. I say, in Holland; for there this grand corruption of the reformation began; and thence it found its way to England. It was a Dutch wind that blew Arminianism over to this island, many years after our Articles were re-settled as we now have them. Therefore it is, that only Pelagianism is mentioned. However, though Arminianism is younger, by about 1200 years, than Pelagianism; its nature and tendency are much the same in fact. The seeming difference lies in little more than this: Pelagius spoke out; Van Harmin (commonly called Arminius), with more art, but less honesty, qualified and disguised the poison, that it might not be quite so alarming. Somewhat like what a good man remarked, long ago, concerning the leaven, or false doctrine, of the Pharisees: "Christ," says he, "compares the errors of the Pharisees to leaven. Why so? because of its secret mixture with the wholesome bread. You do not make your bread all of leaven; for then nobody will eat it: but you mingle it skilfully, and by that means, both go down together. Thus, our Lord intimates that the pharisees mixed their errors with some truths; and therefore he directs them to beware, lest with the truths they swallow the errors also." Gurnall's Christian Armour; vol. i. p. 101. Octavo edition.

(*p*) Genesis vi. 5. (*q*) Ezekiel xxxvi. 26.
(*r*) Heb. ix. 12. (*s*) Heb. x. 14.
(*t*) John xvii. 4.

were to charge incarnate truth with uttering a falsehood; and would be equivalent to saying, "No! Thou didst not finish the work of redemption which was given thee to do; thou didst indeed a part of it; but I myself must add something to it, or the whole of thy performance will stand for nothing."

He appeared once in the end of the world, or at the close of the Jewish dispensation,—to do what? to render sin barely pardonable, on the sinner's fulfilment of previous terms? No: but actually to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself (*u*). The apostle's expression is, that Christ appeared, Εις αθετησιν αμαρτιας, unto the utter abolition of sin: so that, by virtue of his perfect oblation, sin should neither be charged upon, nor eventually mentioned to, those for whom he was offered up. The iniquity of Israel shall be sought for and there shall be none; and the sins of Judah, and they shall not be found: for I will pardon them whom I reserve (*x*). In a word: either the death of Christ was not a real and perfect satisfaction for sin; or, if it was, then upon every principle of reason and justice, all that sin must be actually forgiven and done away, which his death was a true and plenary satisfaction for—on the supposition that his redemption was not absolute, it vanishes into no redemption at all. Go over therefore fairly and squarely to the tents of Socinus; or believe that Christ is the Lamb of God who, in deed and in truth, beareth and taketh away the sin of the world (*y*).

How speaks the Church of England, concerning this important matter? I refer you to her

31st Article, "Of the one oblation of Christ, finished upon the cross.

"The offering of Christ, once made, is that perfect redemption, propitiation and satisfaction, for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual: and there is no other sacrifice for sin, but that alone."

Do not let that expression, the whole world, stumble you. You remember what our *Te Deum* says: "When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, thou didst open the kingdom of Heaven to all believers." So in the above article;—The oblation of Christ once made for all the sins of the whole world: *i. e.* the whole world of believers: for God's elect are a world within a world. The whole world is a Scripture term, and the compilers of our articles did well in adopting it. But do you imagine that every individual of mankind is meant? surely, no; for, were redemption thus universal, salvation would and must be of equal extent: otherwise, either God the Father would be unjust, or the blood-shedding of Christ could not be (what our articles affirm it to have been) a perfect satisfaction for all sin. Let unlimited redemption be once proved, and I will take upon myself to prove unlimited salvation.

There are many Scripture passages, where the phrases world, and whole world, are, and must be understood in a restricted sense. So, where St. Paul thus addresses the Roman converts: your faith is spoken of, or celebrated, throughout the whole world, *i. e.* throughout the whole believing world, or Christian Church: for none but believers would applaud and celebrate the Romans for their faith in Christ, Rom. i. 8. —We are of God, says the apostle John, and the whole world lieth in the wicked one, 1 John v. 19. Where, if the whole world denote every individual of mankind, it would follow that both the apostle himself, and the Christians to whom he wrote, were, at that very time, in the wicked one; and consequently, that he was guilty of a self contradiction, in saying, we are of God.—In the Book of Revelations Satan is stiled the deceiver of the whole world, chap. xii. 9, and the whole world are said to wander after the beast, chap. xiii. 3, meaning a considerable part of the world.

Nay, even in daily conversation, it is customary with us to make use of the word world in a limited signification. So, when we speak of the learned world, the busy world, the gay world, the polite world, the religious world; we do not mean that every man in the world is learned, busy, gay, polite, or religious; we only mean those in the world who are so.

To close this head. Upon the supposition of a random redemption, and a precarious salvation, St. Paul's inference, "Who shall condemn? it is Christ that died;" might be easily answered and overthrown: since, if the Arminian hypothesis be true, millions of those for whom Christ died will be condemned; and what heightens the absurdity, condemned on account of those very sins for which Christ did die. A supposition exploded by the apostle as impossible.—Surely Christ knew for what, and for whom, he paid the ransom-price of his infinitely precious blood! Nor would the Father purchase to himself a church of elect persons for his own peculiar residence; and then leave Satan to run away with as many of the beams and pillars as he pleases. Equally contrary to sound doctrine is,

IV. The Tenet of justification by works.

All human righteousness is imperfect: and to suppose that God, whose judgment is always according to truth, will by a paltry

(*u*) Heb. ix. 26 (*x*) Jer. l. 20. (*y*) John i. 29.

commutation which he every where disclaims, and which the majesty of his law forbids, be put off with not only a defective but even a polluted, obedience, and justify men by virtue of such a counterfeit (at most a partial) conformity to his commandments; to imagine that the law accommodates itself to human depravation, and camælion like, assumes the complexion of the sinners with whom it has to do;—is antinomianism of the grossest kind. It represents the law as hanging out false colours, and insisting on perfection, while in fact it is little better than a formal patent for licentiousness; and degrades the adorable law-giver himself into a conniver at sin.

Add to this, that if God can consistently with his acknowledged attributes, and his avowed declarations, save guilty obnoxious creatures, without their bringing such complete righteousness as the law demands; it will necessarily follow that God, when his hand is in, may save sinners without any righteousness at all, since the same flexibility which (as the Arminians suppose) induces God to dispense with part of his law may go a step farther, and induce him to set aside the whole. Moreover, if our persons may be justified, without a legal (*i. e.* a perfect) righteousness; it will follow, on the same principle, that our sins may be pardoned without an atonement: and then farewell to the whole scheme of Christianity at once.

There are two grand axioms which enter into the very foundation of revealed religion:

1. That the law will accept no obedience short of perfect, as the condition of justification; and,

2. That ever since Adam's first offence, man has, and can have, no such obedience of his own.

What then must a sinner do to be saved? He must believe in and rest upon that Saviour who was, by gracious imputation, made sin for us, that we by a similar exchange, might be made the righteousness of God in him. (*b*) If this be the gospel scheme of salvation the apostle's assertion will be incontestible: As many of you as are justified by the law, or seek justification on the footing of your own works, are fallen from grace, (*c*) revolted and apostatised from that gospel system which teaches that men are justified by the grace of God, flowing through Christ's righteousness alone (*d*). Alas! how hardly are we brought to accept salvation as a gift of mere favour! We are for bringing a price in our hands, and coming with money in our sack's mouth: notwithstanding the celestial direction is, Buy wine and milk, without money and without price (*e*); *i. e.* take as absolute possession of pardon, holiness and eternal life, as if they were your own by purchase; but remember that you nevertheless have them gratis, without any desert, nay, contrary to all desert of yours.—We did not bribe God to create us; and how is it possible that we should pay him any thing for saving us?

Zeuxis, the celebrated Grecian painter used, towards the latter part of his life, to give away his pictures without deigning to accept of any pecuniary recompense. Being asked the reason, his answer was, "I make presents of my pictures because they are too valuable to be purchased.—They are above all price." And does not God freely give us a part in the book of life, an interest in his Son, and a title to his kingdom; nay, does he not make us a present of himself in Christ; because these blessings are literally above all price? too great, too high, too glorious, to be purchased by the works of man? because we cannot merit them, God is graciously pleased freely to bestow them.

It is equally sad and astonishing to observe the ingredients of that foundation on which self-justiciaries build their hopes of heaven. First, there is a stratum of free-will; then of good dispositions; then of legal performances: next a layer of what they term divine aids and assistances, ratified and made effectual by human compliances; then a little of Christ's merits; then faithfulness to helps received; and to finish the motley-mixture, a perseverance of their own spinning. At so much pains is a pharisee in going about to establish his own righteousness, rather than embrace the Bible-way of salvation by submitting to the righteousness of God the Son. (*f*)

Now, what says the Church of England concerning the cause and manner of our acceptance with the Father? Thus she speaks; and thus all her real members believe:

ARTICLE XI. *Of the Justification of Man.*

"We are accounted righteous before God only for the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." One would imagine this might have been enough to establish the point: but, utterly to preclude self-righteousness from all possibility of access, the Church immediately adds, "and not for our own works or deservings."

Here the old question naturally recurs, "What then becomes of good works?" The plain truth is, that, until a man is justified by faith he can do no good works at all.

ARTICLE XIII. *Of Works done before Justification.*

"Works done before the grace of Christ

(*b*) 2 Cor. 5. (*c*) Gal. v. 4 (*d*) Rom. v. 21. (*e*) Isa. lv. 1. (*f* Rom. x. 3.

and the inspiration of his spirit, are not pleasant to God:" and if so, how is it possible that he should justify us on account of them?——But why are they not pleasing to God? "Forasmuch," adds the article, "as they spring not from faith in Jesus Christ."

"Well, but," may some say, "admitting that works done before justification do not properly recommend us to God, they may at least, qualify us for believing; and thereby be remotely a condition, *sine quâ non*, of justification." The Church will not even allow of this. For, treating in the above article, of works prior to justification, she adds: "neither do they make men meet to receive grace." This clinches the nail; and cuts up self-righteousness root and branch.——But does the Church stop here? No: to put the whole matter as far beyond doubt as words can place it, she closes her decision thus: "Yea, rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but that they have the nature of sin." Now if works wrought previous to justification are sin, it is absolutely impossible that we should be justified by works; unless sin can be supposed to recommend us to God's favour. Which to imagine, were Antinomianism outright.——What think you,

V. Of the doctrine of uneffectual grace? A doctrine which represents Omnipotence itself as wishing and trying and striving to no purpose. According to this tenet, God, in endeavouring (for it seems it is only an endeavour) to convert sinners, may, by sinners, be foiled, defeated and disappointed:—He may lay close and long siege to a soul, and that soul can, from the citadel of impregnable free-will, hang out a flag of defiance to God himself, and by a continual obstinacy of defence and a few vigorous sallies of free-agency, compel him to raise the siege.—In a word; the Holy Spirit, after having for years, perhaps, danced attendance on the will of man, may at last, like a discomfited general, or an unsuccessful petitioner, be either put to ignominious flight, or contemptuously dismissed, *re infectâ*, without accomplishing the end for which he was sent.

Can then the Lord and giver of life; can he who, like the adorable Son, is God of God, and God with God; shall the Blessed Spirit of grace, who is in glory equal, and in majesty co-eternal, with the other two persons of the godhead, and has all power both in heaven and in earth;—shall he who hath the key of David; who openeth and no man shutteth; and shutteth and no man openeth; (*g*) shall he knock at the door of the human heart, and leave it at the option of free-will to insult him from the window, and bid him go whence he came? Surely, men's eyes must be blinded indeed, before they can lay down such a shocking supposition for a religious aphorism; and even go so far as to declare, that unless God is vanquishable by man, "There can be no such thing as virtue or vice, reward or punishment, praise or blame!"

The main root of the error consists greatly in not distinguishing between the gospel of grace, and the grace of the gospel. The gospel of grace may be rejected; but the grace of the gospel cannot. God's written message in the Scriptures, and his verbal message by his ministers, may or may not be listened to; whence it is recorded, All the day long have I stretched forth my hand to a disobedient and gainsaying people. (*h*) But when God himself comes, and takes the heart into his own hand; when he speaks from heaven to the soul, and makes the gospel of grace a channel to convey the grace of the gospel; the business is effectually done. If God makes a change who can turn him away (*i*)—Whatsoever he doth, it shall be for ever; nothing can be put to it, nor any thing taken from it: and God doth it that men should fear before him, (*k*) and acknowledge, that the excellency of converting power is of him, and not of us. (*l*).

A modern schismatic, now living, thought he both shewed his wit and gravelled his opponents in saying that, according to the doctrine of our Church, "The souls of men can no more vanquish the saving grace of God than their bodies can resist a stroke of lightning." I would ask the objector, whether he ever knew of any lightning like that which flashed from the Mediator's eye, when he turned and looked upon Peter? And something similar is experienced by every converted person. The Lord turns and looks upon a sinner, who then relents and cries out, with his whole heart, O Lord my God, other lords besides thee have had dominion over me; but now by thee, through the energy of thy renewing influence, will I make mention of thy name only.—Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire in comparison of thee (*m*). When God says to the heart, Seek thou my face; the reply is, and cannot but be, Thy face Lord will I seek (*n*). For God, who in the beginning of the creation commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath, by an exertion of power equally invincible, and as certainly effectual, shined into our hearts, to give us the light of the knowledge of God, as it is

(*g*) Rev. iii. 7. (*h*) Rom. x. 21.
(*i*) See the Marginal Translation of Job xi. 10. Eccl. iii. 14.
(*k*) 2 Cor. iv. 7. (*l*) Isa. xxvi. 13.
(*m*) Psalm lxxiii. 25. (*n*) Psalm xxvii 8.

manifested in the person and grace of Jesus Christ(*o*). Wherefore then do men say, We are lords, and we will come no more unto thee(*p*), except we ourselves choose it?—Alas, alas! did the matter rest with us, we should never choose to come to God at all. If he did not first change our wills we should never even will that great change, that internal regeneration, without which no man can see the kingdom of heaven(*q*). God, I am bold to declare, would not have been Lord of any hearts, now under this roof, had he not by the constraining power of his own love effectually gained them over, and invincibly attached them to his blessed self. The glorious and independent Creator made us at first without our leave; and yet according to the modern system, he must ask and wait for our leave before he can make us anew!

Do you desire to know the judgment of the Church upon this point? You have it in her 17th Article; where, speaking of God's elect people, she asserts that "they are called according to his purpose, by his Spirit working in due season," and immediately adds, that "they, through grace, obey the calling." God's converting call therefore is such as produces obedience to it: *i. e.* it is triumphantly efficacious; and rendered successful, not by the will and towardliness of the person called, but by the power and grace of him that calleth. Nay, so far is the efficacy of divine influence from being suspended on any internal or external ability of the creature, that in our 10th Article, concerning free-will, the Church expresses herself thus: "The condition of man since the fall of Adam, is such that he cannot turn, nor" even "prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works, to faith and calling upon God."

VI. What think you of Antinomianism?

By Antinomianism I mean that doctrine which teaches "That believers are released from all obligation to observe the moral law as a rule of external obedience: That in consequence of Christ's having wrought out a justifying righteousness for us, we have nothing to do but to sit down, eat, drink, and be merry: that the Messiah's merits supersede the necessity of personal inherent sanctification; and that all our holiness is in him, not in ourselves: that the aboundings of divine grace give sanction to the commission of sin; and in a word that the whole preceptive law of God is not established, but repealed and set aside from the time we believe in Christ." This is as contrary to sound doctrine, as it is to sound morals: and a man need only act up to these principles to be a devil incarnate. It is impossible that either the Son of God, who came down from heaven to perform and to make known his Father's will; or that the Spirit of God, speaking in the Scriptures and acting upon the heart, should administer the least encouragement to negligence and unholiness of life. Therefore that opinion which supposes personal sanctification to be unnecessary to final glorification, stands in direct opposition to every dictate of reason, to every declaration of Scripture.

Indeed the very nature of election, of faith, and of all covenant grace whatever, renders holiness absolutely indispensible; forasmuch as, without a spiritual and moral resemblance of God, there can be no real felicity on earth, nor any future enjoyment of heaven.—Suppose we appeal to experience? I speak now to you who know in whom ye have believed; to you who have received the atonement, and who have been sensibly reconciled to God by the death of his Son. If, at any time, ye have been off your guard, and suffered to lapse into sin: how have ye felt yourselves afterwards? Ye have gone with broken hearts and with broken bones(*r*). Ye have found it to be indeed an evil and a bitter thing to depart, though ever so little, from the Lord. Ye know, by dismal experience that the way of transgressors is hard; and that sin, like Ezekiel's Roll, is written within and without with lamentation and mourning and woe. The gall of bitterness is inseparable from the bond of iniquity. Upon the principle therefore of mere self-interest (to go no higher), a true believer cannot help aspiring to holiness and good works.

Heaven must be brought down into the human soul ere the human soul can be fitted for heaven. There must, as the school-men speak, be "a congruity and similitude between the faculty and the object," *i. e.* there must be an inward meetness for the vision and glory of God, wrought in you by his Holy Spirit, in order to render you susceptible of those exalted pleasures, and that fulness of joy which are in his presence and at his right hand for ever. Was thy soul, O unconverted sinner, to be this moment, separated from thy body, and even admitted into heaven (supposing it was possible for an unregenerate spirit to enter there). heaven would not be heaven to thee. You cannot relish the blessedness of the new Jerusalem, unless God in the meanwhile makes you partaker of a new nature. The Father chose his people to salvation; the Son purchased for them the salvation to which they were chosen; and the blessed Spirit fits and qualifies them for that salvation by his renewing influences: for as a dead man cannot inherit an estate, no more can a dead soul (and every soul is spiritually dead until quickened and born again of the Holy Ghost)

(*o*) 2 Cor. vi. 6. (*p*) Jer. ii 31. (*q*) John iii. 3. (*r*) Psalm li.

inherit the kingdom of God. Yet sanctification and holiness of life do not constitute any part of our title to the heavenly inheritance, any more than mere animal life entitles a man of fortune to the estate he enjoys: he could not indeed enjoy his estate if he did not live; but his claim to his estate arises from some other quarter. In like manner, it is not our holiness that entitles us to heaven, though no man can enter heaven without holiness. God's gratuitous donation, and Christ's meritorious righteousness, constitute our right to future glory: while the Holy Ghost, by inspiring us with spiritual life (of which spiritual life, good works are the evidences and the actings) puts us into a real capability of fitness for that inheritance of endless happiness which otherwise we could never in the very nature of things either possess or enjoy.

"Let it be observed," says one of the most learned and judicious writers of this age, "that Christ's active obedience to the law for us, in our room and stead, does not exempt us from personal obedience to it, any more than his sufferings and death exempt us from corporal death, or from suffering for his sake. It is true indeed we do not suffer and die, in the sense he did, to satisfy justice, and atone for sin: so neither do we yield obedience to the law, in order to obtain eternal life by it. By Christ's obedience for us we are exempted from obedience to the law, in this sense: but not from obedience to it, as a rule of walk and conversation, by which to glorify God, and express our thankfulness to him for his abundant mercies."—Travellers inform us, that in Turkey the partisans of the several denominations there are distinguished by the colour of their shoes: so that if you meet any person in the streets, you need only look at his feet to know of what religion he is. And may not the truth of grace be discerned to at least a high degree of probability by the life and conversation of those who make a religious profession? The man who says that he knows God, and in works denies him; who calls Christ, Lord, Lord, but does not the things that he enjoins; whose voice indeed is Jacob's voice, but his hands are the hands of (s) Esau; resembles our Saviour's persecutors and murderers of old, who bowed their knees and cried, Hail, King of the Jews! while they spit in his face, and smote him with the palms of their hands. The hypocrite's profession is dark and opaque: but that of a real saint is pellucid and transparent. The rays of grace in a genuine believer pervade his whole behaviour; and are transmitted through all the parts of his practical walk. Though every moral man is not therefore a Christian, yet every Christian is necessarily a moral man.

When Flaminius, the Roman general did, at the Isthmian games, announce freedom to Greece in the name of the Senate and people of Rome, the transported Greeks received the glorious news with such acclamations of gratitude, and thunder of applause, that some ravens which were flying over the Stadium, dropt down to the earth, stunned and senseless: the very games and exercises were neglected, and nothing but bursting eclats of admiring joy engrossed the day.—So when the Holy Spirit of consolation announces gospel-liberty and eternal redemption to the souls of the awakened, the love of sin, and the ravens of detested lusts, fall before his sacred influence. Both the toils and the pleasures of the world are regarded as insignificant when set in competition with the one thing needful. Holy wonder, love, and joy, quite engage the powers of the believer's mind, during the spring-tide consolations of his first manifestative espousals; and a sure foundation is, from that moment, laid for the performance of all those good works which are the fruits of salvation by grace. While faith is in exercise, and a sense of divine favour is warm upon the heart, a child of God is as much steeled to the allurements of sin as Octavius was cool to the meretricious charms of Cleopatra.

Thus conscientious obedience, though neither the cause nor condition of our justification in the sight of God, nor of our admittance into his glory, is, nevertheless, an essential branch both of privilege and duty, as well as a necessary indication of our acceptance in the Beloved. This is the point of view in which our Church considers good works: *viz.* not as preceding conditions of salvation, but as subsequent testimonies and marks of salvation already obtained

ARTICLE XII. *Of good works*

"Albeit that good works, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's judgment; yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith: insomuch that by them a lively faith may be as evidently known as a tree discerned by its fruit.'

(s) A very capital painter in London, lately exhibited a piece, representing a Friar, habited in his canonicals. View the painting at a distance, and your would think the Friar to be in a praying attitude: his hands are clasped together, and held horizontally to his breast: his eyes meekly demissed, like those of the publican in the gospel: and the good man appears to be quite absorbed in humble adoration and devout recollection.—But take a nearer survey, and the deception vanishes: the book which seemed to lie before him, is discovered to be a punch-bowl, into which the wretch is, all the while, in reality only squeezing a lemon.—How lively a representation of an hypocrite!

VII. What think you concerning the tenet of sinless perfection? which supposes that the very inbeing of sin may on earth, be totally exterminated from the hearts of the regenerate; and that believers may here be pure as the angels that never fell, yea (I tremble at the blasphemy) holy as Christ himself. To hold this heresy is the very quintessence of delusion; but to imagine ourselves really in the state it describes were the very apex of madness. Yet many such there are; some such I myself have known.

Indwelling sin and unholy tempers do most certainly receive their death's wound in regeneration: but they do not quite expire until the renewed soul is taken up from earth to heaven. In the mean time, these hated remains of depravity will, too often, like prisoners in a dungeon, crawl toward the window (though in chains) and show themselves through the grate. Nay, I do not know whether the strivings of inherent corruption for mastery be not frequently more violent in a regenerate person than even in one who is dead in trespasses: as wild beasts are sometimes the more rampant and furious for being wounded. A person of the amplest fortune cannot help the harbouring of snakes, toads, and other venemous reptiles on his lands; but they will breed and nestle and crawl about his estate, whether he will or no. All he can do is to pursue and kill them whenever they make their appearance; yet, let him be ever so vigilant and diligent, there will always be a succession of those creatures to exercise his patience and engage his industry. So is it with the true believer in respect of indwelling sin.

Would you see a perfect saint? you must needs go out of the world, then,—you must go to heaven for the sight: forasmuch as there only are the spirits of just men made perfect (*t*). This earth, on which we live, never bore but three sinless persons; our first parents in the short state of innocence; and Jesus Christ in the days of his abode below. Of the whole human race beside, it always was and ever will be true, that there is not a just man upon earth, who doeth good and sinneth not. The most forward and towering professors are not always the firmest and most solid Christians. Naturalists tell us that the oak is a full century in growing to a state of maturity: yet, though perhaps the slowest, it is one of the noblest, the strongest, and most useful, trees in the world. How preferable to the flimsy, watery, shooting willow!

Our Church enters an express caveat against the pestilent doctrine of Perfection in her 15th article, entitled "Of Christ alone without sin:" where she thus delivers her judgment:

"Christ in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things, sin only excepted, from which he was clearly void both in his flesh and in his spirit. He came to be a Lamb without spot, who by sacrifice of himself once made, should take away the sins of the world; and sin, as St. John saith, was not in him. But all we the rest (although baptized and born again in Christ) yet offend in many things: and if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us."

So it is declared, about the middle of the 9th Article, that the "infection of nature doth remain; yea, in them that be regenerated."—Let me just mention,

VIII. One more particular, contrary to sound doctrine: I mean the assertion of some who would fain persuade us that it is impossible for us to receive knowledge of salvation by the remission of sin. Such a denial is very opposite to the usual tenor of God's proceeding with his people in all ages. The best believers, and the strongest, may indeed have their occasional fainting fits of doubt and diffidence, as to their own particular interest in Christ; nor should I have any great opinion of that man's faith who was to tell me that he never had any doubts at all. But still there are golden seasons when the soul is on the mount of communion with God; when the Spirit of his Son shines into our hearts, and gives us boldness and access with confidence by the faith of him (*u*); and when *sunt sine nube dies* may be the Christian's exulting motto. Moreover, a person who is at all conversant with the spiritual life knows as certainly whether he indeed enjoys the light of God's countenance, (*x*) or whether he walks in darkness; (*y*) as a traveller knows whether he travels in sunshine or in rain. And as a great and good man (*z*) observes, "It is no presumption to read what was God's gracious purpose toward us of old, when he, as it were, prints his secret thoughts, and makes them legible in our effectual calling. In this case, we do not go up into heaven and pry into God's secrets: but heaven comes down to us and reveals them."

It may indeed be objected, that the Scripture doctrine of assurance when realized into an actual possession of the privilege, "may tend to foster pride, and promote carelessness." It cannot lead to pride; for all who have tasted that the Lord is gracious know by indubitable experience (and one fact speaks louder than a hundred

(*t*) Heb. xii. 23.
(*u*) Eph. iii. 12.
(*x*) Psalm lxxxix. 15.
(*y*) Isa. l. 10.
(*z*) Gurnall; vol. i. p. 127.

speculations), that believers are then lowest, at God's footstool, when they are highest on the mount of assurance. Much indulgence from earthly parents may indeed be productive of real injury to their children; but not so are the smiles of God; for the sense of his favour sanctifies whilst it comforts.—Nor can the knowledge of interest in his love tend to relax the sinews of moral diligence, or make us heedless how we behave ourselves in his sight. During those exalted moments, when grace is in lively exercise; when the disciple of Christ experiences

"*The soul's calm sunshine, and the heart-felt joy,*'

corrupt nature (that man of sin within), and every vile affection, are stricken as it were with a temporary apoplexy; and the believer can no more, for the time being, commit wilful sin than an angel of light would dip his wings in mud. No: it is when we come down from the mount, and mix again with the world, that, like Moses, we are in danger of breaking the tables of the law. "But is it not enthusiasm to talk of holding intercourse with God, and of knowing ourselves to be objects of his special love?" No more enthusiastical (so we keep within Scripture-bounds) than it is for a favourite child to converse with his parents, and to know that they have a particular affection for him. Neither, in the strictest reason and nature of things, is it at all absurd to believe and expect that God can and does and will communicate his favour to his people, and manifest himself to them as he does not to world (*a*) at large.

Yet, though God is thus graciously indulgent to many of his people (I believe to all of them at some time or other between their conversion and death); still, if they trespass against him he will not let their offences pass unnoticed nor uncorrected. Though grace itself is inamissible, the comfort of it may be sinned away. Salvation is sure to all the redeemed; but the joy of it may be lost. Psalm li. 12. Great peace have they that love thy law; and they only. Holiness and consolation are wisely and intimately connected. In proportion as we are enabled to live near to God, to walk humbly and closely with him, and to keep our moral garments clean, we may hope for freedom of intercourse with him, and to assure our hearts before him (*b*): like the happy believers of old, concerning whom it is said, that they walked at once in the fear of the Lord and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost (*c*).

Let not, however, what has been observed concerning the blessing of assurance, stumble or discourage the feeble of God's flock, on whom, for reasons wise and good, it may not hitherto have been his pleasure to bestow this unspeakable gift. The Scripture plainly and repeatedly distinguishes between faith; the assurance of faith; and the full assurance of faith: and the first may exist where the other two are not. I know some who have, for years together, been distressed with doubts and fears, without a single ray of spiritual comfort all the while. And yet I can no more doubt of their being true believers than I can question my own existence as a man. I am sure they are possessed not only of faith in its lowest degree, but of that which Christ himself pronounces great faith (*d*): for they can at least say, Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof; but speak the word only, and thy servant shall be healed.—Faith is the eye of the soul, and the eye is said to see almost every object but itself: so that you may have real faith without being able to discern it. Nor will God despise the day of small things.——Little faith goes to heaven no less than great faith; though not so comfortably, yet altogether as surely. If you come merely as a sinner to Jesus, and throw yourself, at all events, for salvation on his alone blood and righteousness, and the grace and promise of God in him, thou art as truly a believer as the most triumphant saint that ever lived. And amidst all your weakness, distresses and temptations, remember that God will not cast out nor cast off the meanest and unworthiest soul that seeks salvation only in the name of Jesus Christ the righteous. When you cannot follow the rock, the rock shall follow you; nor ever leave you for so much as a single moment, on this side the heavenly Canaan. If you feel your absolute want of Christ, you may, on all occasions, and in every exigence, betake yourself to the covenant love and faithfulness of God, for pardon, sanctification and safety; with the same fulness of right and title as a traveller leans upon his own staff, or as a weary labourer throws himself on his own bed, or as an opulent nobleman draws upon his own banker for whatever sum he wants.——I shall only detain you farther while I warn you

IX. Against another limb of Arminianism totally contrary to sound doctrine: I mean that tenet which asserts the possibility of falling finally from a state of real grace. God does not give, and then take away. He does indeed frequently resume what he only lent; such as health, riches, friends, and other temporal comforts: but what he gives, he gives for ever. In a way of grace, the gifts and calling of God are without repentance (*e*): he will never repent of bestowing

(*a*) John xiv. 21, 22. (*b*) John iii. 19. (*c*) Acts ix. 31. (*d*) Matt. viii. 8. 10. (*e*) Rom. xi. 29.

them; and every attribute he has forbids him to revoke them. The blessings of his favour are that good part which shall not be taken from those who have it (*f*).

A parent of moderate circumstances may give his children something to set up with in the world, and address them to this effect: "I have now done for you all that is in my power to do, and gone as far as my circumstances will allow: you must henceforward stand on your own feet, and be good husbands of the old stock. The preservation and improvement of what I have given you must be left to chance and yourselves." In this very view does Arminianism represent the Great Father Almighty. But how does Scripture represent him? as saying, I will never leave thee or forsake thee (*g*):—Even to your old age I am he; and even to hoary hairs will I carry you; I have made, and I will bear, even I will carry and will deliver you (*h*).——My sheep hear my voice, and I know them and they follow me; and I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hand (*i*). In a word: if any of God's people can be finally lost, it must be occasioned either by their departing from God, or by God's departure from them. But they are certainly and effectually secured against these two, and these only possible, sources of apostacy. For thus runs the covenant of grace; I will make an everlasting covenant with them, that I will not turn away from them, to do them good; and I will put my fear in their hearts, that they shall not depart from me, Jer. xxxii. 40. Now if God will neither leave them, nor suffer them to leave him, their final perseverance in grace to glory must be certain and infallible.

Having greatly exceeded the limits I designed, I shall forbear to adduce the attestations of the Church of England to the doctrines of assurance and perseverance: especially seeing I have done this somewhat largely elsewhere (*k*).——I must not however conclude without observing that irreversible justification on God's part, and subjective assurance of indefectibility on ours, do by no means invest an offending Christian with immunity from sufferings and chastisement. Thus Nathan said to David, The Lord hath put away thy sin, thou shalt not die: yet was he severely scourged, though not disinherited, for his transgressions. The tenor of God's immutable covenant with the Messiah, and with his people in him, is this: His seed will I make to endure for ever, and his throne as the days of heaven. If his children forsake my law, and walk not in my judgments; if they break my statutes, and keep not my commandments; then will I visit their transgression with the rod, and their iniquity with stripes: nevertheless my loving kindness will I not utterly take from him, nor suffer my faithfulness to fail. My covenant will I not break, nor alter the thing that is gone out of my lips. I have sworn once for all, by my holiness, that I will not lie unto Jesus the Anti-typical David, by suffering any of his redeemed people to perish. (*l*) Hence, as it is presently added, they shall be established for ever, as the moon; and as a faithful witness in heaven: nay, they shall stand forth and shine when the sun is turned into darkness, and the moon into blood; when the stars shall drop from their orbits, and the powers of heaven shall be shaken. As an excellent person somewhere observes, "Our own unbelief may occasionally tear the copies of the covenant given us by Christ, but unbelief cannot come at the covenant itself. Christ keeps the original deed in Heaven with himself, where it can never be lost."

Upon the whole: are these things so? Then,

1. How great and how deplorable is the general departure from the Scripture doctrines of the Church of England, and the first principles of the reformation!

2. How blessed are the eyes that see, how happy are the hearts that feel, the propriety and the energy of these inestimable truths! And,

3. How ought such to demonstrate their gratitude by a practical glorification of God, in their bodies, and in their spirits, which are his! Resemble thunder in your boldness for God, and your zeal for truth: but let your lives shine as lightning, and flash conviction in the faces of those who falsely accuse your good conversation in Christ, and as falsely charge the doctrines of God with a licentious tendency.—But let not your zeal be of the inflammatory kind: let it be tempered with unbounded moderation, gentleness, and benevolence; and shine forth as the

(*f*) Luke x. 42. (*g*) Heb. xiii. 5. (*h*) Isa. xlvi. 4.

(*i*) John. x. 28. True, said an Arminian schismatic, grown grey in the service of error, and who still goes up and down sowing his tares, seeking whom he may devour, and compassing sea and land to make proselytes: "True; Christ's sheep cannot be plucked forcibly out of his hand by others: but they themselves may slip through his hands, and so fall into hell and be eternally lost." They may slip, may they? as if the Mediator in preserving his people, held only a parcel of eels by the tail! Is not this a shameless way of slipping through a plain text of Scripture? But I would fain ask the slippery sophister how we are to understand that part of the last cited passage which expressly declares, concerning Christ's people, that they shall never perish, since, perish they necessarily must and certainly would, if eventually separated from Christ; whether they were to be plucked out of his hands, or whether they were only to slip through them. I conclude then that the promise made to the saints, that they shall never perish, secures them equally against the possibility of being either wrested from Christ's hand or of their own falling from it: since, could one or other be the case, perish they must, and Christ's promise would fall to the ground.

(*k*) The Church of England vindicated from the charge of Arminianism.

(*l*) Psalm lxxxix. 30.

sun, with healing in its wings. Remember who it is that hath made thee to differ from others; and that a man can receive nothing except it be given him from heaven, John iii. 27.

Not unto us, therefore O Lord, not unto us, but to thy name alone, be the praise of every gift, and of every grace ascribed; for thy loving mercy, and for thy truth's sake. Amen.

POSTSCRIPT.

TO THE

Parishioners of St. Matthew, Bethnal-Green.

GENTLEMEN,

BEFORE the preceding sermon could get through the press, the Rev. Mr. Haddon Smith, who it seems serves you as curate, has thought proper to publish a discourse which he delivered in opposition to this, the Sunday after I had the honour of preaching it before you.

It would render that unthinking, but I would hope well-meaning, gentleman much too considerable were I either to address him by name, or descend to canvass a performance wherein heat and scurrility endeavour to supply the total vacuity of argument. —For Mr. Smith to enter the lists with such exceeding fierceness against a sermon which he did not hear, and which hitherto he has had no possible opportunity of reading, discovers a weakness and temerity in him, which sink him as low beneath my notice as the established doctrines of our excellent Church rise superior to his impotence of censure. When the gentleman shall appear to have at all considered the important articles of faith on which he has presumed to animadvert; when the sails of his furious zeal shall be counterballasted by some little degree of judgment; and when he has learned to express himself, if not with Christian decency, yet with common grammatical propriety; then, and not till then, shall I deem him a proper object of attention.

You, gentlemen, can testify that I never once appeared in your pulpit but at your own particular request: a request which I could not possibly have any interested motives for complying with, as I never accepted of the smallest gratuity for my attendance. Is it for this that the enraged curate has repeatedly traduced me from the pulpit, and now insults me from the press?

For my own part I am so far from entertaining any resentment against Mr. Smith (with whom I do not remember to have exchanged five words in my life, and whom I should not even know at sight), or from being deterred by his unmerited abuse; that should I live to see London again I shall always deem myself happy to wait on you as usual, whenever either your own desire or the interest of your public charity may command. And as so many of you have favoured me with uncommon civility and attention, I am encouraged to offer one request; a request not in behalf of myself, but of Mr. Smith; *viz.* that his ill-judged and unbecoming warmth may not so far alienate your affection from his person as to make you persist in withdrawing those usual proofs of your beneficence which formerly you have favoured him with; and which I am sorry to be informed have of late, through his defect of candour and humility, been considerably lessened.

My sermon and his are now before the public. The rashness and seeming malignity with which he appears desirous to plunge into the depths of an unequal contest, might in the opinion of some justify me in the amplest severity of animadversion. But I spare him. I cannot prevail with myself to render evil for evil, or railing for railing. On the contrary, I wish and pray that divine grace may cause him to partake of the mind which was in Christ Jesus; and that he may by the same Almighty influence be made to experience, to believe, and to preach, the inestimable truths of that gospel which Jesus taught.

Mr. John Wesley (on whose plan of doctrine your curate seems in great measure to have formed his own) is the only opponent I ever had whom I chastised with a studious disregard to ceremony. Nor do I in the least repent of the manner in which I treated him. To have refuted the forgeries and perversions of such an assailant tenderly, and with meekness falsely so called, would have been like shooting at a highwayman with a pop-gun, or like repelling the sword of an assassin with a straw. I rather blame myself, on a review, for handling Mr. Wesley too gently; and for not acquainting the world with all I know concerning the man and his communication. I only gave him the whip when he deserved a scorpion.

But as to Mr. Smith, he hitherto, amidst all his ignorance and unguardedness, merits a milder treatment. Want of talents and of thought appear in every paragraph of his sermon: but I am willing to believe him not wholly destitute of integrity. Though he opposes the doctrines of the Church of England with virulence, yet he seems to do so from principle. Under this persuasion I at present give him rope. Hereafter, should he rise into any thing like a respectable antagonist, I may perhaps hook him and pull him in. Until then, I take my leave, both of the curate and of his preachment, with that justly admired line, which is at once, equally picturesque of his behaviour, and expressive of my fixed determination;

Tu *loqueris lapides: Ego byssina verba reponam.*

I am, with much respect and regard,
Gentlemen,
Your obliged and obedient Servant
AUGUSTUS TOPLADY

JESUS SEEN OF ANGELS.

(PART I.)

The substance of which was preached in the parish church of Broad Hembury, Devon; December 25, 1770.

Herein is love; not that we loved God, but that he loved us; and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins.—1 John iv. 10.

SERMON II.

Seen of angels.—1 Timothy iii. 16.

WITHIN the compass of this single verse, St. Paul comprizes several fundamental Articles of the Christian Faith. The whole passage, so far as it extends, may be considered as a little system of divinity; and literally deserves the name of the Apostle's Creed. And such compendiums as this, of which there are many in Holy Scripture, seem to have given the first hint, at least, to the primitive Churches, of declaring their attachment to Jesus and his gospel, in set formularies and confessions of faith.

Indeed, the apostle himself appears to intimate something of this kind, when, writing to the Romans, he told them, Ye have, from the heart, submitted to that mould, or model of doctrine, into which ye were delivered (*m*). So, likewise in his Second Epistle to Timothy, he thus directs that young divine; Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me (*n*): where the ὑποτύπωσις, ὑγιαινοντων λογων, *i. e.* the copy, pattern, or outline of sound doctrines, mentioned by the apostle, strongly seems to refer to some elementary sketch, or summary of principles, previously given to Timothy, as a rule by which to proceed, in the doctrines he should publicly deliver as a preacher. So very far are, what have been since called, Creeds and Articles of Faith from being contrary, as such, either to the letter, or to the spirit of the gospel.

The expedience, propriety, and even necessity of these, appear, among other considerations, hence; that, without some given model, or determinate plan of doctrine, deduced from the sacred Scriptures, it will be *impossible*, either for ministers or people, to form just and connected ideas of divine things. Unless the pearls, which are scattered at large in the gospel-field, be marshalled into some kind of order, and reduced

(*m*) Rom. vi. 17. Ὑπηκουσατε δε εκ καρδιας εις ὁν παρεδοθητε τυπον της διδαχης. In allusion, either to softened wax, which implicitly admits the impression of the stamp; or to metals, reduced to a state of fusibility, which assimilate themselves to the figure of the mould into which they are cast.—The acute and learned author of The Confessional seems very unwilling to admit the probability of St. Paul's referring to any fixed formulary of doctrine, either in the passage last cited, or in the corresponding ones of 1 Tim. iv. 6; 1 Tim. vi. 3; and 2 Tim. i. 13. Let us hear this able writer speak for himself. "The Greek words, in these several passages which are supposed to signify this standard or fixed formulary, run thus: Τυπος διδαχης.——Ὑποτυπωσις ὑγιαινοντων λογων—Δογμα πιστεως και καλης διδασκαλιας—Ὑγιαινοντες λογοι ὁι τα κυριου ἡμων Ἰησου Χριστου, και ἡ κατ' ευσεβειαν διδασκαλια. Now, who a capable and unprejudiced reader considers the variety of expression, in these several passages, he will probably be inclined to think that a fixed formulary of doctrine is the last thing a plain man would look for in them. A fixed formulary, one would think, should have a fixed title. Nor is it at all probable that one and the same form of words should be described in terms which may denote an hundred different forms." Confessional, p. 95, 96. 3d. Edit.

1. It matters very little, whether the apostolic formularies, delivered to different persons, were syllabically, and verbatim, one and the same, or not. Their being materially and substantially the same, as to their sense and meaning, was sufficient to secure the point aimed at, *viz.* unity of doctrine. The variety of titles, therefore, assigned to these fixed formularies (for such there seem to have been) is, in reality, no objection to the doctrinal unity of the formularies themselves, supposing them to have been ever so numerous. But, 2. After all, there is no necessity for admitting even a verbal diversity of apostolical standards; at least, of those drawn up by one and the same apostle. Those, for instance, given by St. Paul, were, in all probability, not only materially, but verbally, alike. Whoever considers this apostle's masterly command of the copious language in which he wrote, will hardly, I should imagine, be surprized at the variety of titles given, in different parts of his epistles, to perhaps one and the same summary; especially, as those various titles are all coincident in sense, and, one as well as another, strictly compatible with a fixed apostolic formulary. Thus, for example, the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England may be termed (I mean by the few who believe them) Τυπος διδαχης, Ὑποτυπωσις ὑγιαινοντων λογων, Δογμα πιστεως, &c. and yet remain the same identical Articles, under all this variety of titles.

But the Confessionalist is inclined to believe, that in Rom. vi. 17, τυπος διδαχης is, in particular, a phrase "absolutely unintelligible," if not referred to "the exemplification of the Christian doctrine, in the practice of pious believers." If, however, we read the apostle's words, through the medium of the metaphor to which he (I think, plainly) alludes; the absolute unintelligibility of which the learned writer seems apprehensive, vanishes at once: and a sense arises (not very favourable, indeed, to the main hypothesis of the Confessional, but) proper in itself, unforced in its deduction, and very intelligible by all. A sense, too, which is, at least, extremely probable to have been that the eloquent apostle intended to convey; as his admirable compositions very frequently derive both ornament, strength and perspicuity, from the adhibition of imagery and allusion, in which he greatly dealt, and as greatly excelled.—I have the satisfaction to find my argument confirmed by the suffrage of a very respectable commentator, whose learning no man, I believe, who has any learning himself, will venture to contest. He observes, that "the word דְּפוּס, which is the same with τυπος here, is used, by the Jewish writers, for a form, copy, or exemplar, of any sort of writings." Dr. Gill, on Rom. vi. 17. Every one knows that even our common Lexicons interpret τυπος by Formula, Norma, Institutum. Scapula, particularly, intimates, that τυπος sometimes signifies a compendium; for which he cites that passage of Aristotle, τυπῳ τ' ἀληθες ειδεναι ουσθαι, and this of Theophrast. εν τυπῳ και ουδεν ειπειν.—I should extend this note beyond all reasonable bounds were I to pursue the argument further. I shall, therefore, only add, that the very particular notice which the author of the Confessional has condescended to take of me, for some pages together, in the last edition of his celebrated work; above all, the charge of flagrant inconsistency with myself, in my defence of subscription to fixed formularies; have brought me pretty deeply into this writer's debt; and if my many avocations will give me leave, I design to embrace the first opportunity of coolly and respectfully balancing accounts with this able combatant of creeds, whose talents I revere, at the same time that I deplore their misapplication.

(*n*) 2 Tim. i. 13

in a regular chain, we can never preach, as the apostle directs, according to the analogy of the faith (*o*): *i. e.* in exact agreement with that nice connection and mutual relation, which the several doctrines of faith have in common with each other; so as to make, of the whole, one consistent, uniform, unclashing system; like an instrument of music, in perfect tune, without one discordant string; or, like a consummate picture, wherein every stroke is correlative, and symmetry and just proportion reign throughout. Such is the picture of Christianity, drawn by St. Paul, in the verse before us. A miniature piece, indeed, it is; but the design is happy, and the finishing masterly. The first sentence may stand as a motto to the whole: Without controversy, great is the mystery of godliness. More literally, the mystery of religion is confessedly great. Where, by godliness, or religion, are evidently meant the distinguishing doctrines of Christianity; and, by mystery, the obscurity, or incomprehensibility, with which those truths are more or less attended, during man's present benighted state below. I explain the term mysterious, by incomprehensible, because, properly speaking, the mysteriousness of divine objects does not so much arise from the nature of the objects themselves, as from our inability to comprehend them. The darkness is in us, not in them. It is the imperfection of human reason, both as to light, capacity, and strength, which gives birth to the mysteries. Thus many things, unfathomable by men, are self-evident to angels: and things still more obscure, in whose contemplation even angels would lose their depth, are, to God, clearer than meridian day.

In direct opposition both to Scripture and common sense, there are writers who make no scruple to assert roundly that Christianity is not mysterious: and that "whatever doctrines are involved in mystery ought, for that very reason, to be rejected as false." If we admit this, we must, to be consistently complaisant, renounce our senses, as well as our faith, and throw philosophy into the same grave with Christianity. For, are not the mysteries of nature, no less than those of grace, confessedly great? Did that philosopher ever live who knew the real texture, and could explain all the properties, even of a single atom that floats in the air, or a particle of sand upon the sea-shore? And yet, to deny the existence of these bodies, merely because we know not what they are, nor how they exist, were madness outright. Every object that surrounds us, even those with which we are experimentally conversant, defeat our most laboured researches, and laugh our penetration to scorn. If, then, there is more comprized in the most inferior and familiar instances of divine wisdom than, perhaps, philosophy will be able to elucidate while the world remains; why should we start, at being told from Scripture, that great is the mystery of godliness? Surely, reason itself will acknowledge, that so far from not being mysterious at all, things spiritual and heavenly must, from the transcendent superiority of their very nature, be abundantly more mysterious than the objects of sense. The higher we go the stronger this observation binds. In the scale of beings, the farther our contemplation ascends, the more must our difficulty of comprehension increase. Matter, both in itself and in its various modifications, is inexplicably mysterious; the nature of spirit, whether human or angelic, is more mysterious still; and God, the infinite, uncreated Spirit, is most mysterious of all (*p*).

If the fashionable maxim be true, that "our faith should go no farther than the clearness of our ideas:" *i. e.* in other words, if all mysteries are to be cashiered and expunged without mercy; we have nothing to do but to commence infidels and madmen at once. We must, by parity of argument, deny the existence of every object whatever in the whole compass of nature; because there is not a single object which we perfectly understand. We must deny the being of a Deity, because our reason is at a loss to explain his essence and manner of operation. We must deny our own existence, because we are ignorant both of the particles whereof our bodies are composed, and of the nature of that soul by which the human body is actuated. In short, resolve to believe no mysteries, and you virtually resolve to believe nothing at all: for every thing is mysterious in a greater or less degree, from the highest arch-angel down to the most imperceptible animalcule; and from the sun in the firmament down to the minutest particle of matter. The very terms which philosophy is forced to make use of prove the scantiness of that rational cordage which, unable to sound a drop of common water, would madly presume to fathom infinity. What, for instance, is attraction? What is repulsion? names for certain effects, of whose real causes we are in the main as utterly ignorant as the boy that holds the plough, or as the peasant that directs the team.

(*o*) Rom. xii. 6.

(*p*) "Some of Epictetus's scholars observed to that philosopher that he had told them many excellent things concerning God; but that still they could not comprehend his nature. To this the admirable stoic is said to have answered, *Si omnino ego Deum declararem, vel ego Deus essem, aut ille Deus non foret*: *i. e.* were I able fully to set forth God, I must either be God myself, or God himself must cease to be so." See Arrowsmith's Chain of Pr. p. 131.

In the front of religious mysteries, St. Paul places the miraculous and supernatural incarnation of Jesus Christ. "God was manifested in the flesh:" God the Son, who in the covenant of redemption had taken upon him to deliver man, became man to accomplish that deliverance. The truth of his divinity is demonstrable from the whole current of Scripture; and the truth of his human nature, or the reality of his manifestation in the flesh, is evident from his having been liable in general to the sinless infirmities incident to men. He slept; he shed tears; he experienced hunger, thirst, and weariness; he was acquainted with pain of body and distress of mind. In one respect indeed he seems to have been exempted from the common lot of other human beings; we no where find, to the best of my remembrance, that he ever so much as once, experienced any attack of sickness or disease (*q*). The reason of this extraordinary circumstance was no doubt owing to the sinless formation of his humanity, by the immediate operation of the Holy Ghost. Sin was that which introduced every kind of *αταξια* into the human system; and disease among the rest. But the man Christ Jesus was formed and conceived totally without stain. Hence he was, like our first parents before the fall, naturally immortal; nor could he have died, had he not, by an act of gracious susception, taken the guilt of men upon himself, and become responsible to divine justice for the utmost payment of their penal debt. And even under those circumstances we read that his death, though violent, was voluntary. His resignation of life is constantly represented in Scripture as his own act and deed. For, exclusively of his union with the second person in the godhead, his absolute freedom from sin would of itself have been a certain security from the possibility of dying. Hence the evangelists express themselves thus; *αφηκε το πνευμα*, he dismised, or let go his spirit, Matthew xxvii. 50. *παρεδωκε το πνευμα*, he resigned, delivered up, or made a surrender of his spirit, John xix. 30. St. Mark's and St. Luke's *εξεπνευσε*, taken in connection with John x. 18. evidently carries the same import

As Christ was manifested in the flesh, so was he justified in the spirit: not only justified as to the divinity of his person and mission, and proved to be the Son of God by the miracles which he wrought in conjunction (*r*) with the Holy Spirit; but likewise spiritually justified by God the Father from all those sins which, as the dying Surety of his people, he had taken upon himself to expiate. He was thus spiritually or mystically justified, and received his open discharge, as a sin-bearing and a sin-atoneing Saviour, when he was raised from the dead, and released from the prison of the tomb: when the Sun of Righteousness emerged from his sad, but short, eclipse; and rose to set no more.

He was moreover seen of angels; seen with joy and adoration, by the angels that never fell; seen with envy and dismay, and acknowledged with reluctance, by the apostate spirits who kept not their first estate. The apostle adds, that he was preached unto the Gentiles: preached under his two-fold character of God and Mediator; preached as the only sacrifice for sin, and as the everlasting righteousness of believing sinners: preached by all his faithful ministers, in every age, as well under the legal as under the gospel dispensation. And he will still be preached to the end of time, as long as there is one elect sinner uncalled, and until all the vessels of mercy are brought to the saving knowledge and love of himself.

In consequence of being thus preached unto the Gentiles, he is, and will continue to be, believed on in the world. The Holy Spirit makes, and will persist to make, the preaching of Christ crucified the grand channel of his converting power. Pharisees, convinced of sin, shall be dislodged from reliance on their own works, and seek to Jesus for righteousness and strength. Hell-deserving offenders, who once saw no comeliness in Christ, but perhaps blasphemed his name, despised his cross, and trod all his commandments under their feet; pierced with the keen, but salutary arrow of penitential anguish, and melted down by effectual grace, shall look for salvation to Him whom they have pierced, and mourn in the bitterness of their souls, as one that mourneth for his first-born. All his people throughout the world shall believe in him: some with an assured, some with a faltering, faith; but they shall all believe; just as, when the Israelites were wounded by the flying serpents in the wilderness, some looked to the brazen image steadfastly; others feebly; some had a full, near and distinct view of the elevated remedy, others had a distant, imperfect, confused sight of it; and many perhaps could but just raise their eyes toward the object, and hardly caught a glimpse of it: yet they all looked after some rate or other; and all who did were healed. So all the people of Christ reach forward towards his righteousness; some with a strong, some with a trembling, hand; but they shall all grasp at it, and all utter this

(*q*) It is indeed declared that himself took our infirmities, and bore our sicknesses. Matt. viii. 17. Meaning, I suppose, the sins of his people; those moral sicknesses which himself bore away in his own body on the tree.

(*r*) Luke xi. 20.

prayer (a prayer which was never, nor ever can be breathed from a graceless heart), O let me be found in thee, not having my own righteousness, which is of the law, but the righteousness which is of God by faith!—They who thus believe are careful to adorn the doctrine of God their Saviour in all things.

The Holy Spirit gives faith; from faith springs holiness; and the end of both is everlasting life. The entire mystic body of Christ, the whole election of grace, shall, like their triumphant lord, when their warfare is accomplished, be received up into glory.

But what I chiefly intend at present, is to consider that particular clause of this verse which asserts that Jesus was seen of angels.

By the angels, here mentioned, we are chiefly to understand the elect (*s*) angels; who being ordained to glory, were immutably confirmed in holiness, nor revolted from the dignity and blessedness in which they were created. These saw the Son of God long before his Incarnation. They beheld him in the fullness of his infinite and essential glory, which he had with the Father and the Holy Ghost, before all worlds.—It is probable from Scripture, that angels were the first fruits of God's creating power, and called into existence before any thing else was made: and it is certain from Scripture that the second person of the Trinity, afterwards manifested in the flesh, was the creator of all the angelic hosts. Hence it follows that he was seen of them immediately upon their creation: they were no sooner summoned into being than they saw him and adored. As angels were his first workmanship, their bliss began with the sight of him, and their first employ was praise. Thus they saw him, thus they loved, and thus they worshipped; until the fulness of time was come, when the Antient of Days became an Infant of Days, and God the Son was found in fashion as a man. When that blessed person entered on his state of actual humiliation angels viewed and wondered: wondered to see the object of their adoration made for a time lower than themselves (*t*). They beheld him at Bethlehem, a babe wrapt in swathes,

> "*When his birth-place was a stable,*
> *And his softest bed was hay.*"

Though surrounding cattle were the chief attendants on the Infant Messiah and his virgin-mother; though, in all outward appance, the new-born Saviour was, from the very moment of his nativity, forsaken, despised, and rejected of men; he was still seen and revered of angels. The Church of the redeemed bowed the knee, and unfallen spirits sung in that ignominious place, where horses fed, and oxen lowed. The presence of God Incarnate consecrated the stable into a temple of glory; and ennobled the manger where he slumbered into a throne of grace. Such did that humble residence appear, in the eyes of those exalted beings, who, like him that made them, see not as man seeth.

If we trace the adorable Mediator from infancy to a state of youth, we shall find him busied in following the occupation of Joseph his reputed father. It is recorded in the gospel (*u*), that the Jews said concerning him, Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary?

Thus he who laid the foundations of the earth, and by his excellent wisdom made the heavens; he who shakes the system he hath made and the pillars thereof tremble; who speaketh to the sun and it shineth not, and sealeth up the stars, evenhe disdained not to fix a mark of honour upon honest industry by earning his own livelihood at Nazareth, as soon as his age would permit. There and then was he seen of angels. They saw him laboriously employed and literally experiencing the truth of the penal edict, denounced soon after the fall, that in the sweat of his brow man should eat bread.—We do not indeed find that Christ wrought with his hands after he commenced a preacher. Which observable change of conduct was designed perhaps to teach us that they who preach the gospel should live of the gospel; and, detaching themselves from every unnecessary avocation, devote their time and abilities, as far as possible, to the duties of their high calling.

Though the blessed Jesus was conceived and born without original sin; though he moreover lived perfectly exempt from the remotest shadow of actual transgression; still he vouchsafed to stamp the highest authority on the laver of typical regeneration by his own personal submission to the ordinance of baptism. He would not enter on the exercise of his public ministry until he had been solemnly and openly devoted to the visible service of God.—Might he not likewise, have another and still superior view, in his condescending susception of this sacred rite? Washing seems necessarily to carry with it the idea of previous defilement. Whoever is brought to the baptismal font is brought thither as a sinner. And the whole ceremony is a solemn recognition of human guilt, as well as strikingly emblematical of the way and manner in which pardon and sanctification are attained; even by the effusion of the Messiah's blood, and the hallowing agency of his blessed spirit. Now if baptism be confessedly an

(*s*) 1 Tim. v. 21.

(*t*) Heb. ii. 7. βραχυ τι, either for a very short while, or in a very small degree ——It is properly spoken of men indefinitely; but held strictly true, even as accommodated to Christ himself.

(*u*) Mark vi. 3.

acknowledgment of human sinfulness, how came he to divide the waves of Jordan, who was infinitely holy as God, and immaculately righteous as man? Probably because he was made sin for us (*x*). In a way of imputation the Lord laid on him the iniquity of all his people (*y*). And Jesus was not ashamed publicly to avow the merciful office he had assumed. Hence, though absolutely sinless, he was baptized as a sinner. And this practical declaration of his atoning character was a part of that exterior righteousness, which, as the victim and substitute of his saints, it became him to fulfil (*z*).—On this great occasion, we read that the heavens were opened. We are not indeed expressly told that he was seen of angels; though no doubt he was. The reason perhaps, why the mention of that circumstance was omitted by the evangelists, might be because personages of dignity infinitely superior to that of angels constituted and crowned the grandeur of the scene. The everlasting Father and the uncreated Spirit gave sensible manifestations of their immediate presence; while the co-equal Son, under the likeness of sinful flesh, parted the mystic stream.——Angels, who just before admired to see the blameless Immanuel baptized, suddenly exchanged their admiration for adoring awe, and wrapt their prostrate faces in their wings, when the Father Almighty deigned audibly to testify his complacency in the person and priesthood of his Incarnate Son; and the co-eternal Spirit bowed the heavens and came down, not in the form, but (*ὡσεὶ περιστεραν*) after the manner, of a dove: with a gentle, gradual, hovering descent. Well might angels be thrown as it were, into shades, by the silence of the sacred historians. For what are angels when compared with God! evanid stars, eclipsed and lost, amidst the boundless overwhelming blaze of day.

Shortly after he was seen of angels, when assailed in the wilderness by the enemy of God and man. They stood by, not to give the Messiah their assistance, for he needed none; but simply as spectators of his conflict, and witnesses of his conquest. As they had formerly seen Paradise lost, by the yielding frailty of Adam; so they now beheld Paradise regained, by the unrelaxing firmness of Jesus Christ the righteous. After he had fought the good fight, and had actually foiled the tempter, we read that angels ministered unto him: but not before.

"Temptation," says a useful writer (*a*), "is the fire that brings up the scum of the heart. The corrupt heart resembles an ant's nest, on which while the stone lieth none of them appear; but take off that, and stir them with only the point of a straw, what a swarm is there, and how lively they are! Just such a sight, O man, would thy heart afford thee did the Lord but withdraw the restraint he has laid upon it, and suffer Satan to stir it up by temptation." Such is the heart of man: but not such was the heart of Christ. Though he was tempted in all points, tempted even to idolatry and self-murder, yet was he totally without sin (*b*). He came forth brighter but not purer from the furnace; brighter, because his graces were rendered more conspicuous by the fiery trial; but not purer, because he had no moral dross to lose. When Satan tempted Christ, it was like striking fire upon ice, or upon a wave of the sea: there was nothing in his sinless nature for the sparks to lay hold on; but every thing that could resist and quench them. All the adversary's efforts on the Messiah's integrity were like arrows shot at the firmament: or as an excellent person (*c*) expresses it, resembled "The motions of a serpent on a rock; where they can make no impression, nor leave the least dent or trace behind them. —But on us they are as the trailings of a serpent on sand or dust: they make a print, and leave some stain on the imagination at least, if not on the heart." In every assault therefore which we are called to sustain, may we look for safety and for strength to the Captain of our salvation, who in his own person bruised the serpent's head, and is able to succour them that are tempted. And remember, O assaulted Christian, to thy unspeakable comfort, that thou shalt in the end be more than conqueror through him that hath loved thee. As thy Saviour was seen of angels when he quenched the fiery darts of the wicked one; so art thou seen of thy Saviour under all thy conflicts and distresses: nor seen only, but supported and embraced; and because he overcame thou shalt overcome also.——A famous Dutch admiral (*d*), in the morning of that day on which he fell is reported to have said, "This day I shall be crowned either with laurels or with cypress:" intimating his determined resolution either to gain the victory or to lose his life. And his life he accordingly lost. A musket ball from the English fleet crowned with cypress one of the ablest seaofficers that ever fought. But it is the peculiar happiness of the Christian warrior to know assuredly, from God's inviolable promise, that no weapon formed against the heirs of salvation shall finally prosper or prevail. Whoever is by saving grace enlisted under the banner of the cross, may be certain before he fights that he shall be

(*x*) 2 Cor. v. 21. (*y*) Isaiah liii. 6.
(*z*) Matt. iii. 15. [Nature.
(*a*) Mr. Boston in his Fourfold State of Human

(*b*) Matt. iv. 6. 9. Heb. iv. 15.
(*c*) Gurnal's Christian Armor, vol. i. p. 99.
(*d*) Van Trump.

crowned not with cypress but with laurels. Prior to his striking a single blow he is insured both as to safety and conquest by that Omnipotent Being whose never failing providence, as our Church admirably expresses it, orders all things both in heaven and earth (*e*).

When the Son of God commenced a minister of the gospel, and delivered to high and low, in season and out of season, the message of salvation, he was seen and heard of angels. On some occasions they saw the heavenly preacher weep over his unfeeling auditories; and on all occasions heard him declare the counsel of God as never man spake until then. Those mysteries of grace, which at this very day angels desire to look deeper into, they learned from his blessed lips: and bending seraphs derived sublime instruction from those matchless discourses which obdurate men despised.——How beautiful upon the mountains were the feet, *i. e.* the zeal and the labours, of him who brought good tidings and published peace (*f*) between God and sinners! Himself the peacemaker and the peace-revealer! how often did he who came to seek and to save that which was lost consecrate the mountains of Judea, by his own personal ministrations; and cause the hills of the earthly Canaan to echo with the sweetest notes of salvation by grace; while streams and rocks responsive reverberated the joyful sound! Elect angels hovering in mid air were his invisible disciples: and elect sinners converted by his efficacious call were the visible seals of his ministry.—O might the present preachers of his word catch a ray of his celestial ardour, adopt his indefatigable zeal, and imbibe the spirit of his love! Happy they who are enabled to imitate the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls! and oh, that more of these were sent forth into the harvest! Yet why do I wish for more? The sovereign master of the vineyard best knows what he has to do. God hath in every age raised up a number of evangelical ministers sufficient to answer his purposes of grace. Divine wisdom no doubt proportions the number of gospel-labourers to the extent of the spiritual harvest he means to gather in. God's elect people may be more or fewer in one generation than another: and hence, at different periods, Christian preachers multiply or decrease (*g*): just as a skilful husbandman lessens or enlarges the number of his reapers according to the quantity of corn he has to cut. If twenty are sufficient for the harvest, he will not employ fifty; if a hundred be requisite, a hundred will be sent forth.

In his secret approaches to God was Jesus seen of angels. They beheld, they more than beheld,—they felt, when with strong cries and tears he poured out his soul in private prayer. Unembodied spirits with admiring sympathy thronged his devout retirements: and though they ever burned with zeal for God, yet they caught additional fervour from the agonizing petitions of their Incarnate Creator. They lighted their taper at his hallowed fire. Listening angels grew more angelic; and seraphs flew back to heaven more seraphic than they came.

When every eye except his own was closed in sleep, oft would he withdraw to some desolate mountain or unfrequented field, and spend whole nights in communion with God. Like the solitary but melodious nightingale, he retreated from the scenes of hurry and observation, to send up the heavenly breathings of his inmost soul in undiverted supplications and unmolested praise. At these seasons it was that, as Dr. Watts finely sings,

> *Cold mountains and the midnight air*
> *Witnessed the fervour of his pray'r.*

But, though unseen of men, the praying Messiah was seen of angels, and seen of God. Not a sigh that heaved the Mediator's breast, nor a groan he uttered, nor a petition he advanced, but was noticed, accepted, and recorded in heaven: and shall have its full effect, in the glory of his Father and the salvation of all his people.

Oh, how unlike the prayers of Christ are the frozen, careless, languid, wandering, unfelt devotions of those on earth who call themselves his disciples! May he pour down upon us the spirit of grace and of supplications. Then shall we feel the importance of divine things as he felt them. We shall walk in some measure as Jesus walked; and pray as Jesus prayed.

On the mount of transfiguration, prior to his last sufferings, was he likewise seen of angels: At humble distance they heard him speak with the glorified soul of Moses, and the glorified person of Elijah, concerning his own decease, which he was shortly to accomplish at Jerusalem (*h*). As in the sinless obedience of his life he had perfectly fulfilled the law, for the justification of his

(*e*) If so, an Arminian may object, if we are certain beforehand of overcoming, farewell to all diligence of our own: we may unbuckle our armour, and sit down without fighting at all. This cavil refutes itself. How can the assurance of final victory supersede the necessity of contending when fighting is the only possible means by which victory can be gained? History both sacred and profane affords almost innumerable instances that even a strong probability of conquest inspires an army with impetus and vigour next to invincible. Much more would an infallible certainty of success embolden even the diffident, stimulate the indolent, and animate the courageous with redoubled ardour.——How then is it possible that in the spiritual warfare, certainty of conquest should either depress the timid, or emasculate the strong?

(*f*) Isaiah lii. 7.

(*g*) Psalm lxvii. 11.

(*h*) Luke ix. 31.

mystic body, the Church; so by his propitiatory death, he was to fulfil the prophecies of old, and make atonement for the sins of the people before the Lord. Moses therefore, by whom the law had been given; and Elijah, as representative of the prophets; left, for a while, their thrones in glory, to bear witness, once more, to the Messiahship of Jesus. On this occasion angels saw his human nature brighten into glory superior to their's. An earnest and a foretaste of the majesty with which he should be invested, when his sufferings (then just at hand) should be accomplished: and of the glory which the bodies of his saints shall wear, when the trump of God shall sound, and the resurrection of the just take place.

Let not believers like the mistaken disciples who accompanied their Lord at the time of his transfiguration, think to set up tabernacles of abode on the mount of divine communion. Jesus himself came down from the mount; and was soon after seen of angels in the valley of Gethsemane.

On that sad, that solemn night, when he was sold and delivered into the hands of sinful men, he retired, for the last time before he suffered, into the garden at the foot of the Mount of Olives. That garden, to which he had oft times resorted, both alone and with his disciples, for the purposes of secret prayer and religious conversation. That garden, in which he had enjoyed so many delightful seasons of fellowship with God. That garden, every spot perhaps of whose distinguished ground had been consecrated by the footsteps of a mediating, and the knees of an adoring, Saviour. Yet here, alas, were his dying sorrows to begin. Angels, who had just before seen him institute and celebrate the mystic supper, attended him in his last retreat to this once delightful but now tremendous place. Well might a good man say, "All places are happy, or miserable, in proportion as God vouchsafes or denies his gracious presence therein." In Gethsemane, were Jesus had so often experienced the ravishing consolations of his heavenly Father's countenance; in this very Gethsemane must the same blessed Jesus experience the first out-pourings of his Almighty Father's wrath. Here it was that his righteous soul became exceeding sorrowful, even unto death. Here it was that the spotless victim began to feel the dreadful weight of imputed guilt, and the terrors of avenging justice.—When his inward agony forced his very blood from its veins, which even made its way through his three-fold vesture, and fell (*i*) clotted to the ground; when himself lay prostrate on the earth with his garments literally rolled in blood; when, as the Surety of the covenant, and as the Substitute of his people, he bore the sins and carried the sorrows of the whole believing world; when, with the names of his mystic Israel upon his heart, our Great High Priest, Jesus, the Son and the Lamb of God, sustained intensively that punishment for sin which must otherwise have been levied extensively on sinners to all eternity: when he cried, in the bitterness of his soul, Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me;———he was seen, he was heard, he was deplored, of angels They joined with the agonizing petitioner. They united their supplications with his: and the prayers of angels went up, for once, through the hands of a Mediator.

But it was not possible for the cup to pass from him. The decree must be accomplished. The covenant of grace must be fulfilled. God's people must be saved. The Saviour, therefore, must die. Himself was sensible of this. Hence, though as man his anguish induced him to wish that, if possible, he might drink no deeper of the penal cup; yet, as party to the covenant of redemption, he, in the same breath, consents to drink the dregs and wring them out: adding, Nevertheless, not my will, but thine, be done; if sinners can be saved, and thy Son not die, let thy Son be spared; but if otherwise, if my people must perish, or thy Son be slain, O save my people and slay thy Son.—Alternate grief and wonder heaved the celestial bosoms of attending angels: grief, at the sufferings he endured; wonder, at his magnanimity of love to man; love, which the many waters of divine in-

(*i*) Luke xxii. 44. And his sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground: meaning, as it should seem, that the agony our Lord was in forced at once his blood from its finer vessels, and the sweat from all his pores: which (the sweat and the blood) mingling in their fall, were by the extreme coldness and rigour of the weather, condensed and frozen into solid clots before they reached the ground. The word ωσει, rendered as it were, does not, I apprehend, import that real blood did not actually transude from his body: but that it was not blood alone. Add to this, that, as Bengelius well observes, ὡσει relates, not to αἱματος but to θρομβοι καταβαινοντες; and implies, as another learned foreigner observes, that, his sweat was so mixed and discoloured with the concomitant blood, as to resemble, in its united appearance, mere blood only.—Luke de Bruges, the critic last referred to, has a very valuable note on the passage: Illud, quasi, non significat, hunc, non fuisse verum sanguinem, sed non fuisse verè guttas sanguinis, sed guttas aqueas mixtas sanguine; quod etiam fieri possit per naturam vim intus patientem, ac proinde per poras ejicientem unà cum aquâ sanguinem: præsertim ubi corpus est rarum ac æticatum, et sanguis subtilis, ut in Christo indubie erat.

The note of Bengelius is equally judicious: θρομβοι Grumi à θρεψαι, *i. e.* πηξαι.—Θρομβοι αἱματος gutta spissæ et concretæ veri sanguinis. Vis particulæ ωσει cadit super θρομβοι, non super αἱματος, ut patet ex epitheto, ejusque plurali, καταβαινοντες. Sanguis per minores guttulas è poris manans, concrescebat propter copiam. Si sudor non fuisset sanguineus, mentio sanguinis planè abesse poterat: nam vocabulum θρομβοι etiam per se competebat sudori spisso.

dignation could not quench, nor all the floods of horror and anguish drown.

Angels saw him receive the insidious kiss, by which he was betrayed. They saw him arraigned at the bar of the very men who were indebted for their creation to the word of his power; and who owed the stations they bore to the disposals of his providence. Angels heard and shuddered at the sentence by which he was condemned to die. They saw him mocked, and struck, and clothed with insulting scarlet. He was seen of angels when he deigned to wear a crown of thorns. They beheld, and if angels can weep, they wept, when he was tied to the ignominious pillar, and scourged with rods of knotted wire; when according to the prediction of the royal prophet, The ploughers ploughed upon his back, and made long furrows.

Angels saw, and astonishment was in heaven, when he hid not his face from shame and spitting. They saw when, through the extremity of grief and torture, his beauty consumed away, like as it were a moth fretting a garment. when he could say, Thy rebuke hath broken my heart; I am full of heaviness; I looked for some to take pity on me, but there was none; neither found I any to comfort me. The man Christ Jesus, being formed without sin, and by the immediate agency of the Holy Ghost, was doubtless transcendently fair and augustly beautiful. Hence his human nature was compared to the temple: a structure eminently holy, and peculiarly elegant. Prior to his sufferings, he was, literally, fairer than the children of men. It was not till his blessed person had been disfigured with wounds and emaciated with grief; until his face was foul with weeping, and on his eye-lids sat the shadow of death; that he is said to have had neither form nor comeliness; but that his face was marred more than any man's, and his countenance than the sons of men.

Angels thronged around the majestic sufferer when he was led forth to crucifixion, as a lamb to the slaughter. They saw him nailed to the instrument of death, after he had fainted beneath its weight. And, had I an angel's tongue, I should find it impossible to tell what angels felt, when they heard him groan from the deepest recesses of his agonizing heart, that exclamation of overwhelming woe;—My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me?—Forsaken, cried the deserted Saviour. Angels caught the dismal accents. Forsaken, forsaken, the sad and astonished choir replied.

Surely, all heaven was at that dreadful moment emptied of its inhabitants. Surely, not angels only, but the spirits likewise of just men made perfect (who had been saved on the credit of that great sacrifice which was now offering up), started from their thrones, and dropt their crowns; quitted, for a while, the abodes of bliss, and, with pensive admiration and drooping wings, hovered round the cross of their departing Lord. If ever sorrow was in heaven; if ever the harps of the blessed were suspended, silent, and unstrung on the willows of dismay; if ever angels ceased to praise, and glorified souls forgot to sing; if ever the harmony of the sky was, not merely interrupted, but, if it be possible, exchanged for lamentation and mourning and woe:—it must have been during the six tremendous hours (such hours as nature never saw before, nor will ever see again), that the dying Jesus hung upon the tree.

Having, amidst all his personal agonies, detained himself on earth until he had looked a dying blasphemer into repentance; and until he had made provision for the maintenance of his widowed mother (who stood, weeping and adoring, at the foot of his cross) by committing her to the care and guardianship of his best-beloved disciple; he cried, with a loud triumphant voice, "It is finished: I have suffered enough. The types and the prophecies are accomplished. My covenant engagements are fulfilled. The debts of my people are paid. I have finished transgression; I have made an end of sin; I have wrought out and brought in an everlasting righteousness. The law is magnified. Justice is satisfied. My warfare is over. My conflicts are past." His spiritual desertions were now superseded. The light of God's countenance gave the expiring Mediator the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness. The Sun of Righteousness goes down without a cloud. He departs in peace, with those comfortable words of filial confidence on his lips, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit. Words that pierced the earth to her centre, and shook her in her orbit; cleft the ponderous rocks; rended the vail of the temple, and exposed its sacred, but now superseded, arcana, to common view; unlocked the abodes of death; and threw open the graves of many a departed saint, who probably (as did their triumphant Lord shortly after) rose to die no more, but ascended, in their respective bodies, with him, when he went up from the Mount of Olives.————I have already observed, that Christ continued alive on the cross for the space of six hours. During the last three, there was darkness over all the earth. The sun hid his beams. The dreadful transaction on Mount Calvary

"Drove back his chariot. Midnight veil'd the world:
A midnight, nature shudder'd to behold."

Why was the earth darkened? not only to demonstrate the dignity of Him that bled, but, perhaps, to shadow forth that still

more deep and dismal darkness, which the soul of the Messiah was then experiencing, under the awful withdrawings of his Father's countenance. When his Father's sensible presence returned, and Jesus, with his dying breath, declared his sufferings fulfilled, light revisited the earth, and the sufferer was received into glory. Joy was again in heaven (never to be absent more), when the human soul of Christ ascended from the cross. With what eclats of admiring transport was he seen of angels, when he rode on cherubs and did fly, and went up to his throne as on the wings of the wind!

GOD'S MINDFULNESS OF MAN.

He will ever be mindful of his Covenant. Psa. cxi. 5.
The Lord hath been mindful of us; he will bless us. Psal. cxv. 12

SERMON IV.

PSALM VIII. 4.

What is Man, that thou art mindful of him? and the Son of Man, that thou visitest him?

DAVID is supposed by some to have written this Psalm long before his elevation to the Jewish throne, while he was yet a youth busied in tending his father's cattle on the plains of Bethlehem. And we shall presently see that there are passages in the Psalm itself which seem to justify this conjecture. It is not only a hymn of praise addressed to the Messiah, but likewise one of the finest pastorals any where extant.

David appears to have had almost from his very childhood the sublimest talents for poetry and an exquisite taste in music. His harp therefore was probably his frequent companion in the fields when he exercised the occupation of a shepherd. And having experienced the inestimable blessing of early conversion, he did not debase his poetic genius, nor prostitute his skill in the harmony of sounds, by devoting either of them to the contemptible purposes of versified nonsense and unmanly dissipation; but his heart being as rightly tuned as his harp, his happiness and highest recreation were, to sing the praises of the God he loved, and to anticipate something of that sublime employ on earth which will in heaven be for ever the business and the bliss of those who are redeemed from among men.

It is worthy of remark that this was the time (namely while David was herdsman to his father Jesse, and filled up the intervals of his employment with holy meditation, prayer and thanksgiving), when God himself vouchsafed to mention him under the most glorious appellation that perhaps was ever conferred on a created being; a man after my own heart (*k*). A title which does not appear to have been given him so much as once after his advancement to royalty. For though neither height of magnificence, nor depth of abasement, can separate a saint from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus (*l*); yet, even after a work of grace has passed upon the heart in regeneration, such is the power of surviving depravity that not one perhaps in twenty of God's people can, humanly speaking, be trusted with prosperity. Let every afflicted believer therefore rejoice in that he is made low. God deals out our comforts and our sorrows with exact, unerring hand, in number, weight and measure. Hence we have not either of joy or adversity, a grain too little or too much. If less tribulation would suffice, less would be given. We are bad enough with all our troubles: what then should we be if we were exercised with none?

In order to our entering into the true spirit and propriety of the Psalm before us, we must form to ourselves an idea of David the stripling, and think we see him watching his flocks in a summer's night under the expanded canopy of the skies.—The air is still. The heavens are serene. The moon, arrived at the full, is pursuing her majestic, silent course. The stars (like peeresses on a coronation solemnity) assume their brightest robes to attend the beauteous sovereign of the night, while both moon and stars concur to shed a soft undazzling lustre on all the subjacent landscape. David at this happy period a blameless youth; unpoisoned with ambition and unfascinated by the witchcraft of court-corruption; his heart unpolluted with lust, and his hands undipped in blood; is seated on a rising hillock or on the protuberant root of some stately tree.—All is hushed. Not a bough rustles. Not a leaf "trembles to the breeze." The silent flocks are either carelessly grazing by his side, or slumbering securely at his feet. The birds have suspended their songs until waked by the superior sweetness of his voice and the music of his hand. For, charmed with the

(*k*) 1 Sam. xiii. 14, with Acts xiii. 22.—This celebrated periphrasis has occasioned no little disquisition. The learned Grotius, with his usual dryness, thinks it to be synonymous with *electum de populo*, or chosen out from among the people: *i. e.* God calls David a man after his own heart, because he had made choice of him to be king of Israel.—Vatablus renders the phrase by *qui mihi cordi est*, a man whose interest God had at heart.—But surely the lowest sense which can be justly assigned to this exalted title is, that David should (as the apostle adds in the above passage) fulfil παντα τα θελήματα all the wills, purposes and designs of God, respecting the government of Israel: *viz.* by supplanting the family of Saul; extending the Jewish territory; maintaining the religion of the true God; and laying the foundation of a more splendid worship by preparing materials for the erection of the temple.—For my own part, however, I think that the words include something more and higher: namely, that David was an object of God's eminent and peculiar favour; destined to be a signal instance of the sovereignty of Divine Providence, and in much of his conduct a shining pattern of grace. A man in short whom the Deity loved, and was determined to honour

(*l*) Rom. viii. 39.

loveliness of the scene, and rapt by the Holy Spirit into a seraphic flame of exalted devotion, he has laid aside his crook—he has taken up his harp—and is transmitting to the throne of God these grateful, these inexpressibly beautiful, strains of admiring thankfulness: When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers; the moon and the stars which thou hast ordained; what is man that thou art mindful of him, or the son of man, that thou visitest him?—Then, taking a survey of the pleasing objects that surround him, he thus goes on to sing: Thou hast made man a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honour. Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands; thou hast put all things under his feet; all sheep and oxen, yea, and the beasts of the field; the fowls of the air, and the fishes of the sea, and whatsoever walketh through the paths of the seas. O Lord our governor, how excellent is thy name in all the world!

So warbled the sweet singer of Israel, and thus he addressed God the Son, almost eleven hundred years prior to his Incarnation. For that the Psalm in its highest import refers to Christ, is evident from Matt. xxi. 16; and especially from the second chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews, where a considerable part of the Psalm is cited by the apostle, and expressly applied to the adorable Mediator between God and men.

Jesus considered as a divine person is Jehovah our governor, whose name, *i.e.* whose manifestations of infinite wisdom, beneficence and power, in a way both of creation and providence, are excellent throughout all the earth.—He set his glory above the heavens, or rendered the riches of his love more signally and illustriously noble than the brightest and noblest of his material works, when he entered into covenant with the Father and the Spirit, and graciously stipulated to wear our nature and to bear away our sins. In the fulness of time, after he had actually accomplished his double warfare of obedience and sufferings, he literally set his glory above the heavens, when he ascended up on high, and his glorified humanity took possession of its throne, angels and authorities and powers being made subject unto him.

He it is who displays the efficacy, the sovereignty and the independency of his almighty operation, in bringing to pass the greatest ends, by seemingly the feeblest and most inadequate means: or (as David, evidently alluding to his own tender age, speaks at the 2nd verse), who has ordained strength out of the mouths even of babes and sucklings. Armed with the power that cometh from above, the unaccoutred youth had slain a lion and a bear (*m*). Inspired with supernatural prowess, the same ruddy stripling afterwards overcame the proud gigantic champion of Philistia. These providential events were indeed strange and astonishing. But the religious part of David's character was truly miraculous. A beardless lad, not very superior in years to a babe and suckling, is exalted by the Holy Spirit into a prophet of the Lord. He testifies of the Saviour many hundred years before the Saviour appeared: and is not only a true believer in, but a distinguished herald of, that adorable person, in whom the elect of all nations are blessed.

By the righteousness of his meritorious life, and by the atonement of his infinitely precious death, Jesus "bruised the Serpent's head," or inverted the subtilty, baffled the power and defeated the wish, of that apostate spirit, who seeks the destruction of man: thus silencing the enemy and the avenger. —Seek you farther proofs of the Saviour's dignity and divinity? not only the earth, but the heavens also are the work of his fingers, the monument of his creating power. The moon and the stars are of his ordaining: and without him was not anything made that was made. In a word, he was the builder of the universe; and he rules the universe he built. Well therefore may we bend the knee of our souls before him, or rather fall prostrate in the dust at his foot-stool and ask, What is man, that thou art mindful of him? or the son of man, that thou visitest him? If Elizabeth, the parent of John the Baptist, could say to the Virgin Mary, Who am I, that the mother of my Lord should come to me? much more may God's elect stand astonished at his love and ask, "What are we, that the Lord God of Israel should in person visit his people and redeem them to the Father by his blood (*n*).

In the text two acts of God are distinctly pointed out; namely his mindfulness of us, and his visiting us; which gracious acts I shall consider not only as proofs of the Messiah's love to his people; but indiscriminately as evidences of the love mutually shewn to sinners by all the persons in the Trinity, Father, and Son, and Spirit, the co-equal Three that bear record in heaven are one, not only in nature and essence, but in the good-will they bear to man: and their undivided love calls for our undivided praise.

I. God's mindfulness of his people is not a thing of yesterday. There never was a period when he had not our interests at heart. The mercy of the Lord is from everlasting to everlasting upon them that fear him (*o*). It is, like himself, without beginning of days or end of years. We could not fear him from everlasting; because we did not exist until very lately: but his mercy towards

(*m*) 1 Sam. xvii. 36. (*n*) Luke i. 68. (*o*) Psalm. ciii. 17.

us was co-eternal with himself. In consequence of this, we are made to fear him in time. Filial fear is a covenant-blessing, given only to the sons and daughters of the Lord Almighty; who says, I will put my fear into their hearts (*p*). Hence, they shall not depart from him after conversion. And thus his mercy, as it was from everlasting, is to everlasting upon them that fear him. It neither began with to-day nor shall end with to-morrow. But he who laid the foundation of their happiness in his own eternal purpose shall lay on the top-stone with joy, crying Grace, grace unto it (*q*).—That God was mindful of us for good appears,

(1.) From the decree of election whereby we were chosen in Christ to grace and glory before the world began. This act of sovereign love is the very source and fountain-head of all the other blessings that are conferred on the heirs of salvation. Redemption, justification, effectual calling, holiness, continuance in good works to the end, and everlasting happiness in heaven; all flow from this leading, capital, fundamental privilege. Election is the tree of life, whose leaves and fruit are for the healing of the nations: for whom God did predestinate, them [τους, those very persons] he also called; and whom he called, them [τους, those very persons] he also justified; and whom he justified, them [τους, those very persons] he also glorified (*r*).

There are some who talk much concerning the dignity of human nature. Upon christian principles, the dignity of man is great indeed: a dignity however not natural, but derived from the condescending lover and restorer of lost sinners. That God should be mindful of men prior to their being; that God should settle the inheritance of heaven on his children ere suns gave light, or planets moved; that God should write the name of the meanest saint in the book of life, with the pen of everlasting love; that he should appoint them, not to wrath, but to obtain salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ; is a consideration that inspires the believing soul with the most sublime and astonishing views of that goodness which not only gave apostate men the preference to apostate angels, but exalted the Church of God to a state of dignity and glory unexperienced even by the angels that never fell.—May we, by the holiness of our lives, be enabled to give substantial proof of our interest in his electing favour; and be living exemplars of that inestimable declaration and promise, This people have I formed for myself; they shall shew forth my praise. (*s*)

(2.) God shewed his mindfulness of us, in the covenant of redemption, made with his Son and Spirit before all worlds, for the recovery of his Church and people, who, it was known, would fall by iniquity. For it would infinitely detract from the dignity of Christianity to imagine that the plan of redemption was a temporary expedient, hurried up on a sudden, and fetched in, *ex improviso*, to remedy an unforeseen disaster as if the Deity, upon a disappointment of his views, and an unlucky disconcertment of his measures, had recourse, *pro re natâ*, to the best *salvo* that the exigence of affairs suggested. Such an idea of God and religion can never, I should imagine, be coolly admitted by any thinking person. And yet this view of things must be admitted, if we reject the Scripture account of the eternal covenant of grace and redemption.

There can be no succession in the knowledge of God. He, whose understanding is infinite, cannot know that now which he did not always know. Men indeed grow wise by observation and experience. But eternity itself can add no improvement to the knowledge of that all-wise, all-comprehending mind, to whom all futurity is open, "from whom no secrets are hid," and who holds, in his own hand, the entire chain of second causes. These are first principles, equally inculcated by reason, the religion of nature; and by Christianity, the religion of the Bible. It would lead me too far, should I at present pursue the argument in its amplitude and extent. Enough I apprehend has been observed to justify my laying down this for an undoubted axiom, that Adam's apostacy, and all the consequences of it, were from everlasting foreseen and fore-known of God; who, for reasons we cannot see, decreed to permit it. And I defy the ablest advocates of revelation to defend the Christian religion, clearly and solidly, upon any other principle. God's decreeing, or resolving to permit, the fall did not however make him the author of it; for he can neither tempt nor be tempted to sin.

But had he not determined to permit the lapse of our first parents, he could not have fore-known it (for without such a permissive determination, the event had been uncertain; and uncertainty of event can be no basis for certain prescience): and, had he not fore-known it, he could not have made provision beforehand, in the covenant of grace, for the restoration of sinners:—not to ask, where would have been his omniscience?

I conclude then, with the Scriptures, that, upon a certain foresight of the fall, grace was given us in Christ before the world began (*t*): which could only be given us so very early, in virtue of a covenant made with Christ as the fœderal head, trustee, and representative of his people. To Abraham and to his seed, *i. e.* to all who should be endued with that faith which is the gift and

(*p*) Jer. xxxii. 40. (*q*) Zech. iv. 7. (*r*) Rom. viii. 30. (*s*) Isa. xliii. 21. (*t*) 2 Tim. i. 9.

operation of God, were the promises made: he saith not, unto seeds, as of many; as if the promises of grace and salvation had been made to the elect, in their own proper persons (as that would have been impossible, seeing they had then no personal existence); but as of one, and to thy seed, which is Christ (*u*). To Christ, therefore, were the promises of the Father made, in behalf of all his believing people. And this could only be done in that covenant of peace which was between them both.—Nor,

(3.) Did God intermit his gracious mindfulness of man, when (as observed above) for reasons unknown to us, it was his mysterious pleasure actually to permit the fall of Adam. We have a saying, in common life, that prevention is better than recovery. But in the present question the proverb fails. Satan neither stole nor forced his way into paradise. He neither escaped the notice, nor mastered the power, of Him whose presence filleth heaven and earth. Omniscience cannot be deceived. Omnipresence cannot be eluded. Omnipotence cannot be overpowered. With regard, therefore, to the first entrance of moral and of natural evil, both one and the other would, most certainly, have been totally precluded by a Deity possessed of infinite wisdom and power, had not recovery (though we cannot yet discern how) been better than prevention. —The Keeper of Israel, who neither slumbereth nor sleepeth, was invariably mindful of his people, even when he suffered human nature to be shipwrecked in Adam. Nay, presently after that mysterious event, Jehovah the Son showed his mindfulness of his covenant and of us, by condescending to be himself the first preacher of the everlasting gospel; for he did not dismiss our parents from paradise until he had solemnly and graciously assured them that the seed of the woman, the Messiah, born of a virgin mother, should, at the appointed time, destroy the works of the devil, and restore the objects of divine love to more than the glory they had lost.

(4.) God, moreover, testifies his mindfulness of his fallen people, by his patience with them, and his providential care of them, during their whole state of unregeneracy. A late eminent person used frequently to say, that "Every faithful minister is immortal until his work is done:" and it may as truly be asserted of every elect sinner, that he is immortal until he is born again. It is impossible that any of God's people should die in their sins: for whom he did predestinate, them he also called: and Christ's sheep must be brought home to him in regeneration (*x*). Hence, the apostle Jude, writing to believers in general, assures them that they had been sanctified, or set apart, by God the Father, and preserved in Jesus Christ, and called (*y*): or, as it may be rendered, preserved for Jesus Christ; preserved by providence, in order to be effectually called and converted by grace; of which we have a striking instance in the jailor at Philippi, Acts xvi. 27—31. If we choose more modern proof of this important truth, some very remarkable passages in the life of Colonel Gardiner, prior to his conversion, may tend to convince us of it. Nay, there is perhaps hardly a single believer on earth who, if he looks back on the days that are past, cannot recollect some signal and eminent deliverances from peril and death, which he experienced in the course of Providence, long enough before he was savingly turned to God. How often, when either sickness has levelled the dart; or when sudden and unlooked for danger stood with the lifted weapon ready, in appearance, to hew us down has a hand, unseen, turned aside the stroke, and a voice, unheard, pronounced us reprieved from death! So careful is the Lord of the harvest not to reap his people until he has ripened them!

(5.) After God has brought his children to the saving knowledge of himself, by the effectual call of his Holy Spirit, his mindfulness of them appears farther in his maintaining the work of grace he has begun, and carrying them on, inamissibly and invincibly, until they receive the end of their faith, even the full and final salvation of their souls. Our faithfulness to God proceeds from God's mindfulness of us. He it is that preserves us safe amidst the corruption of our own hearts, the temptations of Satan, and the afflictions and allurements of the world. Grace in the soul resembles a glimmering taper, exposed to all the storms that blow, yet unextinguished and inextinguishable. Wherefore may it defy the force of descending rains, and the fury of conflicting winds? because it is fed and guarded by the unseen hand of Him who is ever mindful of his covenant and of his covenant-people. Nor, until he fails, can they. Because I live, says he, ye shall live also. Surely then we have the highest reason to breathe, from the inmost of our hearts, that self-abasing, that grace-admiring question, What is man, that thou art mindful of him? To which we may add,

II. Or the son of man, that thou visitest him? for, not only his mindfulness, but his gracious visitations, in consequence of that mindfulness, challenge our deepest wonder and our warmest praise.

In a very particular manner might God be said to visit us, when Jehovah the Son was manifested in the flesh—Will God

(*u*) Gal. iii. 16.

(*x*) Rom. viii. 30. John x. 16.

(*y*) Jude 1.

indeed dwell with men? said Solomon at his dedication of the temple. Yes, may we reply, on the present festival: God did indeed dwell with men, that men might for ever dwell with God. The brightness of his Father's glory, and the express (*z*) image of his person; he who made and upholds all things by the word of his power, condescended in his great humility to visit earth; that sinners might be, not transitory visitants, but everlasting inhabitants, of the highest heavens. And though he is now entered on his glorified state above, he still vouchsafes, invisibly and spiritually, to visit his people below.

He visits them in conversion, as he once literally visited the tomb of Lazarus; and, by the effectual agency of his spirit, calls to himself whom he will, (*a*) and quickens those who are dead in trespasses and sins. (*b*) For this unspeakable blessing, man is, singly and solely, indebted to efficacious grace. It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth; it is not owing to human pliableness, nor human works, but it is only of God that sheweth mercy. (*c*) After I was turned, I repented, is the language of God's book, (*d*) and the experience of God's people. We are first turned by him; and then we repent unto life. As Christ was born into the world for us, so the visitation of his grace gives us to experience what our Church justly styles that "new birth unto righteousness," which makes us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light.

Providential dispensations are also to be considered as visits from God. Is affliction the Christian's lot? It is a visit from heaven. Thou hast visited, thou hast tried me, says David. God never uses the flail but when his corn wants threshing.

> "Our hearts are fastened to the world
> "By strong and various ties;
> "But every sorrow cuts a string,
> "And urges us to rise." (*e*)

Afflictions are as nails, driven by the hand of grace, which crucify us to the world. The husbandman ploughs his lands, and the gardener prunes his trees, to make them fruitful. The jeweller cuts and polishes his diamonds to make them shine the brighter. The refiner flings his gold into the furnace that it may come out the purer. And God afflicts his people to make them better. "To thank God for mercies," said a pious divine of the last century, "is the way to increase them: to thank him for miseries is the way to remove them.—Afflictions are then blessings to us when we can bless God for afflictions: whose single view, in causing us to pass through the fire, is only to separate the sin he hates from the soul he loves." And in all his dealings with them, let them remember that though he cause grief yet he will have compassion: at the worst of times he will either suit his dispensations to their strength, or accommodate their strength to his dispensations. And when the faith of an afflicted saint is in exercise his graces, as a good man expresses it, "resemble a garden of roses, or a well of rose-water; which the more they are stirred and agitated by the storm, the sweeter is the fragrance they exhale."

I have already touched on deliverances eminently providential. May not even common preservation and support, from moment to moment, be likewise numbered among the instances of God's never-ceasing mindfulness and continual visitation? By him, says the apostle, all things consist. His hand directs, his eye conducts, and his will sustains, the whole universe of spirits, men, and things. With regard to ourselves, in particular, have we not each abundant cause to admire the uninterrupted influence and superintendency (*f*) of him who is our life and the length of our days? (*g*) Thou hast granted me life and favour, and thy visitation hath preserved my spirit (*h*).

Sanctification, or the soul's recovery of God's spiritual and moral image, is a fruit of the same condescending goodness. As redepmtion from the guilt of sin is owing to the past visitation of God the Son; so exemption from the dominion of sin results from the continued visitation of God the Holy Ghost (*i*). His transforming influence

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(*z*) Express image, Heb. i. 3.—I should not scruple to render the word χαρακτηρ by exact counterpart: as wax (whence the metaphor seems to be taken) bears the very figure, and is therefore the exact counterpart of the seal or stamp by which it is impressed.

(*a*) Mark ii. 13. (*b*) Eph. ii. 1.
(*c*) Rom. ix. 16. (*d*) Jer. xxxi. 19.
(*e*) Dr. Young.

(*f*) "God can arm all his creatures against sinful man. The least and the meanest of them, even a fly, is able to make an end of us, if God give commission." *Mr. Parr on Romans*, p. 115.

(*g*) Deut. xxx. 20. (*h*) Job x. 12.

(*i*) Is it not equally shocking and deplorable, but, to believe in the agency of the Holy Spirit, as counsellor, sanctifier, and comforter, should be deemed by very many reputed Christians the certain mark of a weak, enthusiastic mind? Arminians did not always carry matters to this dreadful excess of palpable irreligion. The departure from the doctrines of the Reformation was, for a time, tolerably gradual. The deviation, which began towards the latter end of James the 1st's reign, was so gentle and progressive, that the Church hardly perceived her descent. In the reign of his son Charles, archbishop Laud quickened her pace, as with a high hand drove her still farther from her self.—I do not, however, intend to mark at present, the several waxings and wanings of Arminianism in our Church and nation. The compass of the subject is too extended, and requires more latitude than a note will allow. I shall, therefore, in this place, only observe, that we seem, now, to be almost got to the bottom of the hill. We have, well nigh, entirely quitted Mount Sion for the valley of Hinnom. We seem to be casting off all regard even to the modesty of appearances. No longer satisfied with deserting the bulwarks, nor with even silently sapping the foundations, multitudes among us

resembles the agency of some consummate painter, who does not complete his pictures at a single sitting, but gives them the gradual improvements of his pencil, till he has touched each of his elegant performances into a master-piece of propriety and beauty. Philip, King of Macedon, is said to have rejoiced, not so much at his having a son (Alexander), as at his son's having Aristotle for a tutor. A Christian is not so thankful to God for the gift of an immortal soul, as for the still superior gift of the sacred Spirit, to renew, to comfort, and to sanctify that soul, and render its immortality a blessing.

In the means of grace, also, are the saints visited of God. The ordinances of the gospel (such as public and private prayer, attendance on the Lord's table, reading the word, and hearing it preached) are a kind of half-way house, where God meets and communes with his children on their road to heaven. These are the windows and the lattice, (*k*) through which the King of saints displays part of his beauty and glory to the eye of faith. When our king Edward IV. had an interview with Lewis VIII. of France, on Pequigny bridge, the two monarchs conversed through a grate-work of iron interposed between them. In a manner something similar do believers on earth carry on their intercourse with God. They see a little of his loveliness, and they hear a few comfortable whispers of his voice: but still there is a barrier between. Hence they believe, they hope, they love, they rejoice, they obey, imperfectly: they know but in part, and they are happy but in part. By and by the interposing vail will be entirely done away: and, from catching a few occasional drops of blessedness at the channel of outward ordinances below, they shall derive for ever the fulness of uninterrupted joy from the fountain head above.——Sweet indeed, and inestimably precious, are the minutest, the most glimmering, and most transient views of interest in the Father's electing grace, and in the unsearchable merits of Christ. For the Holy Spirit to visit us with the light of his countenance, and to bless us with the knowledge of salvation, by bearing witness with our spirits that we are the children of God, is at once the certain earnest, and the richest foretaste, of that consummate bliss prepared for the vessels of mercy before the foundation of the world.—But it may be that you walk in darkness; that your views, or even hopes, of interest in Christ are few in number, and of short continuance: so that you experience very little of the Holy Spirit's visitation in a way of joy and comfort. This was often the case with David himself, the penman of this sweet psalm: Even from my youth up, says he elsewhere, thy terrors have I suffered with a troubled mind. But let me ask, did you ever, at any time, or under any ordinance, so much as once experience fellowship with

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are for openly storming the citadel: as if it were a point of settled emulation who of us should, on one hand, run farthest from the doctrinal system of the Church; and, on the other, contribute most vigorously to its demolition. As one melancholy proof of this, let us instance in the doctrine of the blessed Spirit's inhabitation: "By receiving the Holy Spirit," some divines have told us, "is meant nothing more than the acquisition, the cultivation, and the practice of moral virtue." Is not this sinking the religion of Christ ten degrees below heathenism? for even a heathen has taught us to distinguish between the sacred influence which makes men good; and the goodness which is the fruit of that influence. A distinction as obvious as that of cause and effect. The fruit of the Spirit, says old fashioned St. Paul, is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, &c. Gal. v. 22.—"The Spirit of God and moral virtue are the same" I suppose we shall be told next: that the atonement, propitiation, and sacrifice of Christ are only other words for repentance. Let us, with the clue of the modern explication in our hand, make trial of its value; and see whether it will not lead us into a labyrinth of nonsense and impiety, instead of extricating us from that of supposed enthusiasm. Jesus was led up of moral virtue into the wilderness, to be tempted by the Devil, Matt. iv. 1. And he saw moral virtue descending like a dove, and lighting upon him, Matt. iii. 16. God is a moral virtue, John iv. 24. They spake as moral virtue gave them utterance, Acts ii. 4. Then moral virtue said to Philip, go near and join thyself to this chariot, Acts viii. 29. Ye have received the moral virtue of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father. Moral virtue itself beareth witness with our virtue, that we are the children of God, Rom. viii. 15, 16. God hath revealed them to us by his moral virtue; for moral virtue searcheth all things, even the deep things of God, 1 Cor. ii. 10. God hath sent forth the moral virtue of his Son into your hearts, Gal. iv. 6.

The communion of moral virtue be with you all, 2 Cor. xiii. 14.—Applied to those parts of our Church offices, likewise, wherein mention is made of the Holy Spirit, the clue will be equally serviceable to the argument of those rational expositors.——If we do, in true earnest, wish for the return of moral virtue, we ourselves must first return to the doctrines whence we are fallen. We must believe them as well as subscribe them; and preach them as well as believe them; and practically adorn them by our own lives as well as preach them; or moral virtue, which already seems rising on the wing, will totally take her flight.

I will recompense the religious reader for the horror which the interpretation just refuted must have given him, by transcribing two passages from the learned Dr. Stanhope, dean of Canterbury. Everybody, who knows any thing of this respectable writer, knows that he was, in the main, extremely remote from those of our established doctrines which now go by the nick-name of Calvinism: a term, by the way, which, like raw-head and bloody-bones, seems merely calculated to frighten the children of Arminius from the Bible and the Church.——In Dr. Stanhope's translation of bishop Andrew's Devotions, this eminent prelate, and his worthy translator, thus express themselves: "I do also believe, that, by the illumination and powerful operation of the Holy Ghost, a peculiar people has been called from all quarters of the world, to be knit into one society, united and distinguished by belief of the truth and holiness of life." Transl. p. 20. "In the Holy Ghost, I believe a power from on high, by operations, supernatural and invisible, but yet with efficacy undeniable, transforming and renewing the soul to holiness." Ibid. p. 60.

May my hearers, my readers, and myself, experience the reality of these blessed truths more and more to the perfect day.

(*k*) Cant. ii. 9.

God, or a moment's peace and joy in believing? If you have, be thankful for it. It was a token for good. It was a visit from above. God is thine, even though (which, however, is unlikely) you should walk in darkness to your dying day. He does not tantalize his people: but having given thee a taste of his love, he will, in his own way, and in his own time, satisfy thee with the fulness of joy. When we part with an earthly friend, one of the most embittering considerations is that we may perhaps see his face no more (*l*) below; enjoy no more of his company, and receive no more of his visits. But when the Holy Spirit withdraws the comforts of his presence, and is as one that hides himself, or as one that is gone into a far country, we may be certain of his return. His consolations may stay long, but they will come back at last. You may depend on a fresh visit in due season. They who have felt his gracious influence once, shall feel it again.—There is a true ground of joy in reflecting even on past experience (see Psalm xlii. 6.) Communion with God leaves a calm and a sweetness upon the soul which are remembered after many days: as a vase of rich perfume, or of odoriferous unguent, scents the air with fragance, even after the vessel that contained it is stopped up and put by.

Once more. God may be said to visit his people when he calls them away from earth to heaven. To them who are in a state of grace death is no more than a friendly visit from the God of love. "As a person" (to use the comparison of an excellent writer) "that takes a walk in his garden, if he spy a beauteous full-blown flower, gathers it, and gives it a place in his bosom; so the Lord takes, as it were, his walks in his gardens, the churches, and gathers his lilies, souls fully ripe for glory, and with delight takes them to himself." Not satisfied with only deputing his angels to escort believers to the sky, he comes himself, in the manifestations of his presence, and, as it were, takes them by the hand, and leads them safe to Zion his holy mountain.—What is this world but a sort of academy wherein God's children are placed for education? And when their education is finished, when they have taken their degree in holiness, and are properly qualified for heaven, the Father of mercy orders out the chariot of death to convey his children home. From that hour he no longer visits them, but they visit him: and are with him for ever and ever.

O what a burst of joy, what a scene of glory opens to the ravished view, and beams on the triumphant soul of a saint in the moment of departure! The death-bed of a Christian is the anti-chamber of heaven, and the very suburbs of the New Jerusalem.

When the silver cords of life loosen apace,—when the last pins of the earthly tabernacle are taking out,—when the lips of the expiring saint turn pale, and the blush forsakes his cheek, and what little breath he draws returns cold,—when his limbs quiver,—when the pulse forgets to beat,—when the crimson current in his veins begins to stagnate, and the hovering soul is just on the wing for glory—fast as the το θνητον, the mortal part (2 Cor. v. 4.) of his composition subsides and falls off from the dis-imprisoned spirit; he brightens into the perfect image of God, and kindles into more than an angel of light. Jehovah visits him with smiles of everlasting love: Jesus beckons him to the regions of eternal day: the blessed Spirit of God wafts him, with a gentle gale, over the stream of death. The angelic potentates deem it an honour to usher the ransomed soul, and convoy the precious freight. Dis-embodied saints, who were landed long before, throng the blissful coast, to congratulate the new-born seraph on his safe arrival.—When Virgil entered the Roman theatre, the whole auditory testified their respect by rising from their seats. When a believer lands in glory, the whole Church triumphant may be supposed to welcome the new-admitted peer. He makes a public entry into the celestial city, the Jerusalem which is above. As joy is in heaven when a sinner repents, so joy is in heaven when a saint is taken home.

God will, indeed, pay his people one visit more, and but one. I mean in the morning of the resurrection, when he shall re-build their bodies into temples of perfection, immortality and glory. The souls of the regenerate, from the instant they take their flight, are admitted to the sight and fruition of his glorious godhead; and their bodies lie down in the grave, as a prince retires to his wardrobe, or as a bride withdraws to her closet, to come forth with additional beauty and lustre by and bye. Like a tender watchful parent, God is mindful of his elect while they are fast asleep: and, at the destined season, he will bring them from the east, and gather them from the west; he will say to the north, Give up; and to the south, Keep not back: bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth, Isa. xliii. 5. Their dust shall praise him. All their bones shall say, Lord, who is like unto thee? when that which was sown in corruption, weakness and dishonour, is raised in incorruption, power and glory. He, who raised up Jesus from the dead, will also quicken your mortal bodies, by his Spirit that dwelleth in you, Rom. viii. 11. That

(*l*) Acts xx. 38.

same divine Spirit, the third person in the godhead, who, on earth, quickens and raises the souls of the elect from a death in sin to the life of righteousness, will be immediately concerned in re-quickening their bodies, the temples in which he dwells, and to which he is incomprehensibly united even while they lie mouldering in the grave. In his book are all their members written. Every essential atom of their dust stands registered in the volume of omniscience. Every atom is numbered. Every atom is precious in his sight. Nor shall a single atom be lost. Whatever changes their bodies may undergo, by a resolution into their first principles, or even by incorporation with other beings; the constitutent particles requsite to identity shall, when the trumpet sounds, be collected from every quarter of the globe, whither they have been scattered; or, more justly speaking, treasured up: for the world is but a vast storehouse wherein the dust of the saints is reposited. What though for a few days and nights we lend our bodies to the tomb,

Join the dull mass, increase the trodden soil,
And sleep 'till earth herself shall be no more?

the grave is but a steward entrusted with our ashes, and responsible for the charge. Soon will the several elements resign their deposit, and give back the loan; the hallowed dust of God's elect; O death! no longer thine. While their souls are happy in the converse of Christ and angels, their bodies lie refining in the tomb, until the latter have slept away their dross, that both may be glorified together.—I shall only observe further,

1. That God is mindful of his saints, and visits them in all these respects, not for any merit of theirs, but freely, and for his own name's sake. He first gives them grace, and then glory. He makes them saints, and crowns them angels. "We love persons and things," says the excellent Dr. Arrowsmith, "because they are lovely: but God loves his people first, and makes them lovely afterwards. Our cause of love is in the objects loved; but the cause of God's love is entirely in himself. We were predestinated after the counsel of his own will; Eph. i. 11. not after the prior good inclinations of ours."——And, indeed, the text plainly teaches this most important truth: for, if the righteous were beforehand with God, *i. e.* if there were any goodness in the human will, of which God himself was not the absolute author and efficient, David must have asked a very absurd and a very heterodox question in saying, What is man, that thou art mindful of him? or the son of man, that thou visitest him?

2. If Jehovah in all his persons, if Father, Son and Spirit are thus mindful of men; O let men, in return, be mindful of God! mindful of his truths, mindful of his ordinances, mindful of his love, mindful of his word, mindful of his providence, mindful of his commandments! I wish every one of you what I wish for myself; a clear head, a warm heart, and a holy life: a mind enlightened into a judicious knowledge and perception of the gospel doctrines, in all their purity, harmony, and extent; a heart warmed with the vital experience of grace, with the love of Christ and the consolations of his spirit; whence will infallibly proceed a life practically devoted to God, and a conversation adorned with every Christian and moral virtue. To this end, let the Psalmist's prayer be your's: Be mindful of me, O Lord, with the favour that thou bearest unto thy people; O visit me with thy salvation! that I may, for myself in particular, see the felicity of thy chosen, and rejoice with the gladness of thy nation, and glory with thine inheritance. Psalm cvi. 4.

CLERICAL SUBSCRIPTION NO GRIEVANCE:

OR,

THE DOCTRINES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND PROVED TO BE THE DOCTRINES OF CHRIST.

In a discourse preached at an annual visitation of the clergy of the archdeaconry of Exeter, held at Collumpton, Tuesday, May 12, 1772.

Whosoever transgresseth, and abideth not in the Doctrine of Christ, hath not God. He that abideth in the Doctrine of Christ, hath both the Father and the Son, 2 John 9.

Quod vetus est, in Religione, reverendum. Burgersdic.

"If any man be a dumb Christian, not professing his faith openly, but cloking and colouring himself, for fear of danger in time to come; he giveth men occasion, justly and with good conscience, to doubt lest he have not the grace of the Holy Ghost within him: because he is tongue-tied, and does not speak."

Homily for Whitsunday. Part I.

SERMON V.

And Jesus went about all Galilee, teaching in their Synagogues, and preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom. Matt. iv. 23.

At a time when the adversaries of Christ and of his Church are leaving no effort untried to extinguish the knowledge of him, and to accomplish the demolition of that; at a time when the insidious and the daring are on full scent after every measure which art can suggest, or insolence avow, to subvert an establishment built on the foundation of the prophets and apostles, having Jesus Christ himself for its chief cornerstone; it eminently behoves those whom Providence hath stationed as watchmen upon the walls of Sion to sound the needful alarm, and to put God's professing people

on their guard, lest, being led away with the error of the wicked, they fall from their own stedfastness.

With a view to drive a nail in the ark; and to show my willingness at least to contribute something, though ever so little, towards a purpose so important; I have, on this public occasion, made choice of the words now read: to which I was the rather induced, as they naturally open a way for pointing out what those doctrines are, or what that gospel of the kingdom is, which were taught and preached by Him who spake as never man spake.

The intentional destroyers of our national Church profess a mighty veneration for the Scriptures: and are perpetually crying out, in the much-prostituted words of the celebrated Chillingworth, "The Bible, the Bible is the religion of Protestants." It is certain that the Bible ought to be the religion of all Protestants: but it is no less certain that there are some Protestants whose religion has no more concord with the Bible than Belial has with Christ. Witness the gentlemen who assemble at the Feathers Tavern in the Strand, for the laudable purpose of smiting their Mother under the fifth rib. Surely the Bible is not the religion of such Protestants! If they revered the original, would they seek to demolish the transcript? If they regarded the fountain, would they labour, first, to poison, and then to cut off, the stream? I wish the true cause of their enmity against the vine may not be a hatred of the sacred soil in which it grows. They would, perhaps, love the Church better if the Bible and the Church were less agreed. No unprejudiced person will censure this apprehension as hasty and uncharitable who considers the extreme thinness of that partition by which Socinianism and infidelity are divided from each other.

That the whole chain of doctrines comprised in our public standards as a Church, is perfectly coincident with that system of religious truths which God the Son made the grand subjects of his own personal ministry on earth will, I hope, be sufficiently proved in the course of our present enquiry. Nor do I think that the meditations even of this reverend and respectable assembly can be directed into a more suitable channel, than by briefly reviewing the first principles of the doctrine of Christ, (*m*) as declared and asserted by that adorable person in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge (*n*). Permit me, therefore, my honoured brethren, to put you in remembrance of these things, though I would wish to take for granted that many of us already know them; and that some of us are established in the present truth. The articles of the faith once delivered to the saints, (*o*) are not points of idle curiosity or barren speculation; but enter deeply into our comfort and holiness as Christians: consequently, they cannot be too frequently reviewed, nor too attentively surveyed.—Let me likewise intimate that they cannot be pointed out with too much plainness and sincerity. If trimming and hypocrisy, duplicity and adulation, be justly considered as indications both of guilt and meanness, even in the common intercourse of civil and social life; how much deeper guilt must he incur, and what transcendent contempt must he deserve, who, from sinister motives of honour, interest, or applause, would dare to temporize in holy things, and either maim the body of religious doctrine by a partial display of it, or veil and disguise it with the cloud of artificial misrepresentation! He that hath my word, let him speak my word faithfully; for what is the chaff to the wheat, saith the Lord? (*p*) An inspired prophet hath declared, Cursed be he that doth the work of the Lord deceitfully. (*q*) An apostle hath said, Do I seek to please men? If I yet pleased men, [sought to please them at the expense of truth,] I should not be the servant of Christ. (*r*) Jesus Christ himself hath affirmed, Whosoever shall be ashamed of me, and of my words, *i. e.* of me and of my doctrines, in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him also shall the Son of man be ashamed, *i. e.* him shall the Son of man disown, when he comes in the glory of his Father with the holy angels. (*s*) A denun-

(*m*) Heb. vi. 1.
(*n*) Col. ii. 3.
(*o*) Jude 3.
(*p*) Jer. xxiii. 28.
(*q*) Jer. xlviii. 10.
(*r*) Gal. i. 10.
(*s*) Mark viii. 38.—I was formerly well acquainted with two worthy persons in the ministry, who were eminently pious, and extensively useful. One of these died in 1759, the other in 1761. I thought that if ever any men in the world were faithful to the light God had given them, these were. And yet, in their last illnesses, they had such a feeling sight of their past unfaithfulness as almost reduced them, for a time, to a despair of salvation. The former of them said, he "only wished to live, that he might have an opportunity of preaching the Gospel in a fuller manner than he had ever yet done." The latter cried out in an agony of distress, "God hides the light of his face from my soul, and is putting me to bed in the dark, because, out of a dastardly complaisance to some of my hearers I have not dwelt enough upon the doctrines of grace, in the course of my public ministrations:" instancing, particularly, in the doctrine of election; "In which doctrine," added he, "I now see such a glory as I never saw before." Yet both were good men, and went off comfortably at last: though not until they had been led through a tedious, dismal wilderness of keen remorse and distressing conflicts. A death-bed makes even the children of God themselves feel the importance of divine things, with a force which they rarely, if ever feel, until then. Such as suppress and keep back any part of Christian doctrine, either through fear of men, or to curry the favour of men; and consult their own ease, advancement, or reputation, at the cost of truth and of souls; have a tremendous valley of pain and horror to pass through ere they reach the kingdom of heaven. If

ciation this sufficient to make every minister's ears to tingle, and his heart to tremble! —Be it so then, that a faithful exhibition of the whole counsel of God, so far as he has been pleased to reveal it, may expose his messengers to the risk of being deemed unfashionable preachers. I trust, we are neither to be "ravished with the whistling," nor frightened by the phantom, of a name. For my own part, was it possible for me to preach before the whole universe at once, I would make no scruple to acknowledge it as my heart's desire and prayer, that I may never be ashamed of the gospel of Christ, (*t*) and that the doctrines of grace may never be out of fashion with me, so long as they remain in the Bible. I wish to assert the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; and leave God to take care of consequences.

After what has been premised, it may be superfluous to add that the brief hints which ensue, though delivered with firmness, and under the strongest conviction of their truth and importance, will yet be offered with all possible humility; and I doubt not of their being received with candour: especially, since I will venture to be quite confident that face does not answer face in a glass with greater exactness than the positive determinations of our own Church correspond to the voice of Scripture, respecting the points that follow.

The object, then, of our present attention is, To weigh the principles of the Church of England in the balance of the sanctuary, by examining, What were those doctrines which the Lord of life and glory made it his business to inculcate, during his continuance on earth.

In elucidating this question, I shall endeavour to be as brief as possible: if, however, I should find myself unavoidably obliged to trespass on your time beyond the limits which custom ordinarily assigns on these occasions, I hope the extent and importance of the subject will conciliate your patience, and plead my excuse. I begin,

I. With the divine inspiration of the writings of the Old Testament. The authenticity of those inestimable books has received the repeated sanction of Christ's unerring attestation. Beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself (*u*). Those writings he frequently quoted, and to them he frequently appealed, as sacred and infallible: All things, said he, must be fulfilled, which were written in the law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms concerning me. (*x*) Thither he directed the study of his disciples: Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think, and are right in thinking, that ye have eternal life; these are they that testify of me (*y*). When he declares, that the Scripture cannot be broken; (*z*) what is it but to say, "The Old Testament is divine: the facts it relates, and the doctrines it contains, are true: its prophecies are infallible: and it is easier for heaven and earth to pass, than for one tittle of the law to fail." (*a*) When tempted in the wilderness of Judea, he foiled the adversary with weapons taken from that sacred repository. It is written, (*b*) was his constant reply, and the constant shield whereby he extinguished and repelled the fiery darts of the wicked one.—In the same night wherein he was betrayed, he acknowledged his power to command the attendance of angels for his deliverance: But how then, said he, shall the Scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be? (*c*)—Seeing, therefore, that all these passages relate to the Old Testament only (for they were spoken many years before a line of the New was written), well may the Church declare, (*d*) "In the name of Holy Scripture, we do understand those Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church."

Our Lord having thus vouchsafed to make the Scriptures the source whence he drew, and the test to which he referred, every article of faith which he proposed to mankind; no wonder that he should,

II. In perfect conformity with that unerring standard, assert and teach that grand fundamental axiom of all true religion, *viz.* the unity of the Godhead. We find him quoting and setting his seal to those words of Moses, Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord. (*e*) And again, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve. (*f*)—Here, likewise, the Church of England speaks in exact unison with her blessed Master: "There is but one living and true God; everlasting; without body, parts, and passions; of infinite power, wisdom and goodness; the maker and preserver of all things both visible and invisible." (Art. I.)—But, though Christ was careful to maintain, inviolably, the unity of the divine essence; he was no less careful in the

IIId place, to assert a plurality of persons

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saved at all, it will be as by fire, *i. e.* in a way of anguish and difficulty. The blood of souls stains deep.—Well, therefore, might the apostle Paul declare, Woe is me, if I preach not the gospel, 1 Cor. ix. 16. Thrice happy are they who can add with him, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I may finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God.—I take you to record, this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men: for I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God. Acts xx. 24. 26, 27.

(*t*) Rom. i. 16.
(*u*) Luke xxiv. 27.
(*x*) Luke v. 44.
(*y*) John v. 39.
(*z*) John x. 35.
(*a*) Luke xvi. 17.
(*b*) Matt. iv. 4. 7. 10.
(*c*) Matt. xxvi. 54.
(*d*) Art. I.
(*e*) Mark xii. 29.
(*f*) Matt. iv. 10.

in that essence. As to himself in particular he expressly averred, All things that the Father hath are mine (*g*): the same moral attributes; the same natural perfections; the same infinity of existence, glory and power. He associates himself with the Father as governor of all things in a way of providence: My Father worketh hitherto, and I work (*h*). Immediately after relating which words, the evangelist adds, Therefore the Jews, in whose hearing this declaration was made, sought the more to kill him, because he had said that God was his father, making himself equal with God. Consequently, either Christ, considered in his superior character, must be truly and properly a person in the divine nature; or we must file an accusation against him, as guilty of the blackest impiety in claiming an equality with the Most High. We must either blasphemously degrade the Saviour of men infinitely below the level even of that proud and presumptuous cardinal (*i*), who was deservedly impeached for putting himself into co-partnership with his earthly sovereign, by writing in his public letters, "The king and I (*k*);" —we must either do this, or acknowledge the Messiah to be what most certainly he is in concert with the Father and the sacred Spirit, God over all, blessed for ever. When the Jews said to him, For a good work we stone thee not, but for blasphemy, and because thou, being a man, makest thyself God (*l*); would he not have corrected them in a point of such unspeakable moment, if they had really mistaken his meaning? Would he not, like Paul and Barnabas at Lystra, have disavowed with horror and indignation all pretensions to divinity, if he had not indeed and in truth been divine? Would he, like impious Herod, have acquiesced in the supposed arrogation of Deity, if he had not been God and man in one person? But so far was he from telling his accusers that they misapprehended his doctrine, and that he laid no sort of claim to the honours of the Godhead; he on the contrary confirmed the inference they had drawn, by appealing to the miracles he performed: Though ye believe not me, believe the works; that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him. Would he have left a positive injunction that all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father (*m*); if the Son was not equally divine? How would it sound if a lawgiver was to enact, "That all men should honour the angel Gabriel (for instance) with the same honour which they render to God?" we should tremble with horror; we should be overwhelmed with consternation, at the prodigiousness of such impiety. And why? Because the honour due to God is peculiar to God, and cannot, without sacrilege, be transferred to any inferior being. I conclude therefore that seeing the Redeemer of sinners lays claim to divine honours, he is and must be a divine person. If not, the consequences would be dreadful indeed. From the Arian and Socinian hypothesis that he is at most but the first and highest of created beings, it would follow (I speak it with horror; but follow it inevitably would), that the Jews did right in branding him for a blasphemer, and in prosecuting him as an impostor. There is no possible medium. Either he was and is what he professed to be, "equal with the Father as touching his Godhead;" or he must be deservedly ranked with the most impious and execrable of all human characters. If Christ were not very and eternal God, Christianity would be the most refined system of idolatry, and consequently the most exquisitely dangerous religion under heaven.

Nothing short of Trinity in unity could justify the commission which our blessed Lord gave to his apostles and their successors, to baptize in the name or into the knowledge and worship of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost (*n*). If the Son of God were not God the Son, if the Spirit of God were not God the Spirit, the administration of baptism in their name would be an act of the highest profaneness and idolatry. The doctrine therefore of a trinity of persons

(*g*) John xvi. 15. (*h*) John v. 17.
(*i*) Wolsey. See the Parliamentary Hist. of England, vol. iii. p. 44.
(*k*) Speaks not Arminianism the same audacious language? Does not the doctrine of free-will, as commonly understood and received, represent man as God's co-adjutor, and even as a co-efficient with his Maker? Let the two following citations from a brace of modern free-willers stand as a sample. "Thou art courted by Father, Son, and Spirit, thy fellow-labourers for thy good. To glad all heaven, assert, rescue, ennob'e, and with bliss eternal crown thyself; for without thee, in the constituted order of things, Heaven is unable to do it." Centaur not Fabul. Let. vi.—The well known author of the preceding quotation was a person of learning, sense, and genius. But the indelicate scribbler of that which follows, unable to set his free-will idol on stilts, is forced to let it crawl in a style as Gothic as his doctrine. One would almost imagine that he inherited the serpent's malediction, Upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life. He roundly tells us that, in the conversion of St. Paul and others, "The Lord did wait for man's compliance and improvements:" and that the work of God upon the human heart is "as much dependent," for its efficacy on the compliance and improvements aforesaid, as the birth of Isaac was dependent "on Abraham's copulation with Sarah." See Mr. Walter Sellon's libel on the late Mr. Elisha Coles, p. 224, and p. 227.
To say nothing of the grossness, and even indecency, with which the above libeller conveys his ideas; I appeal to every reader, whether Wolsey's mode of expression was not innocent and humble, when compared with the Arminian phraseology of God and I?—
(*l*) John x. 33. (*m*) John v. 23.
(*n*) Matt. xxviii. 19

in the unity of one divine nature, is a doctrine of express revelation; a doctrine of the utmost consequence; and which lies at the very root and foundation of the Christian system.

——*In te omnis domus inclinata recumbit.*

Give up this, and you give up all. The whole of Christianity is but an empty name without it.

Blessed be God, the faith of our own Church respecting this capital point, most exactly harmonizes with the law and the testimony; for she affirms that "in unity of this Godhead, there be three persons of one substance, power and eternity; the Father the Son, and the Holy Ghost (*o*)." And elsewhere she thus speaks: "That which we believe of the glory of the Father, the same we believe of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, without any difference or inequality (*p*)."

IV. God's everlasting love to his people and his gratuitous election of them to grace and glory, constituted another branch of that doctrine which was taught and preached by Jesus Christ the righteous. He declared in a solemn address to his Father, made in the hearing of his disciples, Thou hast loved them as thou hast loved me (*q*). Now the Father's love to Christ was truly and properly eternal. It knew no commencement nor will know a period. For it follows in the very next verse, Thou lovedst me before the foundation of the world. Consequently if the Father loved his people as he loved his Son, he must, according to our Lord's own words, have loved them from everlasting. Hence proceeded his choice and appointment of them in Christ to eternal life as the end; and to faith and sanctification as the means. That he has so chosen and appointed them is evident from the express repeated declarations of Christ himself. I thank thee, says he, holy Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes; even so Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight (*r*). Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven; but to them it is not given. (*s*) Many are called, but few chosen (*t*). Shall not God avenge his own elect who cry day and night unto him (*u*)? Rejoice, because your names are written in heaven (*x*). To sit on my right hand and on my left is not mine to give, except (*y*) unto those for whom it hath been prepared of my Father. I speak not of you all: I know whom I have chosen (*z*). There shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders: insomuch that if it were possible they should deceive the very elect (*a*). For the elects' sake whom he hath chosen he will shorten those days (*b*). He shall send his angels, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from under one end of heaven to the other (*c*). Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world (*d*). On which passages and a multitude of others to the same effect, all of which strongly assert a personal and immutable election; I do not know a more scriptural and judicious comment than those words of our own Church: "Predestination to life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby, before the foundations of the worlds were laid, he hath constantly decreed, by his counsel secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation as vessels made to honour (*e*)." Of these "vessels made unto honour," she declares the Church at large to consist: "The true Church" says she "is an universal congregation or fellowship of God's faithful and elect people (*f*)." Hence, in perfect harmony with Scripture and herself, she prays that God would, "make his chosen people joyful (*g*)." that he would "shortly accomplish the number of his elect (*h*);" and declares that "Almighty God hath knit together his elect in one communion and fellowship, in the mystical body of his Son Christ our Lord (*i*)." Neither doth this blessed doctrine, if taken as it is revealed in Scripture, and as it stands thence adopted by the Church, tend either directly or remotely to the relaxation of human diligence, or to the detriment of good works. The apostle hath declared that we are chosen to salvation (*k*) through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth, and no otherwise. And the Church, who justly affirms, on one hand, that "The godly consideration of predestination and of our election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons (*l*); takes care on the other, to remind her children in the second homily on almsgiving, that it is "by their obedience unto God that they declare openly and manifestly to the sight of men that they are the sons of God, and elect of him unto salvation."

V. The covenant of grace and redemption which subsisted between the three divine persons, before all worlds, in behalf of the Church and people of God, held a distin-

(*o*) Art i. (*p*) Communion Service.
(*q*) John xvii. 23. (*r*) Matt xi. 25, 26.
(*s*) Matt. xiii. 11. (*t*) Ib. xx. 16.
(*u*) Luke xviii. 7.
(*x*) Ib. x. 20. (*y*) ΑΛΛ' οις ἡτοιμασται. Matt. xx. 23.
(*z*) John xiii. 18. (*a*) Matt. xxiv. 24.
(*b*) Matt. xxiv. 22. with Mark xiii. 20.
(*c*) Matt. xxiv. 31. (*d*) Matt. xxv. 35.
(*e*) Art. 17. (*f*) Hom. for Whitsunday p. 1
(*g*) Daily Service. (*h*) Funeral Office
(*i*) Collect for All-Saints Day.
(*k*) 2 Thess. ii. 13. (*l*) Art. 17.

guished place in that scheme of doctrine preached by the Lord from heaven. He termed his precious blood the blood of the new covenant (*m*): because he shed it in consequence of his own voluntary stipulation with the Father and the Spirit. He told his disciples, I covenant a kingdom unto you as my Father covenanted unto me (*n*). A little before his last sufferings he said, Father, the hour is come (*o*): the tremendous, the important hour agreed and fixed upon, when the counsel of peace was between us both. I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do (*p*); and which I promised to execute when I entered into covenant with thee for the salvation of lost sinners. One of the last words he uttered on the cross was, It is finished (*q*): I have accomplished all my fœderal engagements, and completed the designs of grace, for which the Lord God and his Spirit sent me (*r*) into the world.

Nor does our excellent establishment lose sight of this momentous article. She makes express mention of God's "counsel secret to us." (*s*) She declares that Christ "took upon him," or engaged and stipulated, "to deliver man." (*t*) She directs us to "give most humble and hearty thanks to God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for the redemption of the world, by the death of Christ; (*u*) because that redemption was founded on a previous treaty, in which all the three persons were mutually concerned. For what was the covenant of grace but the concurring will and determination of Father, Son, and Spirit, to save sinners by the intervention of a Mediator? "When the fulness of time was come, that is, says our Church, the perfection and course of years appointed from the beginning, then God, according to his former covenant and promise, sent a Messiah (*x*). She adds, that "Christ the Son of God did, by the appointment of his Father, come down from heaven, to be wounded for our sakes (*y*):" and reminds us, elsewhere, that our "freedom is purchased with the price of the precious blood of Jesus Christ, who was ordained to the same purpose before the world was made (*z*)." The covenant of redemption proceeded on a certain and infallible foresight of the fall of man. Hence we need not wonder,

VI. That Christ took care to inculcate the doctrine of original sin. He plainly alluded to the event of the temptation in paradise, when he termed the instrument of it a liar, and a murderer from the beginning (*a*). In declaring that which is born of the flesh is flesh (*b*), he gives us to understand that all mankind are, by nature, destitute of that moral image of God in which their first father was created. He represents this universal, hereditary corruption of the human race as the source whence every actual sin proceeds: From within, out of the heart of men, proceed evil thoughts, adulteries, fornications, murders, thefts, covetousness, deceit, lasciviousness, an evil eye, blasphemy, pride, foolishness; all these evil things come from within, and defile the man (*c*). Well, therefore, might he observe to Nicodemus, Marvel not that I said unto thee, Ye must be born again; for, except a man be born again, born from above, inwardly and outwardly renewed by the supernatural power of the blessed Spirit, whose purifying agency resembles that of water, he cannot see the kingdom of God; (*d*) he can neither be a subject of the kingdom of grace here, nor have a part and lot in the kingdom of glory hereafter. Warranted by these express and solemn asseverations of Christ, the Church affirms that "original, or birth sin, is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man who naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam; whereby man is [*quàm longissimè*] gone as far as possible from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil." (*e*) So in the first part of the homily for Whitsunday, she draws this double portrait of man in the state of nature, and of man in a state of grace: "Man of his own nature is fleshly and carnal, corrupt and naught, sinful and disobedient to God; without any spark of goodness in him, without any virtuous or godly motion, only given to evil thoughts and wicked deeds. As for the works of the Spirit, the fruits of faith, charitable and godly motions; if he have any at all in him, they proceed only of the Holy Ghost, who is the only worker of our sanctification, and maketh us new men in Christ Jesus. Such is the power of the Holy Ghost to regenerate men, and, as it were, to bring them forth anew; so that they shall be nothing like the men they were before."

VII. Pardon of sin by the sacrifice of

(*m*) Called "The new Covenant," not in respect of its date (for it is truly and properly eternal), but with respect to the revelation of it to Adam. The covenant of grace made with Christ before all worlds (Gal. iii. 16. 2 Tim. i. 9. Tit. i. 2.), was not discovered and made known to our first parents, until after they had broken the covenant of works: which latter being first revealed, is therefore styled The Old Covenant. Adverting to which important distinction, *i. e.* with a view not to the manifestation but, to the real date of the covenant of redemption, the apostle terms the blood of Christ, the blood of the everlasting covenant. Heb. xiii. 20.

(*n*) διατίθεμαι. — κατὰ διαθήκην. Luke xxii. 29.
(*o*) John xvii. 1. (*p*) John xvii. 4.
(*q*) Ib. xix. 30. (*r*) Isai. xlviii. 16.
(*s*) Art. 17. (*t*) Te Deum.
(*u*) Communion Service.
(*x*) Homily on the Nativity.
(*y*) Second Homily on the Passion.
(*z*) Homily on the Resurrection.
(*a*) John viii. 44. (*b*) John iii. 6.
(*c*) Mark vii 21–23. (*d*) Ib. iii. 3–7. (*e*) Art 9.

himself, and by the atonement of his own propitiatory sufferings and death, was another of those truths which he taught and preached.

Prior to Adam's fall, the law insisted only on a sinless, persevering obedience, as the term and condition of our ultimate salvation. But man being fallen, the law steps in with another demand on us, a demand superadded to the former; namely, that we suffer that penalty which the broken covenant of works denounces against every one who continueth not in all things that are written in the book of the law to do them. From this penalty nothing could exempt us but the substitution of Jesus Christ to bear it in our stead. And blessed be the riches of his grace, he, who knew no sin, was made sin, a sin-bearer and a sin-offering for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him. He hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, by his own blood, being made a curse for us. Hence he averred, that his blood was shed for many, for the remission of sins; (*f*) and that the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life *αντιλυτρον*, a substitutionary ransom for many (*g*). In exactly the same point of view does the Church consider the nature and efficacy of his atoning blood. "He came," says our fifteenth Article, "to be the Lamb without spot, who, by sacrifice of himself once made, should take away the sins of the world." She testifies that God gave his "only Son to be unto us a sacrifice for sin," as well as "an example of godly life (*h*);" and, treating professedly of the "perfect redemption," accomplished by his most precious death, avers that "there is no other satisfaction for sin, but that alone (*i*)."

VIII. The justification of sinners by his own imputed righteousness is, likewise, a doctrine which Jesus taught. Justification is that gracious act of God by which he reckons and esteems a person perfectly righteous, and finally rewards him as such. Now God, whose judgment is alway according to truth, (*k*) can never deem any man perfectly righteous who is not, in some way or other, possessed of a perfect righteousness. But, all mankind being tainted with original defilement, which even the grace of regeneration does not fully exterminate during the present life, since, in our native state, we are totally sinful, and, in our renewed state, sanctified but in part; it follows that no man is, in himself, completely righteous. As, therefore, forgiveness of sin can only flow to us through the channel of Christ's imputed sufferings; so, justification, or acceptance with God, can only flow to us through the channel of Christ's imputed obedience.

By imputation, I mean God's graciously placing that to our account which we did not personally do. Whoever denies the imputation of Christ's sufferings to us men, is a Socinian in the essential import of the word. And whoever denies the imputation of Christ's own personal obedience must, to be consistent, deny the imputation of Christ's own personal sufferings. You must admit the imputation of both, or you virtually disallow the imputation of either: for if it be deemed unreasonable that God should justify sinners by a righteousness which they themselves did not perform; what will become of that doctrine which affirms that sinners are pardoned through a ransom which they themselves did not pay, and by a death which they themselves did not undergo? Explode, therefore, the imputation of Christ's righteousness, and we are, that instant, in the very gall of Socinianism: for the atonement itself stands on one and the same basis with the other. The language of the moral law is inflexibly this: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength; and thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. Do this, and live: but if thou sin, thou diest. Obey me perfectly, and I pronounce thee justified: break me in any one point, and I pronounce you condemned as guilty of all." But where is the man (Christ only excepted) who ever did love God with all his heart and strength? where is the person who practically loves his neighbour as himself, and who has never broken the law so much as in one point? Consequently, not a single descendent from Adam can be justified by his own obedience to the moral law. We must, if justified at all, be clothed, by imputation, with the obedience of him who alone, strictly speaking, fulfilled all righteousness; or yielded such a conformity to the law as was perfect in all its parts, and perfect in the highest degree. Hence he directs us to seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness (*l*): the kingdom of God the Son, as our portion, and an interest in the righteousness of God the Son, as the procuring cause of it. He shewed the utter impossibility of being justified by human works, and the absolute necessity of our being clothed with a better righteousness than our own, in those parts of his sermon on the mount wherein he explained the spirituality and extent of the moral law. By declaring, that causeless and immoderate

(*f*) Matt. xxvi. 28. (*g*) Ib xx. 28.
(*h*) Collect for the second Sunday after Easter.
(*i*) Art. 31. (*k*) Rom. ii. 2.
(*l*) Matt. vi. 33.

anger are murder (*m*), in the estimation of God; that mere concupiscence is adultery, in the eye of uncreated purity; and that even to speak a contemptuous word to our neighbour brings us, according to the strict tenor of God's perfect law, in danger of hell-fire (*n*); he gives us to understand, that by the deeds of the law no flesh living can be justified. When our Lord speaks of that wedding garment (*o*), by which we have free access unto the Father; and of that best robe (*p*), in which his repenting people stand faultless before the throne; he means, I dare believe, that righteousness of God incarnate, which is to all and upon all them that believe (*q*). Very express is the decision of the Church concerning this essential branch of Christian doctrine: "We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith; and not for our own works or deservings (*r*)." She lays it down as a most certain truth, that "God made his blessed Son obedient to the law for man." (*s*) She quotes and adopts that remark of St. Basil, that "Paul gloried in the contempt of his own righteousness, and that he looked for the righteousness of God by faith (*t*)." Nay, she affirms, in so many words, that "Christ is now the righteousness of all them who truly believe in him. He for them paid their ransom by his death; he for them fulfilled the law in his life; so that now, in him and by him, every true Christian man may be called a fulfiller of the law (*u*)." Supported by such positive evidence, I will venture to pronounce that the man who denies justification by the imputed righteousness of Christ is, in the strictest acceptation of the term, a dissenter from the Church of England. Every real member of that Church will and does adopt that usual saying of one of its brightest ornaments, "Had I all the faith of the patriarchs, all the zeal of the prophets, all the good works of the apostles, all the holy sufferings of the martyrs, and all the glowing devotion of the seraphs; I would disclaim the whole, in point of dependance, and count all but dross and dung, when compared with the infinitely precious death and the infinitely meritorious righteousness of Jesus Christ my Lord."

IX. The doctrine of effectual vocation and conversion, by the influence of insuperable grace, stands high on the list of the doctrines taught by Christ. All that the Father giveth me shall come to me (*x*), or be made to believe in me, to the saving of their souls. The hour is coming, and now is, when the dead, the dead **in sin**, **shall hear** the voice of the Son of God; and, hearing, they shall live (*y*): live to God below; and live with God, when their spirits return to him that gave them. Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold, who are not within the pale of Judaism; them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one flock and one shepherd (*z*). To the same effect speaks the Church: "Wherefore they that be indued with so excellent a benefit of God, be called, according to God's purpose, by his Spirit working in due season (*a*)." Nor can any thing be more truly apostolical than that solemn caveat which she enters against the imaginary powers of free-will, in the first part of the homily concerning repentance: "Even so must we beware and take heed, that we do in no wise think in our hearts, imagine, or believe, that we are able to repent aright, or to turn effectually unto the Lord, by our own might and strength. For this must be verified in all men, Without me ye can do nothing. Again: Of ourselves we are not able so much as to think a good thought. And, in another place, It is God that worketh in us both the will and the deed. For this cause, although Jeremy had said before, If thou return, O Israel, return unto me, saith the Lord; yet afterwards he saith, Turn thou me, O Lord; and I shall be turned, for thou art the Lord my God. And therefore that ancient writer and holy father Ambrose, doth plainly affirm that the turning of the heart unto God is of God: as the Lord himself doth testify by his prophet, saying, And I will give thee a heart to know me, that I am the Lord; and they shall be my people, and I will be their God: for they shall return to me with their whole heart."—In her public addresses to God, the Church acknowledges that it is from him "All holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works, do proceed (*b*); and that it is he "Who maketh us both to will and to do those things that be good and acceptable to his divine majesty (*c*)."

Inseparable from the grace of effectual calling, are,

X. The sanctifying agency and constant inhabitation of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of them that believe.

Cyrus is reported to have said to Crœsus, "The chests in which I keep my riches are the hearts and affections of my people." With still greater truth may it be said that the souls of the regenerate are the repositories in which God lays up the riches of

(*m*) Matt. v. 21, 22, 27, 28.
(*o*) Matt. xxii. 11, 12.
(*q*) Rom. iii. 22.
(*s*) Coll. for the Circumc.
(*u*) Hom. of Salvat. Part 1.
(*n*) Matt. v. 22.
(*p*) Luke xv. 22.
(*r*) Art. II.
(*t*) Hom. of Salvat.
(*x*) John vi. 37
(*y*) John. v. 25. και οι ακουσαντες ζησονται.
(*z*) John x. 16.
(*b*) Daily Evening Service.
(*c*) Confirmation Office.
(*a*) Art. 17

his grace. His best treasure is in the hearts of his people: for there himself resides. If I depart, said Christ, I will send the comforter unto you: and when he is come, he will convince the world, *i. e.* the elect believing world, of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment (*d*). He convinces of sin, by making his people sensible of their native unbelief and total sinfulness. He convinces of righteousness, by pointing out to their view, and leading them to rely upon, that vicarious obedience of one, even of Christ, through the imputation of which many are made righteous (*e*) before God. He convinces of judgment, by turning the soul from dead works to serve the living and true God. Satan is, as it were, brought to the bar, judged, found guilty of usurpation, and deposed (*f*) from the throne of the converted sinner's heart: who, thenceforward, is enabled to live, not to himself, but to the glory of that Saviour who died for him, and rose again.

Nor does the blessed Spirit cease to dwell in those who are born again of him. I will pray the Father, and he will give you another comforter, that he may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him; but ye know him; for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you (*g*). Nor must we consider this promise as peculiar to the apostles: for the gracious Promiser declares, He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his heart shall flow rivers of living water; his consolations shall abound, and the overflowing streams of practical godliness shall enrich and adorn the whole of his conversation: this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive (*h*).

This divine influence, its intrinsic efficacy, and practical effects, are strongly recognized by our national Church. She teaches us to pray that "we, being regenerate, and made the children of God by adoption and grace, may daily be renewed by the Holy Spirit;" that we may, "by the same Spirit, have a right judgment in all things, and evermore rejoice in his holy comfort (*i*)." She describes "godly persons" to be such as "feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the deeds of the flesh, and drawing up their minds to high and heavenly things (*k*)." She avers that, by the blessed Spirit of God, "the whole body of the Church is governed and sanctified (*l*);" and adopts this acknowledgment for her own, "No man can know thy pleasure, except thou givest wisdom, and sendest thy Holy Spirit from above. Send him down, therefore, from the holy heavens, and from the throne of thy majesty, that he may be with me, and labour with me, that so I may know what is acceptable before thee (*m*)." From this government and sanctification of the Holy Spirit, proceeds,

XI. That never-failing stream of good works which Christ so constantly enforced, and which all true believers are so careful to maintain. Every good tree, says our Lord, every soul made good by the grace of God, bringeth forth good fruit (*n*).—Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you (*o*).—He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me (*p*). Nor does the Church speak a different language: "Here is now that glass wherein thou must behold thyself, and discern whether thou hast the Holy Ghost within thee, or the spirit of the flesh. If thou see that thy works be virtuous and good, consonant to the prescript rule of God's word, savouring and tasting not of the flesh, but of the Spirit; then assure thyself that thou art endued with the Holy Ghost: otherwise, in thinking well of thyself, thou dost nothing else but deceive thyself (*q*)."

XII. That real sanctification and good works are crowned with the grace of final perseverance is most expressly taught by Christ. My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me: and I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hand. My Father, who gave them me, is greater than all, and none is able to pluck them out of my Father's hand (*r*). As for those who fall away from the profession they once made, our Lord roundly ascribes it to their having had no root in themselves (*s*): they had the appearance of grace, but not the truth of grace. Hence he will declare to those on his left hand, Depart from me, ye workers of iniquity; I never knew you (*t*): whereas, if

(*d*) John xvi. 8.
(*e*) Rom. v. 19. (*f*) When king Richard II. was deposed by parliament, and the crown adjudged to the duke of Lancaster, what was the consequence? The nation were convinced of judgment: *i. e.* convinced of the judgment, or sentence of deprivation, which had passed on the former king; and that their allegiance was, thenceforward, transferred to another sovereign. Much such a revolution, spiritually speaking, ensues in the hearts and lives of those who, by the energy of renewing grace, are turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.
(*g*) John xiv. 16, 17. (*h*) John vii. 38, 39.
(*i*) Col. for Christmas Day and for Whitsunday.
(*k*) Art. 17. (*l*) Second Collect for Good-Friday.
(*m*) Homily for Rogation, part 3.
(*n*) Matt. vii. 17. (*o*) John xv. 14.
(*p*) John xiv. 21. (*q*) Hom. for Whitsunday, Pt. i.
(*r*) John x. 27, 28, 29. (*s*) Mark iv. 17.
(*t*) Then will I [ὁμολογήσω] solemnly aver unto them, I never [οὐδέποτε] at any time knew you: Matt. vii. 23. That ομολογεω is sometimes rendered by *affirmo, fateor, revoco*, stands in no need of proof. What a shocking tenet, then, must that be which affirms the defectibility of real grace, in direct contrariety to that public and solemn asseveration, which Christ himself will make at the last tremendous audit, in the hearing of angels and men.

any of those that perish had, once, savingly known him, and been known by him, they might retort, "Yes, Lord, thou didst know us once, and we knew thee, prior to our making shipwreck of salvation." But this will be impossible for any of them to say. Consequently, the doctrine which affirms the perpetuity of grace stands immoveable on the pillars of infallible truth. No wonder, then, that the Church should assert, "Christ Jesus, the prophets, the apostles, and all the true ministers of his word; yea, every jot and tittle in the holy Scripture; have been, are, and shall be for evermore, the savour of life unto eternal life, unto all those whose hearts God hath purified by true faith (*u*)." Nor does this view of things open (as is falsely affirmed) a door to disobedience and remissness. It no more follows, because a true Christian cannot fall finally from grace that he may therefore come down from his watch-tower and commit sin with (*x*) safety; than it will follow, that our Lord might have thrown himself from the battlements of the temple, because it was written that God would give his angels charge concerning him to bear him in their hands. And how can it be thought that this important truth leads to licentiousness, when we lay down this as a fundamental maxim, that none have any shadow of pretence to consider themselves interested in the blessing of perseverance, but those only who manifest that interest by being inwardly conformed to God, and outwardly observant of his commandments?

XIII. The doctrine of God's unlimited particular providence, in the support, government, and direction of all things without exception, makes an eminent branch of the Christian system, as taught by Christ. We find him thanking his Father as the Lord of heaven and earth (*y*). We hear him declare that man liveth not by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God (*z*). Nay, that the very hairs of our head are all numbered (*a*) by him who made them. That it is God who maketh his sun to rise, and rain to descend (*b*): That he feedeth the fowls of the air, and clothes the herbage of the fields (*c*); and that a single sparrow falleth not to the ground without our Father's (*d*) will and direction. Much less can events of a superior kind, and of still more important consequence, come to pass at random or by accident; witness those words of Christ to Pilate: Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it was given thee from above (*e*). No less peremptory and explicit is the Church in her denial of chance, and in her recognition of absolute Providence. God, says she, "worketh all things in his secret judgment to his own pleasure (*f*)." "Epicures they be who imagine that he walketh about the coasts of the heavens, and hath no respect of these inferior things, but that all these things should proceed either by chance or at adventure, or else by disposition of fortune; and God to have no stroke in them: what other thing is this, than to say as the fool supposeth in his heart, there is no God (*g*)?" Pursuant to these reflections she addresses the Supreme Being under the character of him "whose never failing providence ordereth all things both in heaven and earth (*h*)."

XIV. The immortality of the human soul, its separate existence, consciousness, and activity, in a state of detachment from the body; together with its immediate punishment or beatification, as soon as dislodged by death; were all strongly inculcated by the great author of our faith. Fear not them that kill the body, but who are not able to kill the soul (*i*). He preached the same doctrine in his expiring moments, when a cross was his pulpit, and when the conversion of a dying malefactor was the last seal of his ministry: To-day shalt thou, *i. e.* shall thy soul be with me in paradise (*k*). How clear and forcible is that other declaration of his, God is not the God of the dead, *i. e.* of the dead only; of the bodies of men or of that part of man which dies; but of the living: of that also which survives; even their souls: for all live to him (*l*) in the separate state, either glorified as temples of his grace, or punished as monuments of his displeasure. To add but one more testimony: whether we consider the account of Lazarus and the rich man (*m*) as a parable or a fact; the instantaneous conveyance of the former on angels' wings to Abraham's bosom, and the no less instantaneous punishment of the latter—together with the conversation which passed, or was supposed to pass, between the glorified soul of Abraham and the tormented soul of the agonizing sinner—plainly prove that the spirit of man is neither extinguished by death, nor reduced to a dormant, insensible state; but either soars directly into the heights of joy, or directly plunges into the abyss of woe. To this the church subscribes; or she would not pray, "In the hour of death——good

(*u*) Homily, on certain places of Scripture.
(*x*) "He would be mad indeed," says an ingenious and celebrated writer, "who should wilfully fall down, and break a leg, or an arm, because he knew there was a skilful surgeon at hand to set it." See the Fourth of Five Letters to the Rev. Mr. F. Printed for Dilly, 1771.
(*y*) Matt. xi. 25. (*z*) Matt. iv. 4.
(*a*) Matt. x. 30. (*b*) Matt. v. 4
(*c*) Ibid vi. 26—30. (*d*) Ibid. x. 29.
(*e*) John xix. 11. (*f*) Hom. for Rogat. Pt. 1.
(*g*) Hom. for Rogat. Pt. 2.
(*h*) Coll. for the 8th Sunday after Trin.
(*i*) Matt. x. 28. (*k*) Luke xxiii. 43.
(*l*) Luke xx. 38. (*m*) Ib. xvi.

Lord deliver us;" nor give it as her steadfast belief, that "the dead who die in the Lord, are blessed from henceforth (*n*)," *απαρτι, i. e. απο τε νυν, à nunc*, from the very instant they expire. In her admirable commendatory prayer, she humbly commits "the soul" of the dying person into the hands of its Creator and Saviour: and in the funeral office affirms that "the souls of the faithful, after they are delivered from the burden of the flesh, are with God in joy and felicity." I am the more particular in citing these testimonies of the church on this subject, as the equally antiscriptural and unphilosophical doctrine of soul-sleeping has of late made great progress among some who yet pass for Churchmen.

XV. Lastly, The resurrection of the same identical body that dies, and the final glorification (*o*) of the elect in soul and body together, close the rear of that creed which Jesus taught. This is the will of him who sent me, that, of all which he has given me, I should lose none, but should raise it up again at the last day (*p*). The hour is coming when all that are in the graves shall hear his voice and come forth: they that have done good to the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil to the resurrection of condemnation (*q*). That the church, in these points likewise, is the faithful echo of her Master's voice, I need not stay to prove.

Such are the inestimable truths which the disciples of Arius, Arminius, and Socinus are labouring to wrest from our hands. How must infidels on one side, and Papists on the other, exult to see any part (though blessed be God it is a very small part indeed) of the established clergy laying the train, and holding the match to blow up that very church, of which God and man have conspired to make them the nominal guardians! Adverting to such false brethren, may she not too justly complain, He that eateth my bread layeth great wait for me, and hath lifted up his heel against me? Yea, the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table? Considering the quarter whence the late application to parliament arose, it may be considered as one of the most abandoned efforts that ever was made: so consummately flagitious that the very party themselves thought proper to masque the battery and play it off (as much as they could) in the dark. They published their petition; but took care not to publish their names: though their names would not have taken up more room than their petition. Thus, every one that doth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved: but he that doth truth, cometh to the light, instead of shrink-

(*n*) Funeral Service from Rev. xiv. 13.

(*o*) Hence it follows, that heaven must be a place as well as a state. Which I farther argue thus:

1. It is expressly so termed in Holy Scripture. I go, says Christ, to prepare a place for you; πορευομαι ετοιμασαι ΤΟΠΟΝ υμιν. And when I go and shall prepare a place for you, I will come again and take you to myself, ινα οπου ειμι εγω, that where (here is the *ubi*) I am, ye may be also, John xiv. 2, 3. This is several times repeated. Chap. xii. 26. και ΤΟΠΟΥ ουκι εγω ΕΚΕΙ και ο διακονος ο εμος εσται, and where I am, there also shall the servant, who is mine, be; and Chap. xvii. 24, Father, I will that they also whom thou hast given me be with me, ΤΟΠΟΥ ειμι εγω, where I am; and where is that? In the highest heaven; for it follows, that they may behold my glory: even that glory which he had with the Father, before the world was, ver. 5. And in Rev. xxii. 5, it is said concerning heaven, νυξ ουκ εσται ΕΚΕΙ, there shall be no night there. Now, setting apart all needless metaphysical distinctions, a place is that, *de quo rectè prædicantur ubi & ibi*. Whatever has a real existence must exist somewhere: according to the old axiom, "*quod nullibi est, nihil est:*" and that somewhere (be it earth, hell, or heaven) is, to speak intelligibly, the place of the thing or person there existing. It may be said that "the word place seems not to agree with the nature of spirits." It may not altogether, according to our notion of place; but as I find the Son of God applying the word place to heaven itself, and describing one by the other, I cannot prevail with myself to give up the term place; at least, until I find another more suitable. Shall we exchange it for state? But this is *obscurum per obscurius*. Suppose a being to be in a certain state, or condition, without at the same time taking in the idea of place or something analogous to it, and we are more in the dark than before. *Alicubitus determinata* is a circumstance essential to every finite thing that exists: *quà ens*, it must be *alicubi*. Sever these two if you can. *Nisi nullibi* is the grossest of absurdities. The word state refers to a person's greatness or meanness, happiness or misery knowledge or ignorance, &c. and can a person, or intelligent subsistence, be either great or mean, happy or miserable, *i. e.* can he be in any state at all, without being at the same time *in aliquo ubi?* or can the το που be predicated of one, concerning whom the το που cannot?—Nor is heaven alone termed a place: the region of condemned spirits is likewise so called. Lest they come also into this place of torment, said the departed sensualist, Luke xvi. 28. And Judas is said to have fallen by transgression, that he might go to his own place. Acts i. 25.

II. If heaven be not a place, I would be glad to know where the glorified body of Christ is, with which he ascended. Whither did it ascend to? Where are the bodies of Enoch and Elijah? If in heaven, heaven must be the το ιδι, or place, where they are. In short, if we deny the locality of heaven, we must, together with that, deny that Christ resumed his own material body at his resurrection, and that he ascended in it to the right hand of God: *i. e.* we must commence infidels at once. I would further ask; where will the bodies of the saints be, after the universal judgment? Will they not enter into heaven? and can bodies be in heaven, and heaven not be the place of those bodies? Nay, I ask, whether even the soul of a believer can, after death, be with Christ, which the Scripture assures us it is, without ubiety? How, moreover could Paul, previous to his death, be caught up εως τριτου ουρανου, to the third heaven, or εις τον παραδεισον, into paradise (which two expressions are terms synonymous, as appears by the apostle's reciprocating them, 2 Cor. xii. 2. 4.), and that too, perhaps, εν σωματι in his body as well as soul; if the third heaven be not a place, or some determinate *ubi?* What! a man caught up—nowhither? could he go ΕΙΣ παραδεισον, into paradise, and that paradise not be local? Place, according to Sir Isaac Newton's definition is *pars spatii quam corpus occupat*: either, therefore the bodies of the saints never will be in heaven (which would infer a flat denial of the resurrection); and the body of Christ is not in heaven (which but to imagine were infidelity indeed); or heaven may be, is, and must be, truly and properly, local.

(*p*) John vi. 39. (*q*) Ib. v. 29.

ng from it, that his deeds may he made manifest that they are wrought in God. Not o wrought was the deed by which those gentlemen violated their promises to God, trampled on the supremacy of the king, treated the episcopal bench as cyphers, and laboured to destroy the faith they had solemnly engaged to preach.

To say that "the church would be sufficiently secured by subscribing only to the Scriptures at large;" is a mere pretence, far too thin to conceal the cloven foot which lurks beneath. Arians and Socinians profess to believe the Bible. Papists, Arminians, and Pelagians profess the same. So does every sect which affects to shelter itself under the name of Christianity. Besides, upon the petitioners' own principles, subscription to the Bible itself would bear quite as hard on some men as subscription to the Liturgy and Articles is supposed to do on others. One man may be every whit as sincere in infidelity as another can be in heterodoxy. And if in after times a candidate for holy orders should happen to be an infidel, it would (according to the mode of reasoning adopted by the feathery divines) be full as grievous an encroachment on the right of private judgment to insist on such a man's subscribing to the Scriptures, as it can possibly be to insist on other people's subscribing to the Thirty-nine Articles. If the exaction of the latter is now cried out against as an imposition, so in a short time would the former. And with full as much reason: for can it be proved that God has given heretics a charter of ease, to the exclusion of poor infidels?—The Socinian goes but one step farther than the Arian; and the Deist goes but one step beyond the Socinian. Is the difference of a single step so very important, that every ecclesiastical door must be thrown wide open to admit the bible-subscribing Socinian; while the non-subscribing infidel has every door flung in his face, though he stand but a few inches from his admitted neighbour, yea, so near him that their elbows might touch? Would not a Deist, a Mahometan, a Jew, a Pagan, or a Papist, have as much cause in that case to exclaim as an Arian or Socinian pretends to have now? I conclude therefore that subscription to the Bible, and subscription to the Liturgy, Articles, and Homilies, stand on one and the same bottom: and the argument for abolishing subscription to these, would hold with equal force for the abolition of subscription to that. It is manifest therefore to what point the superseding project ultimately tends.

The plain truth seems to be that the petitioners wish to divest the Church of a power which even a free-mason's club justly possesses (I mean the power of expecting conformity to herself from all whom she admits into her bosom); only that they themselves may sit down to the loaves and fishes without the trouble of previously saying grace. They want to be supported at the public expense for doing nothing and for believing nothing. But in such a case would not the wisdom of the legislature soon begin to ask this reasonable question, "Why all this waste of tythes and church-lands on a useless body of men?" And would not a speedy resumption of both be the natural consequence? It certainly would if the legislature were in their senses. Let the petitioners therefore lay at least this to heart in due season. If they care not for the doctrines which they have solemnly subscribed, let them however take heed to what they confessedly love, even the bag, and that which is therein.(r) Though they have no regard to the ark of God, yet let them prudently take some thought for the security of their Diana.

Clergymen of this cast are very apt to complain of the contempt which is thrown upon them. But is it at all surprising that any, who are ritual conformists and avowed doctrinal dissenters, should be disliked for their want of integrity, and despised for their insignificancy? How pertinent and solemn are those words of God, by the prophet: The priest's lips should keep knowledge, and men should seek the law at his mouth; for he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts. But ye are departed out of the way: ye have caused many to stumble at the law; ye have corrupted the covenant of Levi, saith the Lord of hosts: therefore have I also made you contemptible and base before all the people, according as ye have not kept my ways, but have been partial in the law.

In a letter of Mr. Pope's (if I mistake not), mention is made of an eastern fable to this effect: The owls and bats once joined in a petition to Jupiter against the sun; humbly shewing that his beams were so insufferably troublesome that the petitioners could not fly abroad with comfort, but were kept prisoners in their respective recesses, for at least twelve hours out of the twenty-four. Jupiter, seeing Phœbus shortly after, informed him of the application he had received; adding, I shall however take no notice of the petition; and be it your business to revenge yourself by shining.

May the sentiment be verified in the clergy of the establishment, at this critical and perilous juncture! Let us be careful to stand in the good old ways, and steadfastly abide by the doctrines of the reformation,

(r) John xii. 6.

which are found to quadrate so exactly with the glorious gospel of the blessed God. Be it our care at once to avenge and heal the wounds of our sacred mother the church, by shining in her defence: by holding forth and holding up the word of life, purely, without mixture; meekly, without malevolence, yet intrepidly, without fear or shame; honestly, without self-seeking; fully, without reserve, without partiality, and without hypocrisy; practically, (*s*) by giving all diligence to order every part of our own moral demeanour as becometh the gospel of Christ: giving no just cause of offence in any thing, that the ministry be not blamed; but in all things approving ourselves as the ministers of God, by pureness, by knowledge, by long-suffering, by kindness, by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned, by the word of truth, by the power of God, by the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left (*t*). That when the destined season arrives, at which we must give account of our stewardship to the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls, we may be found of him in peace, watching, praying, labouring; and ascend, from our Master's work, to our Master's joy, as Cincinnatus was found busy at his plough, when called to the dictatorship of Rome.

FREE-WILL AND MERIT FAIRLY EXAMINED.

OR,

MEN NOT THEIR OWN SAVIOURS.

The substance of a discourse preached in the parish church of St. Anne, Blackfriars, London, on Wednesday, May 25, 1774.

Truly in vain is Salvation hoped for from the hills and from the multitude of mountains. Truly, in the Lord our God is the Salvation of Israel. Jer. iii. 23.

SERMON VI.

Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy Name, give Glory, for thy Mercy and for thy Truth's Sake. Psalm cxv. 1.

SOME expositors have supposed that this Psalm was penned by the prophet Daniel, on occasion of the miraculous deliverance of Shadrac, Meshac, and Abednego, when they came out unhurt from the burning fiery furnace, into which they had been thrown by the command of king Nebuchadnezzar.

And, indeed, there are not wanting passages, in the Psalm itself, which seem to countenance this conjecture. As where we read, at the fourth verse (speaking of the idols of the heathens, and perhaps with particular reference to that golden image which Nebuchadnezzar commanded to be worshipped), Their idols are silver and gold, the work of men's hands: they have mouths, but they speak not; eyes have they but they see not.

I dare say, that, in such an auditory as this, a number of Arminians are present. I fear that all our public assemblies have too many of them. Perhaps, however, even these people, idolaters as they are, may be apt to blame, and indeed with justice, the absurdity of those who worship idols of silver and gold, the work of men's hands. But let me ask: if it be so very absurd to worship the work of other men's hands, what must it be to worship the works of our own hands? Perhaps you may say, "God forbid that I should do so." Nevertheless, let me tell you, that trust, confidence, reliance, and dependence, for salvation, are all acts and very solemn ones too, of divine worship: and upon whatsoever you depend, whether in whole or in part, for your acceptance with God, and for your justification in his sight, whatsoever you rely upon, and trust in, for the attainment of grace or glory; if it be any thing short of God in Christ, you are an idolator to all intents and purposes.

Very different is the idea which Scripture gives us of the ever-blessed God, from that of those false gods worshipped by the heathen; and from that degrading representation of the true God which Arminianism would palm upon mankind. Our God (says this Psalm, verse the third) is in the heavens: he hath done whatsoever he pleased. This is not the (*u*) Arminian idea of God: for our

(*s*) Plato, the philosopher, had a nephew (named Speusippus) whose morals were so intolerably dissolute that his parents discarded him and turned him out of doors. Plato then took him into his own house to live with him. While there, the amiable philosopher did not endeavour to reclaim him by dry lectures and disgustful expostulations: but strove to make him in love with virtue, by the brightness of his own example. The expedient succeeded.——Speusippus, at once shamed and charmed by the practical eloquence of his uncle's blameless life, grew reformed on principle, and afterwards became himself a very eminent philosopher.—Are we desirous of winning souls to Christ, and of demonstrating ourselves to be the children of God? Our exhortations and our profession must have the sanction of our own example; which, more than all the studied oratory in the world; more than all the cold harangues on the "moral fitness of things," and the "beauty and expediency of virtue;" will bring glory to God, honour to the gospel, comfort to our own minds, and solidly edify those to whom we minister and with whom we converse. Thus reasons the apostle Paul; Thou that teachest another, teachest thou not thyself? Thou that preachest a man should not steal; dost thou steal? Thou that sayest, a man should not commit adultery; dost thou commit adultery? Thou that makest thy boast of the law, through breaking the law, dishonourest thou God? Rom. ii. 21—23.

(*t*) 2 Cor. vi. 3—7.

(*u*) I was lately introduced to the acquaintance of a very learned and sensible Arminian, whose political writings, and whose social virtues, entitle him to no small share of public and domestic esteem. This worthy gentleman has sagacity to perceive, and integrity to acknowledge, the prodigious lengths to which the free-will scheme, if carried as far as it naturally leads, must inevitably push its votaries. He sees its consequences clearly; he swallows them without difficulty; and he avows them very honestly.

"God does all he possibly can" [these were the gentleman's own words to me in conversation] "God

free-willers and our chance-mongers tell us that God does not do whatsoever he pleases; that there are a great number of things which God wishes to do, and tugs and strives to do, and yet cannot bring to pass: they tell us, as one ingeniously expresses it,

> "That all mankind he fain would save,
> But longs for what he cannot have.
> Industrious thus to sound abroad
> A disappointed changing God."

How does this comport with that majestic description, Our God is in the heavens! He sits upon the throne weighing out and dispensing the fates of men; holding all events in his own hand; and guiding every link of every chain of second causes, from the beginning to the end of time. Our God is in heaven possessed of all power; and, (which is the natural consequence of that) he hath done whatsoever he pleased: or, as the apostle expresses it, (the words are different, but the sense is the same) he (*x*) worketh all things after the counsel of his own will.

Therefore it is that we both labour and suffer reproach: even because we say (and the utmost we can say upon the subject, amounts to no more than this; to wit, that) our God is in heaven, and has done whatsoever pleased him. And do according to his own sovereign pleasure he will, to the end of the chapter; though all the Arminians upon earth were to endeavour to defeat the divine intention, and to clog the wheels of divine government. He that sits in heaven (*y*) laughs them to scorn: and brings his own purposes to pass, sometimes, even through the means of those very incidents, which evil men endeavour to throw in his way, with a mad view to disappoint him of his purposes. All things, saith the Psalmist, serve thee (*z*): they have all a direct tendency, either effectively or permissively, to carry on his unalterable designs of providence and grace. Observe: effectively, or permissively. For we never say nor mean to say that God is the worker of evil: we only maintain that, for reasons unknown to us, but well known to God, he is the efficacious permitter (not the (*a*) agent, but the permitter) of whatsoever comes to pass. But when we talk of good, we then enlarge the term; and affirm, with the Psalmist, that all the help [*i. e.* all the good] that is done upon earth, God does it himself (*b*).

I remember a saying of the great Monsieur Du Moulin, in his admirable book, entitled, *Anatome Arminianismi*. His observation is, that the wicked, no less than the elect, accomplish the wise and holy and just decrees of God: but, says he, with this difference; God's own people, after they are converted, endeavour to do his will from a principle of love: whereas they who are left to the perverseness of their own hearts (which is all the reprobation we contend for) who care not for God, nor is God in all their thoughts, these persons resemble men rowing in a boat, who make toward the very place on which they turn their backs. (*c*) They turn their backs on the decree of God; and yet make toward that very point without knowing it.

One great contest between the religion of Arminius, and the religion of Jesus Christ, is, who shall stand entitled to the praise and glory of a sinner's salvation? Conversion decides this point at once: for I think, that without any imputation of uncharitableness,

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does all he possibly can, to hinder moral and natural evil but he cannot prevail. Men will not permit God to have his wish."—Then, said I, the Deity must certainly be a very unhappy Being.—"Not unhappy in the least," replied the ready philosopher: "God knows that in consequence of the free-will with which he has endued his rational creatures, he himself must be disappointed of his wishes, and defeated of his ends, and that there is no help for it, unless he had made us mere machines. He therefore submits to necessity; and does not make himself uneasy about it."

See, on what tremendous shoals free-willers, when honest, run themselves aground! Is their god the Bible-God? Certainly not. Their god "submits" to difficulties which he "cannot help" himself out of, and endeavours to make himself "easy" under millions and millions of inextricable embarrassments, uncomfortable disappointments, and mortifying defeats. Whereas, concerning the God of the Bible, it is affirmed that he hath done, and will always continue to do, whatsoever he pleaseth.

Observe, reader, the piety and the consistency of the free-will scheme.—This said scheme ascends, on the ladder of blasphemy, to the mountain top of atheism; and then hurls itself from that precipice into the gulph of blind adamantine necessity, in order to prove mankind free agents!

My interview with the philosopher abovementioned (whom, by the way, I most heartily acquit of all intentional atheism, or even disrespect to the Supreme Being), was seasoned with so many curious and uncommon circumstances of free debate, that my respectable and invaluable friend, the Rev. Mr. Ryland, senior, of Northampton (who was present the whole time) acknowledged, after we had taken our leave of the worthy gentleman, that the said philosophic politician is a very honest, and consequently, a very unusual phænomenon.

(*x*) Ephesians i. 11. (*y*) Psalm ii. 4.

(*z*) Psalm cxix. 91. Liturgy Version.

(*a*) To say that the doctrine of predestination makes God the author and actuator of sin, is one of the most daring, (and at the same time) most irrational cavils, that ever dishonoured Arminianism itself. The state of the matter stands thus.—Since the fall of Adam and his sons (an event, the divine motives to the permission of which we are not entitled to know), God need only leave men to themselves by withholding the restraints of grace and providence; and men's corrupt free agency will, of itself, carry them headlong into all evil.

(*b*) Psalm lxxiv. 13.

(*c*) The same great reasoner observes, that "God over-rules even the follies of mankind, to the purposes of his own infinite wisdom; and makes use of wicked men themselves, to execute his own righteous views: just as a person may draw a strait line, or give a right blow, with a crooked stick"——*Illi ipsi, qui resistunt mandato Dei serviunt ejus Providentiæ: et. remigum instar eò tendunt quò obvertunt terga. Deus, pe insipientiam hominum perficit consilia suæ sapientiæ. Utitur hominibus injustis, ad excercendam suam justitiam. Non secus, ac si quis obtes tobaculo, rectum ictum infligat.*

Molinæi Anat. Arm. cap. 3. p. 17.—Edit. Ludg 1619.

I may venture to say that every truly awakened person, at least when he is under the shine of God's countenance upon his soul, will fall down upon his knees, with this hymn of praise ascending from his heart, Not unto me, O Lord, not unto me, but to thy name give the glory: I am saved, not for my righteousness, but for thy mercy and thy truth's sake.

And this holds true even as to the blessings of the life that now is. It is God that sets up one and puts down another (*d*). Victory, for instance, when contending princes wage war, is all of God. The race is not to the swift, as swift; nor the battle to the strong, as such (*e*). It is the decree, the will, the power, the providence of God, which effectually, though sometimes invisibly, order and dispose of every event.

At the famous battle of Azincourt, in France, where, if I mistake not, 80,000 French were totally defeated by about 9000 English, under the command of our immortal king Henry V.; after the great business of the day was over, and God had given that renowned prince the victory, he ordered the foregoing Psalm (that is the 114th), and part of this Psalm whence I have read you the passage now under consideration, to be sung in the field of battle; by way of acknowledging that all success, and all blessings, of what kind soever, come down from the Father of lights. Some of our historians acquaint us that, when the triumphant English came to these words which I have taken for my text, the whole victorious army fell down upon their knees as one man, in the field of conquest; and shouted with one heart, and with one voice, Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but to thy name give the glory, for thy mercy and for thy truth's sake.

And thus it will be when God has accomplished the number of his elect, and completely gathered in the fulness of his redeemed kingdom. What do you think your song will be when you come to heaven? Blessed be God, that he gave me free-will; and blessed be my own dear self, that I made a good use of it? O no, no. Such a song as that was never heard in heaven yet, nor ever will, while God is God, and heaven is heaven. Look into the Book of Revelation, and there you will find the employ of the blessed, and the strains which they sing. They cast their crowns before the throne, saying, Thou art worthy, for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred and tongue people and nation. (*f*) There is discriminating grace for you! Thou hast redeemed us out of every kindred, &c. that is, from (*g*) among the rest of mankind. Is not this particular election and limited redemption?

The Church below may be liable to err: and if any visible Church upon earth pretends to be infallible, the very pretension itself demonstrates that she is not so. But there is a Church which I will venture to pronounce infallible. And what Church is that? The Church of the glorified, who shine as stars at God's right hand. And, upon the infallible testimony of that infallible Church, a testimony recorded in the infallible pages of inspiration, I will venture to assert that not one grain of Arminianism ever attended a saint into heaven.—If those of God's people, who are in the bonds of that iniquity, are not explicitly converted from it while they live and converse among men; yet do they leave it all behind them in Jordan (*i. e.* in the river of death) when they go through. They may be compared to Paul, when he went from Jerusalem to Damascus, and the grace of God struck him down: he fell a free-willer; but he rose a free-gracer. So however the rust of self-righteous pride (and a cursed rust it is: may God's Spirit file it off from all our souls), however that rust may adhere to us at present, yet when we come to stand before the throne, and before the Lamb, it will be all done away, and we shall sing, in one full, everlasting chorus, with elect angels, and elect men, Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us.

And why should not we sing that song now? Why should not we endeavour, under the influence of the Spirit, to anticipate the language of the skies, and be as heavenly as we can before we get to heaven? Why should we contemn that song upon earth which we hope for ever to sing before the throne of God above? It is to me really astonishing that Protestants and Church of England men, considered merely as rational creatures, and as people of common sense, who profess to be acquainted with the Scriptures, and to acknowledge the power of God, should have any objection to singing this song, Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give glory, for thy mercy and for thy truth's sake.

Still more wonderful and deplorable it is, that some who even make profession of spiritual religion, and talk of an inward work of God upon their hearts, should so far lose sight of humility and of truth as to dream either that their own arm helped the Almighty to save them, or at least that their own arm was able to have hindered him from saving them. What can reflect deeper dishonour upon God than such an idea? And what can have a directer tendency to engender and to nourish that pride of heart which deceiveth men?

(*d*) Psalm lxxv. 7. (*e*) Eccles. ix. 11. (*f*) Rev. iv. 10. (*g*) Ibid. xiv. 3.

It pleased God to deliver me from the Arminian snare, before I was quite eighteen. Antecedently to that period there was not (with the lowest self-abasement I confess it) a more haughty and violent free-willer within the compass of the four seas. One instance of my warm and bitter zeal occurs just now to my memory. About a twelvemonth before the divine goodness gave me eyes to discern, and a heart to embrace, the truth, I was haranguing one day in company (for I deemed myself able to cope with all the predestinarians in the world), on the universality of grace, and the powers of human free-agency. A good old gentleman (now with God) rose from his chair, and coming to mine, held me by one of my coat-buttons while he mildly addressed me to this effect: My dear sir, there are some marks of spirituality in your conversation; though tinged with an unhappy mixture of pride and self-righteousness. You have been speaking largely in favour of free-will: but from arguments let us come to experience. Do let me ask you one question. How was it with you when the Lord laid hold on you in effectual calling? Had you any hand in obtaining that grace? Nay, would you not have resisted and baffled it, if God's Spirit had left you in the hand of your own counsel?

I felt the conclusiveness of these simple, but forcible, interrogations, more strongly than I was then willing to acknowledge. But blessed be God, I have since been enabled to acknowledge the freeness and omnipotence of his grace, times without number; and to sing (what I trust will be my everlasting song when time shall be no more), Not unto me, O Lord, not unto me, but unto thy name, give all the glory.

We never know so much of heaven in our own souls, nor stand so high upon the mount of communion with God, as when his Spirit, breathing on our hearts, makes us lie low at the footstool of sovereign grace, and inspires us with this cry, O God, be mine the comfort of salvation, but thine be the entire praise of it!

Let us briefly apply the rule and compass of God's word to the several parts of which salvation is composed; and we shall soon perceive that the whole building is made up of grace, and of grace alone. Do you ask, in what sense I here take the word grace? I mean by that important term, the voluntary, sovereign, and gratuitous bounty of God; quite unconditionated by, and quite irrespective of, all and every shadow of human worthiness, whether antecedaneous, concomitant, or subsequent. This is precisely the scriptural idea of grace: to wit, that it [*i. e.* salvation in all its branches] is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth; but of God, who sheweth mercy (*h*). And thus it is that grace reigneth, unto the eternal life of sinners, through the righteousness of Jesus Christ our Lord (*i*).

1. In canvassing this momentous truth, let us begin, where God himself began—namely, with election. To whom are we indebted for that first of all spiritual blessings? Pride says, To me. Self-righteousness says, To me. Man's unconverted will says, To me. But faith joins with God's word in saying, Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but to thy name, be the whole glory of thy electing love ascribed: thou didst not choose us on supposition of our first choosing thee; but through the victorious operation of thy mighty Spirit, we choose thee for our portion and our God, in consequence of thy having first and freely chosen us to be thy people.

Hear the testimony of that apostle who received the finishings of his spiritual education in the third heavens. There is a remnant, says he, according to the election of grace. And if by grace, then is it no more of works: otherwise grace is no more grace But if it [*i. e.* if election] be of works, then is it no more of grace: otherwise work is no more work (*k*). Let us sift this reasoning, and we shall find it invincible.

There is "a remnant," *i. e.* some of fallen mankind, who shall be everlastingly saved through Christ. This remnant is "according to election:" God's own will and choice are the determinate rule by which the saved remnant is measured and numbered. This election is an election of "grace," or a free, sovereign, and unmerited act of God. The apostle would not leave out the word grace, lest people should imagine that God elected them on account of something he saw in them above others.—"Well, but," (may some say) "admitting election to be by grace, might not our foreseen good works have a little hand in the matter? might not God have some small regard to our future good behaviour?" No, answers the apostle; none at all. If election be by "grace," *i. e.* of mere mercy and sovereign love, then it is no more of "works," whether directly or indirectly, in whole or in part; "otherwise grace is no more grace." Could any thing human, though ever so little, be mixed with grace, as a motive with God for shewing favour to Peter (for instance) above Judas; grace would all evaporate and be annihilated from that moment. For, as Austin observes, *Gratia non est gratia, nisi sit omninò gratuita:* Grace ceases to be grace, unless it be totally and absolutely irrespective of any thing and of every thing, whether good or bad, in the objects of it. So that, as the apostle adds, was it possible for election to be "of works," then would it be "no more" an act of

(*h*) Rom. ix. 16. (*i*) Rom. v. 21. (*k*) Rom. xi. 5, 6.

"grace;" but a payment instead of a gift; "otherwise work were no more work." On one hand, "work" ceases to be considered as influential on election, if election is the daughter of "grace;" and, on the other hand, "grace" has nothing at all to do in election if "works" have any concern in it. Grace and conditionality are two incompatible opposites; the one totally destroys the other; and they can no more subsist together than two particles of matter can occupy the same individual portion of space at the same point of time.

Which therefore of these contrary songs do you sing? (for all the art and labour of mankind, united, can never throw the two songs into one): Are you for burning incense to yourselves, saying, Our righteousness, and the might of our own arm, have gotten us this spiritual wealth?—Or, with the angels and saints in light, do you lay down your brightest honours at the footstool of God's throne? with Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but to thy name give glory, for thy loving mercy, and for thy truth's sake.

Certainly, election is the act, not of man, but of God: founded merely upon the sovereign and gracious pleasure of his own will. It is not of works, lest any man should boast; but solely of Him who has said, I will be merciful to whom I will be merciful, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion. God merits of us, not we of him; and it was his free-will, not our's, which drew the impassable line between the elect and the pretermitted.

2. God's covenant love to us in Christ is another stream, flowing from the fountain of unmingled grace. And here, as in the preceding instance, every truly awakened person disclaims all title to praise; shoves it away from himself with both hands; and not only with his hands, but with his heart also; while his lips acknowledge, Not unto us, O thou divine and co-eternal Three, not unto us, but to thy name give glory!

How is it possible that either God's purposes, or that his covenant concerning us, can be in any respect whatsoever suspended on the will or the works of men; seeing both his purposes and his covenant were framed, and fixed, and agreed upon, by the persons in the Trinity, not only before men existed, but before angels themselves were created, or time itself was born? All was vast eternity, when grace was fœderally given us in Christ ere the world began: (*l*) well therefore might the apostle, in the very text where he makes the above assertion, observe, that the holy calling with which God effectually converts and sanctifies his people, in time, is bestowed upon us, not according to our works, but according to God's own free purpose and eternal destination.

Repentance and faith, new obedience and perseverance, are not conditions of interest in the covenant of grace (for then it would be a covenant of works); but consequences and tokens of covenant interest. For the children being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil; that the purpose of God, according to election (which is the standard of covenant mercy), might remain (*m*) unshaken, it was said unto her, the elder shall serve the younger; as it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated (*n*). Now, whether you consider this passage as referring to the posterity of Jacob and Esau, or to Jacob and Esau themselves, or (which is evidently the apostle's meaning) as referring to both, the argument will still come to the same point at last; namely, that the divine counsels and determinations, in whatever view you take them, are absolutely irrespective of works, because God's immanent decrees and covenant-transactions took place before the objects of them had done either good or evil. Of course, all the good that is wrought in men comes from God, as the gracious effect, not as the cause, of his favour; and all the evil which God permits (such are his wisdom and his power) is subservient to promote, instead of interfering to obstruct, the accomplishment of his most holy will. I mention God's permission of evil only incidentally in this place: for properly it belongs to another argument. My present business is to shew that the good and the graces which God works (not permissively but effectively) in the hearts of his covenant people are the fruit, not the root, of the love he bears to them.

3. To whom are we indebted for the atonement of Christ, and for the redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins? Here likewise, Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us! It was God who found a ransom (*o*). It was God who provided his own justice with a lamb for a burnt offering. It was God who accepted the atonement at our Surety's hand, instead of ours. It was God who freely imparts the blessings of that completely finished redemption, to the comfort and everlasting restoration of all those who are enabled to trust and to glory in the cross of Christ. Against such persons divine justice has nothing to allege: and on them it has no penalty to inflict. The sword of vengeance having been already sheathed in the sinless human nature of Jehovah's equal (*p*) becomes to them that believe a curtana, a sword of mercy, a sword without a point. Thanks to the reconciling mercy of God the Father, and to the bleeding grace of our Lord Jesus Christ! Human free-will and merit had nothing to do with the matter from first to last.

4. As pardon exempts us from punish-

(*l*) 2 Tim. i. 9. (*m*) ver. 11. (*n*) Rom. ix. 11-13.

(*o*) Job xxxiii. 24. (*p*) Zechariah xiii.

ment, so justification (*i. e.* God's acceptance of us as perfect fulfillers of the whole law) entitles us to the kingdom of heaven. The former is God's *παρεσις* (*q*), or passing by of our transgressions, so as not to take notice of them; and God's *αφεσις* (*r*), or letting us go finally unpunished. But justification (which is the inseparable concomitant of forgiveness) is not merely negative, but carries in it more of positivity, and exalts us to a higher state of felicity, than mere pardon (was it possible to be conferred without justification) would do. It is God's *δικαιωσις*, or pronouncing of us positively and actually just: not only innocent, but righteous also. St. Bernard somewhere preserves this obvious and just distinction.—His words I remember are that God is *tâm validus ad justificandum quàm multus ad ignoscendum:* "No less mighty to justify, than rich in mercy to forgive."

Now the great enquiry is, whether God be indeed entitled to the whole praise of this unspeakable gift? Whether we should, as justified persons, sing to the praise and glory of ourselves; or to the praise and glory of God alone?

The Bible will determine this question in a moment; and shew us that Father, Son, and Spirit are the sole authors, and consequently should receive the entire glory, of our justification.

It is God [the Father] who justifieth: (*s*) *i. e.* who accepts us unto eternal life; and that freely by his grace (*t*), through the redemption which is in Christ, and through the imputation of Christ's righteousness, without works (*u*): *i. e.* without being moved to it by any consideration of the good works, and without being restrained from it by any consideration of the evil works, wrought by the person or persons to whom Christ's righteousness is imputed, and who are pronounced just in consequence of that imputed righteousness.

Justification is also the act of God the Son, in concurrence with his Father. St. Paul expressly declares that he sought to be justified by Christ (*x*). The second person in the Divinity joins, as such, in accepting of his people through that transferred merit which, as man, he wrought for this very end. Now let me ask you, did you assist Christ in paying the price of your redemption, and in accomplishing a series of perfect obedience for your justification? If you did, you are entitled to a proportionable part of the praise. But if Christ both obeyed and died and rose again without your assistance, it invincibly follows that you have no manner of claim to the least particle of that praise which results from the benefits acquired and secured by his obedience, death, and resurrection. The benefits themselves are all your own, if he give you faith to embrace them; but the honour, the glory, and the thanks, you cannot arrogate to yourself, without the utmost impiety and sacrilege.

God the Holy Ghost unites in justifying the redeemed of the Lord. We are declaratively and evidentially justified by the Spirit of our God (*y*): whose condescending and endearing office it is to reveal a broken Saviour in the broken heart of a self-emptied sinner, and to shed abroad the justifying love of God in the human soul (*z*). Herein the adorable Spirit neither needs nor receives any assistance from the sinners he visits. His gracious influence is sovereign, free, and independent. We can no more command nor prohibit his agency, than we can command or forbid the shining of the sun.

The conclusion from the whole is, that not our goodness, but God's mercy; not our obedience, but Christ's righteousness; not our towardliness, but the Holy Spirit's beneficence; are to be thanked for the whole of our justification.

And it is no easy lesson to say from the heart, Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us! Self-righteousness cleaves to us, as naturally and as closely as our skins: nor can any power, but that of an Almighty hand, flay us of it. I remember an instance full to the point: and which I give on the authority of a clergymen, now living, and eminent above many, for his labours and usefulness. This worthy person assured me, a year or two since, that he once visited a criminal who was under sentence of death for a capital offence (I think for murder). My friend endeavoured to set before him the evil he had done; and to convince him that he was lost and ruined, unless Christ saved him by his blood, righteousness and grace. "I am not much concerned about that," answered the self-righteous malefactor; "I have not, to be sure, led so good a life as some have; but I am certain that many have gone to Tyburn who were much worse men than myself." So you see, a murderer may go to the gallows trusting in his own righteousness! And you and I should have gone to hell, trusting in our own righteousness, if Christ had not stopped us by the way.

I dare believe that the above mentioned criminal, had the subject been started, would also have valued himself upon his free-agency. Free-agency, it is true, he had; and he was left to the power of it, and ruined himself accordingly: Free-will has carried many a man to Tyburn, and (it is to be feared) from Tyburn to hell: but it never yet carried a single soul to holiness and heaven.

(*q*) Rom. iii. 25.
(*r*) Mat. xxvi. 28.
(*s*) Rom. viii. 33.
(*t*) Rom. iii. 24.
(*u*) Rom. iv. 6.
(*x*) Gal. ii. 17.
(*y*) 1 Cor. vi. 11.
(*z*) Rom. v. 5.

Oh Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself; free-will can do that for us; but in me, says God, is thy help (*a*). His free-grace must be our refuge and our shelter from our own free-will: or it were good for the best of us that we had never been born (*b*).

In one word, all the glory of our pardon and justification belongs to the Trinity, and not to man. It is one of God's crown jewels, unalienable from himself; and which he will never resign to, nor share with, any other being. It is impossible, in the very nature of things, that he ever should: for how can any of depraved mankind be justified by works (and without being so justified we can come in for no part of the praise); how, I say, can any of us be justified by our own doings, seeing we are utterly unable even to think a good thought (*c*) until God himself breathes it into our hearts.

Suffer me to observe one thing more under this article: *viz.* that if God's Spirit has stript you of your own righteousness, he has not stript you in order to leave you naked, but will clothe you with change of raiment (*d*). He will give you a robe, for your rags; the righteousness of God, for the rotten righteousness of man. Rotten indeed we shall find it, if we make it a pillar of confidence. I will say of it, as Dr. Young says of the world, "Lean not upon it:" lean not on thy own righteousness; if leaned upon, "it will pierce thee to the heart: at best a broken reed: but oft a spear. On its sharp point peace bleeds and hope expires."

Self-reliance is the very bond of unbelief. It is essential infidelity, and one of its most deadly branches. You are an infidel, if you trust in your own righteousness. You a Christian? You a Churchman? No; you have, in the sight of God, neither part nor lot in the matter. You are spiritually dead, while you pretend to live. Until you are endued with faith in Christ's righteousness, your body (as a great man expresses it) is no better than "the living coffin of a dead soul." A Christian is a believer (not in himself, but) in Christ. And what is the language of a believer? Lord, I am, in myself, a poor, ruined, undone sinner. Through the hand of thy good Spirit upon me, I throw myself at the foot of thy cross; and look to thee for blood to wash me, for righteousness to justify me, for grace to make me holy, for comfort to make me happy, and for strength to keep me in thy ways.

5. For holiness, the inward principle of good works; and for good works themselves, the outward evidences of inward holiness, we are obliged to the alone grace and power of God most high. We do not make him a debtor to us, by loving and performing his commandments; but we become additionally debtors to him, for crowning his other gifts of grace, by vouchsafing to work in us that which is well-pleasing in his sight (*e*).

Say not, "Upon this plan, sanctification is kicked out of doors, and good works are turned adrift." Nothing can be more palpable and flagrantly untrue. Newness of heart and of life is so essential to, and constitutes so vast a part of, the evangelical scheme of salvation, that were it possible for holiness and its moral fruits to be really struck out of the account, the chain would at once dissolve, and the whole fabric become a house of sand.

The Arminians have of late made a huge cry about Antinomians! Antinomians! From the abundance of experience the mouth is apt to speak. The modern (*f*) Arminians see so much real Antinomianism among themselves, and in their own tents, that Antinomianism is become the predominant idea, and the favourite watch-word of the party. Because they have got the plague, they think every body else has. Because the leprosy is in their walls, they imagine no house is without it. Thus,

All looks infected, that th' infected spy;
As all seems yellow to the jaundiced eye.

It is cunning, I must confess, in these people, to raise a dust for their own defence; and, like some pick-pockets when closely pursued, to aim at slipping the stolen watch or handkerchief into the pocket of an

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(*a*) Hosea xiii. 9.

(*b*) I have heard, or read, concerning that excellent dignitary of the Church of England, Mr. John Bradford (who was also burned for adhering to her doctrines), that, one day, on seeing a malefactor pass to execution, he laid his hand to his breast, and lifted his eyes to heaven, saying, "Take away the grace of God, and there goes John Bradford."

The great and good St. Austin, long before, offered a similar acknowledgment to God. Semper gratia tua et misericordia tua prævenit me:—præcidens etiam ante me laqueos peccatorum: tollens occasiones et causas. Quia, nisi tu hoc mihi fecisses, omnia peccata mundi fecissem. Quoniam scio, Domine, quod nullum peccatum est, quod unquam fecerat homo, quod non possit facere, alter homo, si Creator desit, a quo factus est homo.—Soliloqu. Cap. xv. Sec. 5.

So likewise thought the author, (whose name I forget) of that tender and beautiful line:

Aut summa, aut infima, vel possumus esse, quod hic est.

(*c*) 2 Corinth. iii. 5. — In perfect harmony with this most important truth, our Church thus addresses the Majesty of heaven: O God, from whom all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works do proceed. And, again; Grant that, by thy holy inspiration, we may think those things that be good.—O free-will, free-will! at how low a rate wast thou estimated by the reformers and the ancient bishops of the Church of England!

(*d*) Zechariah iii. 4.

(*e*) Hebrews xiii. 21.

(*f*) Let it be observed, that I do not here, and in the following strictures, speak of all Arminians without exception: but of such Arminians who come within a certain denomination; and who are no less eminent for their boisterous brawling about works, than (as I can prove from too many instances which have fallen under my own notice) for their practical adoption of bad ones.

innocent by-stander, that the real sharper may elude the rod of justice. But unhappily for themselves, the Arminians are not complete masters of this art. The dust they raise forms too thin a cloud to conceal them; and their bungling attempt to shift off the charge of Antinomianism upon others rivets the charge but more firmly on themselves, its true proprietors. The avowed effrontery with which they openly trample on a certain commandment that says, Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour, may stand as a sample of the little regard they pay to the other nine. Pretty people these, to look for justification from the "merit" of their own works, and to value themselves on their perfect love to God and man!

With regard to sanctification and obedience, truly so called, it can only flow, and cannot but flow, from a new heart: which new heart is of God's own making, and of God's own giving. I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you a heart of flesh; a soft, repenting, believing heart: and I will cause ye to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments and do them (*g*). Now God accomplishes this promise by the effectual working of his blessed Spirit: by the mystic fire of whose agency, having melted our hearts into penitential faith, he then applies to them the seal of his own holiness; from which time we begin to bear the image and superscription of God upon our tempers, words, and actions.

This is our "licentious" doctrine: namely, a doctrine which (under the influence of the Holy Ghost) conforms the soul more and more to God: carefully referring, at the same time, all the praise of this active and passive conformity to God himself, whose gift it is; singing, with the saints of old, Thou, Lord, hast wrought all our [good] works in us (*h*); and for all the work so wrought,—for the will to please thee, for the endeavour to please thee, for the ability to please thee, and for every act whereby we do please thee,—Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but to thy name, give glory.

And, indeed, was not this the truth of the case, *i. e.* if conversion and sanctification and good works were not God's gifts, and of his operation; men would have, not only somewhat, but much, even very much, to boast of: for they would be their own converters, sanctifiers, and saviours. Directly contrary to the plain letter of Scripture, which asks, Who maketh thee to differ from others, and what hast thou which thou didst not receive (*i*) from above? Nor less contrary to the scriptural direction, **He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord (*k*).**

6. Once more. Whom are we to thank for perseverance in holiness and good works, to the end? "Oh" says an old Pharisee, perhaps, "the thanks are due to my own watchfulness, my own faithfulness, my own industry, and my own improvements." Your supposed watchfulness answers a very bad purpose, if you make a merit of it. The enemy of souls cares not the turning of a straw, whether you perish by open licentiousness, or by a delusive confidence in your own imaginary righteousness. It is all one to him, whether you go to hell in a black coat or a white one. Nay, the whitest you can weave will be found black, and a mere *san benito* to equip you for the flames, if God does not array you in the imputed righteousness of his blessed Son.

But, for the present, leaving pharisees and legalists to the hands of him who alone is able, and has a right, to save or to destroy; let me address myself to the true believer in Christ. You were called, it may be ten or twenty years ago, or longer, to the knowledge of God; and you still are found dwelling under the droppings of the sanctuary, and walking in him you have received; following on, to know more of the Lord; sometimes faint, yet always wishing to pursue; tossed, but not lost; occasionally cast down, but not destroyed. How comes all this? How is it that many flaming professors, who blazed out for a while, like luminaries of the first lustre, are quenched, extinguished, vanished; while your smoking flax, and feeble spark of grace, continue to survive, and sometimes afford both light and heat? While more than a few, who perhaps once seemed to be rooted as rocks, and stable as pillars in the house of God, are become as water that runneth apace; why are you standing, though in yourself as weak, if not weaker, than they? A child of God can soon answer this question: and he will answer it thus: Having obtained help of God, I continue to this day (*l*). Not by my own might and power, but by the Spirit of the Lord of hosts (*m*).

And he that kept you until this day will keep you all your days. His spirit, which he freely gives to his people, is a well of water, springing up, not for a year, not for a lifetime, only; but into everlasting life (*n*). God's faithfulness to you is the source of your faithfulness to him. Christ prays for you; and therefore he keeps you watching unto prayer. He preserves you from falling; or when fallen, he restores your soul, and leads you forth again in the path of

(*g*) Ezekiel xxxvi. 26, 27.
(*h*) Isaiah xxvi. 12. (*i*) 1 Cor. iv. 7.
(*k*) 1 Cor. i. 31. (*l*) Acts xxvi. 22.
(*m*) Zechariah iv. 6. (*n*) John iv. 14.

righteousness for his name's sake. He has decreed and covenanted, and promised and sworn, to give you a crown of life; and, in order to that, he has no less solemnly engaged, and irrevocably bound himself, to make you faithful unto death.

"Well, then," says an Arminian, "if these things are so, I am safe at all events. I may fold up my arms, and even lay me down to sleep. Or if I choose to rise and be active, I may live just as I list." Satan was the coiner of this reasoning: and he offered it, as current and sterling, to the Messiah, but Christ rejected it as false money.—If thou be the Son of God, said the enemy; if thou be indeed that Messiah whom God upholds, and his elect in whom his soul delighteth; cast thyself headlong; it is impossible thou shouldst perish, do what thou wilt: no fall can hurt thee; and thy Father has absolutely promised that his angels shall keep thee in all thy ways; jump, therefore, boldly from the battlements, and fear no evil.

The devil's argumentation was equally insolent and absurd, in every point of view. He reasoned not like a serpent in his wits, but like a serpent whose head was bruised (*o*), and who had no more of understanding than of modesty. Christ silenced this battery of straw with a single sentence: Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God (*p*). So said the Messiah. And so say we. And this is answer enough to a cavil whose palpable irrationality would cut its own throat, without the help of any answer at all.

God's children would be very glad if they could "live as they list." How so? Because it is the will, the desire, the wish, of a renewed soul (*i. e.* of the new man, or the believer's regenerate part; for old Adam never was a saint yet, nor ever will be); it is, I say, the will and the wish of a renewed soul, to please God in all things, and never to sin on any occasion, or in any degree. This is the state to which our pantings aspire: and in which (would the imperfection of human nature admit of such happiness below) we "list" to walk. For every truly regenerated person can sincerely join the apostle Paul in saying, With my mind, I myself serve the law of God, (*q*) and wish I could keep it better.

God's preservation is the good man's perseverance. He will keep the feet of his saints (*r*). Arminianism represents God's Spirit as if he acted like the guard of a stage coach, who sees the passengers safe out of town for a few miles; and then making his bow, turns back, and leaves them to pursue the rest of their journey themselves. But divine grace does not thus deal by God's travellers. It accompanies them to their journey's end, and without end. So that the meanest pilgrim to Zion may shout, with David, in full certainty of faith, Surely, goodness and mercy shall follow me all my days, and I shall dwell in the house of the Lord for ever (*s*). Therefore, for preserving grace, Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but to thy name give the glory, for thy loving mercy and for thy truth's sake.

7. After God has led his people through the wilderness of life, and brought them to the edge of that river which lies between them and the heavenly Canaan, will he intermit his care of them, in that article of deepest need? No, blessed be his name. On the contrary, he (always safely, and generaly comfortably) escorts them over to the other side; to that good land which is very far off, to that goodly mountain and Lebanon.

I know there are some flaming Arminians who tell us that "a man may persevere until he comes to die, and yet perish in almost the very article of death:" and they illustrate this wretched god-dishonouring, and soul-shocking doctrine, by the simile of of "a ship's foundering in the harbour's mouth."

It is very true that some wooden vessels have so perished. But it is no less true, that all God's chosen vessels are infallibly safe from so perishing. For, through his goodness, every one of them is insured by him whom the winds and seas, both literal and metaphorical, obey. And their insurance runs thus: When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee; and when through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee (*t*). The ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come to Zion, with songs, and everlasting joy upon their heads (*u*): so far from foundering within sight of land.

Even an earthly parent is particularly careful and tender of a dying child: and, surely, when God's children are in that situation, he will (speaking after the manner of men) be doubly gracious to his helpless offspring, who are his by election, by adoption, by covenant, by redemption, by regeneration, and by a thousand other indissoluble ties.

There are no marks of shipwrecks, no remnants of lost vessels, floating upon that sea which flows between God's Jerusalem below and the Jerusalem which is above. The excellent Dr. William Gouge (*x*) has an observation full to the present point. "If a man," says he, "were cast into a river, we should look upon him as safe, while he was able to keep his head above water. The Church, Christ's mystic body, is cast

(*o*) Gen. iii. 15.
(*p*) Mat. iv. 6, 7.
(*q*) Rom. vii. 25.
(*r*) 1 Sam. ii. 9.
(*s*) Psa. xxiii.
(*t*) Isa. xliii. 2.
(*u*) Isa. xxxv. 10.
(*x*) Exposition of Ephesians v.

into the sea of the world, [and afterwards into the sea of death]; and Christ, their head, keeps himself aloft even in heaven. Is there then any fear or possibility of drowning a member of this body? If any should be drowned, then either Christ himself must be drowned first, or else that member must be pulled from Christ: both which are impossible By virtue therefore of this union, we see that on Christ's safety our's depends. If he is safe, so are we. If we perish, so must he."

Well, therefore, may dying believers sing, Not unto us, O Lord, but to thy name give glory! Thy loving mercy carries us when we cannot go: and, for thy truth's sake, thou wilt save us to the utmost without the loss of one.

8. When the emancipated soul is actually arrived in glory, what song will he sing then? The purport of the text will still be the language of the skies: Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but to thy name give the praise.

Whilst we are upon earth, we have need of that remarkable caution which Moses gave the children of Israel (*y*): Speak not thou in thine heart, after that the Lord thy God hath cast them out from before thee, saying, for my righteousness, the Lord hath brought me in to possess this land. Not for thy righteousness, or for the uprightness of thine heart, dost thou go to possess this land. . . . . Understand, therefore, that the Lord thy God giveth thee not this good land to possess it for thy righteousness; for thou art a stiff-necked people. Now, if the earthly Canaan, which was only a transitory inheritance, was unattainable by human merit; if even worldly possessions are not given us for our own righteousness' sake; who shall dare to say that heaven itself is the purchase of our own righteousness? If our works cannot merit even the vanishing conveniences and supplies of time, how is it possible that we should be able to merit the endless riches of eternity? We shall (*z*) need no cautions against self-righteousness when we get safe to that better country. The language of our hearts, and of our voices, will be; and angels will join the concert; and all the elect, both angels and men, will, for ever and ever, strike their harps to this key: Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but to thy name give the glory, for thy loving mercy and thy truth's sake.

O, may a sense of that loving mercy and truth be warmly and transformingly experienced in our hearts! for indeed, my dear brethren, it is experience, or the felt power of God upon the soul, which makes the gospel a savour of life unto life. Notwithstanding God's purpose is stedfast as his throne, notwithstanding the whole of Christ's righteousness and redemption is finished and complete as a divine and almighty agent could make it; notwithstanding I am convinced that God will always be faithful to every soul whom he has called out of darkness into his marvellous light; and notwithstanding none can pluck the people of Christ from his hands; still, I am no less satisfied that it must be the feeling sense of all this, *i. e.* a perception wrought in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, that will give you and me the comfort of the Father's gracious decrees, and of the Messiah's finished work.

I know it is growing very fashionable to talk against spiritual feelings. But I dare not join the cry. On the contrary, I adopt the apostle's prayer, that our love to God, and the manifestations of his love to us, may abound yet more and more, in knowledge and in all feeling (*a*). And it is no enthusiastic wish, in behalf of you and of myself, that we may be of the number of those "godly persons" who, as our Church justly expresses it, "feel in themselves the workings of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh, and drawing up their minds to high and heavenly things." (*b*) Indeed, the great business of God's Spirit is to draw up and to bring down. To draw up our affections to Christ, and to bring down the unsearchable riches of grace into our hearts. The knowledge of which, and earnest desire for it, are all the feelings I plead for. And for these feelings I wish ever to plead. Satisfied as I am, that, without some experience and enjoyments of them, we cannot be happy, living or dying.

Let me ask you, as it were, one by one, has the Holy Spirit begun to reveal these deep things of God in your soul? If so, give him the glory of it. And as you prize communion with him, as you value the comforts of the Holy Ghost, endeavour to be found in God's way, even the high-way of humble faith and obedient love: sitting at the feet of Christ, and desirous to imbibe those sweet, ravishing, sanctifying, communications of

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(*y*) I have been informed that, when the news of John Goodwin's death was brought to his uncle, Dr. Thomas Goodwin, the latter cried out, "Then there is another good man gone to heaven."—"Gone to heaven, Sir!" answered the person; "why, your nephew was an Arminian."—The Doctor replied "True: he was an Arminian on earth, but he is not an Arminian now."

Whether John Goodwin went to heaven or not (which is a question too high for subluinary decision,) certain it is as I have already observed, that not one inhabitant of the celestial city ever carried a single particle of Arminianism with him into the gates of that Jerusalem. Of every Arminian now living, whose name is in the book of life, it may be truly said, that if grace do not go so far as to make him a Calvinist on earth, glory [*i. e.* grace made perfect] will certainly stamp him a Calvinist, in the kingdom of God, at farthest.

(*z*) Deut. ix. 4, &c.

(*a*) Phil. i. 9.—The word *αισθησις* (rendered judgment in our English translation) literally and properly signifies feeling, or sensible perception. The apostle wished his Philippians not only to love God, but to know that they loved him, and that he loved them: and to know it feelingly. (*b*) Art. 17.

grace, which are at once an earnest of and a preparation for complete heaven when you come to die. God forbid that we should ever think lightly of religious feelings! for if we do not in some degree feel ourselves sinners, and feel that Christ is precious, I doubt the Spirit of God has never been savingly at work upon our souls.

Nay, so far from being at a stand in this, our desires after the feeling of God's presence within ought to enlarge continually, the nearer we draw to the end of our earthly pilgrimage; and resemble the progressive expansion of a river, which, however narrow and straitened when it first begins to flow, never fails to widen and increase in proportion as it approaches the ocean into which it falls.

God give us a gracious spring-tide of his Spirit to replenish our thirsty channels, to swell our scanty stream, and to quicken our languid course! If this is not our cry, it is a sign either that the work of grace is not yet begun in us, or that it is indeed at low water, and discoloured with those dregs which tend to dishonour God, to eclipse the glory of the gospel, and to spread clouds and darkness upon our souls.

Some Christians are like decayed milestones; which stand, it is true, in the right road, and bear some traces of the proper impression; but so wretchedly mutilated and defaced that they who go by can hardly read or know what to make of them. May the blessed Spirit of God cause all our hearts this morning to undergo a fresh impression; and indulge us with a new edition of our evidences for heaven! O may showers of blessing descend upon you from above! May you see that Christ and the grace of God in him, are all in all! Whilst you are upon earth, may you ever ascribe the whole glory to him! And sure I am, that when you come to heaven, you will never ascribe it to any other.

GOOD NEWS FROM HEAVEN.

OR,

THE GOSPEL A JOYFUL SOUND.

The substance of a discourse preached in the Lock Chapel, near Hyde Park Corner, on Sunday, June 19, 1774.

How excellent is thy loving-kindness, O God! Therefore the children of men put their trust under the shadow of thy wings.—
Psalm xxxvi. 6.

SERMON VII.

Blessed are the people that know the joyful sound: They shall walk, O Lord, in the light of thy countenance: In thy name shall they rejoice all the day, and in thy righteousness shall they be exalted.
PSALM LXXXIX. 15, 16.

I HAVE often wondered at the hardiness of those writers who have presumed to affirm that the gospel, or message of free and full salvation by the blood and righteousness of God's co-eternal Son, was unknown to those who lived under the legal dispensation.

Nothing can be more untrue. We may as reasonably affirm that the sun did not shine during the legal dispensation. And as it was the same sun which now shines that then illuminated the world, so it was the self same Sun of righteousness, who now rises upon the souls of his people with healing in his beams (*e*) that then shone upon God's elect, visited them with the irradiations of his love, and saved them by faith in his own future righteousness and atonement. Unto us, saith the apostle, is the gospel preached, as well as unto them (*d*). And again, These all died in faith, having seen the promises afar off; and were persuaded of them [πεισθεντες, were assured of interest in them], and embraced them (*e*). So that we may confidently affirm, concerning all God's enlightened people who lived before the Messiah's incarnation, that like Abraham (*f*), they saw the day of Christ in perspective, and rejoiced in the believing anticipation of that blessed sight.

As the depravation of human nature is intrinsically the same in all ages; and as men in and of themselves were neither better nor worse, during the Mosaic economy, than they have been ever since, and are at this day; it follows that the disorder must be the self same, the remedy likewise must be the same; and, of course, that there are not two ways of salvation, one for the believing Jews, and another for the believing Gentiles; but that our Lord's declaration ever did, and ever must, stand good '—I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh to the Father but by me (*g*). Suppose we carry our appeal to this psalm, for the truth of the observation here made? What do you think David sings of in the text? Certainly he sings of those supernatural comforts imparted by the Holy Ghost, and which the psalmist knew would be procured for all the elect by the blood of Christ. Hence he likewise celebrates the praises of that righteousness in which, and in which alone, the redeemed of the Lord are exalted to a state of communion with God, and to the inheritance of the saints in light.

No wonder, therefore, that a psalm so richly fraught with evangelical truth should open in a strain of praise and thanksgiving to that God of all grace whose love to his people embraced them without beginning, and shall follow them without end. I will sing of the mercies of the Lord for ever: with my mouth will I make known thy faithfulness to all generations. Now, do you think that David did not enjoy what has

(*c*) Mal. iv. 2. (*d*) Heb. iv. 2. (*e*) Ibid. xi. 13. (*f*) John viii. 56. (*g*) John xiv. 6.

since been called the full assurance of faith? or can you imagine that David was unacquainted with what has since been termed the doctrine of final perseverance? certainly he was led into the clear perception of both these truths; else he could not have said, I will sing of the mercies of the Lord for ever; not only to-day and to-morrow, if I live; not only this year and the next, if I live; not only through life, but when I come to die; and not only when I pass through the streams of death, but when I am landed safe on the other side; the high praises of his mercy and faithfulness shall be ever in my mouth. David was egregiously mistaken in his views, if what some blasphemously affirm to be true, that "he who is a child of God to-day may be a child of the devil to-morrow." You must either deny that the psalmist wrote under the unerring guidance of God's Spirit; or you must admit that the final preservation of God's renewed people is a doctrine of God's book.

But it is not enough for true believers to be sensible of the mercy of the Lord, and of the perpetuity of his grace: they wish to diffuse the savour of his name far and wide, and to realize David's resolution, with my mouth will I make known thy faithfulnes to all generations. Some who know the truth shun to declare it, and are afraid to speak out; they hide Christ's mark in the palm of their hands, instead of wearing it on their foreheads; and wrap up their Christianity in a cloak of secresy; as if they deemed it their highest dishonour to be seen with Christ's livery on their backs. On the contrary, such believers as are strong in faith, giving glory to God, (instead of sneaking to heaven through bye-ways and private roads, concealed in a covered litter with the curtains drawn close about them,) rather wish to go thither over the public road of a declared profession, in an open chariot, so as to be seen and known of all men. But ministers of the gospel, above all mankind beside, should with their mouths make known God's faithfulness; and instead of desiring to slink into heaven at the back-door (if any such door there be), march publicly, with colours flying, and with sound of trumpet, to the great gate of the celestial city, and labour to carry thither as many souls with them as they possibly can.—Hence they must be urgent and importunate, in season and out of season; reproving, rebuking, and exhorting, with all long suffering and doctrine (*h*): the ministry of the word being the principal reaping-hook which God's Spirit makes use of, to cut off the poisonous excrescences of self-righteousness, to cut down the baneful weeds of practical licentiousness, and to gather elect sinners to the sanctifying and saving knowledge of himself. Let it however be observed, that the ministerial calls and exhortations of God's ambassadors, urged and addressed, as well to the awakened as the unawakened; do by no means imply that, in the divine intention, grace is universal, as the Arminians talk: nor that man, by a proper use of his reasonable faculties, becomes the architect of his own salvation. No. Quite the contrary. A fisher who stands upon the shore, and plunges his net into the sea at large, is not so frantic as to think of catching all the fishes in the sea, though he offers the net indefinitely, and without exception. So when a Christian minister spreads the gospel-net, he preaches to all that come within the sphere of his address; not with an expectation of catching all, but of catching as many as God shall please; knowing that it is the Holy Spirit alone who can drive souls into the net, and effectually catch them for Jesus Christ.

What was it which made David so desirous to sing of the mercies of the Lord? What was it that warmed and emboldened him at all events to make known Jehovah's faithfulness from one generation to another? It was the glorious gospel of the blessed God, seen in the light of the Spirit, and experienced through the influence of grace. Here is the reason of David's zeal: For I have said, mercy shall be built up for ever, thy faithfulness shalt thou establish in the very heavens. What is this mercy, that is built up for ever, but the glorious and the gracious scheme, the glorious and the gracious fabric of our salvation, founded in the eternal purpose of God — carried into execution by the labours and the death of Jesus Christ—and then applied and brought home to the heart by the illuminating and converting power of the Holy Ghost? This is that mercy which is built up for ever. It was planned from everlasting: and will know no ruin nor decay through the illimitable line of eternity itself. Who is the builder of this fabric? Not man's free-will. Not man's own righteousness nor wisdom. Not human power nor human skill. Every true believer will here join issue with David, that it is God, and God alone, who builds up the temple of his church; and who, as the builder of it, is alone entitled to all the glory.

The elect constitute and form one grand house of mercy: a house, erected to display and to perpetuate the riches of the Father's free grace, of the Son's atoning merit, and of the Holy Ghost's efficacious agency. This house, contrary to the fate of all sublunary buildings, will never fall down, nor ever be taken down. As nothing can be added (*i*) to it, so nothing can be diminished from it. Fire cannot injure it: storms

(*h*) 2 Timothy iv. 2.

(*i*) Eccles. iii. 14.

cannot overthrow it: age cannot impair it. It stands on a rock (*k*), and is immoveable as the rock on which it stands: the three-fold rock of God's inviolable decree, of Christ's finished redemption, and of the Spirit's never-failing faithfulness. God is neither an unwise, a feeble, nor a capricious architect. He does not form a wretched scheme, liable to be frustrated, and which will hardly hang together at best: but all is well-ordered; all is everlasting; all is sure; and nothing consigned to after-thought or peradventure. God having irreversibly drawn his plan, and Christ having completely accomplished the redeeming work assigned him; the sacred Spirit has only to breathe upon the hearts of his people in effectual calling, give them faith, imbue them with inward holiness, preserve and increase the holiness he communicates, lead them forth in the paths of outward duty and obedience, exercise them with desertions, visit them with his comforts, keep them from falling, or restore them when fallen, seal them to the day of Christ, and carry them safely through death to heaven.

Thus, mercy shall be built up for ever. And as surely as this book is the book of God; as surely as the Spirit of God inspired it, and inclined David to write these words; so surely is that a truth which the words themselves convey. No part of salvation is left at sixes and sevens; but the whole is a plan which does honour to infinite wisdom; a plan, conceived and hid (*l*) in the all-wise mind of God from eternal ages, but afterwards externally made known in the written word, or gospel of grace; and savingly unfolded in the souls of men, when the blessed Spirit begins to turn us from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God (*m*).

I was, yesterday, at some little distance from town; and received a very refined entertainment, in going over a most superb and elegant mansion which, both within and without, exhibited such a combination of magnificence, beauty, and perfection of taste, that I could not help feeling a curiosity to know how long that masterly edifice was in building? and, on being informed that it was both founded and finished within the compass of ten months only; I could not help observing, to some friends who were with me, that if human art and human hands could rear so transcendent a fabric as this, in so short a space, why should we think it strange that Jesus Christ was able to finish, and that he actually did finish, the fabric of man's salvation in a course of three-and-thirty years?

Blessed be God, our salvation is a finished work. It neither needs, nor will admit of, supplement.—And here, let us remember, that, when we talk of a finished salvation, we mean that complete and infallibly effectual redemption accomplished by the propitiatory merit of Christ's own personal obedience, and of Christ's own personal sufferings; both one and the other of which have that infinite perfection of atoning and of justifying efficacy, that it is utterly out of our power to add any thing to the merit or validity of either. Every individual of mankind, for whom Christ obeyed, and for whom he bled, shall most certainly be saved by his righteousness and death, not one of the redeemed excepted; seeing Christ has paid, completely paid, the debt of perfect obedience and of penal suffering: so that divine justice must become unjust, ere it be possible for a single soul to perish for all or any of those debts which Christ took upon himself to discharge, and which he has absolutely discharged accordingly.

Arminianism cannot digest this grand Bible-truth. Hence that poor, dull, blind creature, Bishop Taylor, tells us, somewhere, if I mistake not, that "We are to atone for our great sins by weeping; and for our little sins by sighing." If our sins have no other atonement than this, we shall go on weeping, and wailing, and gnashing our teeth, to all eternity. But thanks to divine grace, the work of atonement is not now to do. Christ has already put away our sins by the sacrifice of himself (*n*). We are acquitted from guilt, and reconciled to God, not by our own tears, but by the precious blood of Jesus Christ, as of a lamb without spot or blemish (*o*):—not our own sighs, and tears, and sorrows; but the humiliation, the agony, the bloody sweat, and the bitter death, of Him who did no sin, of Him who was found in fashion as a man, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross; these, and these alone, are the propitiation for our sins (*p*). And as surely as Christ obeyed, as surely as Christ expired, as surely as he rose again, as surely as he intercedes for all the people of his love; so certainly will they all, first and last, be enabled to sing of his faithfulness to all generations; and of that mercy which shall be built up for ever in their full, free, and final glorification.

This is farther confirmed, by those words of the Psalmist, "Thy faithfulness shalt thou establish in the very heavens." As much as to say: "When all thy chosen, redeemed, and converted people are assembled round thy throne; then thou wilt, in the very heavens, give an everlasting proof of thy everlasting faithfulness." So far will

(*k*) Matt. vii. 25; and xvi. 18.
(*l*) Ephes. iii. 9. (*m*) Acts xxvi. 18.
(*n*) Heb. ix. 26. (*o*) 1 Pet. i. 19.
(*p*) 1 John ii. 2.

God be from leaving his people to perish in their passage through the wilderness of life, or through the river of death, that he will present them all, faultless, before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy (*q*) God loves his jewels too well, and Christ bought them at too dear a rate, and the Holy Spirit polishes them with too much attention, either to throw them away, or to lose them, at last. No: they shall be made up (*r*); their number shall be accomplished; and in their glorification will the whole Trinity be glorified.

Now, after surveying some of the branches, let us look at the grand root whence they spring. Having taken a cursory view of these streams, by which the Church of God is enriched unto salvation; let us endeavour to contemplate them in their great Source and Head. That you will find in verse the third; where God the Father says, I have made a covenant with my chosen, I have sworn unto David my servant, thy seed will I establish for ever, and build up thy throne to all generations. Do you suppose that this was spoken to David in his own person only? No, indeed: but to David as the anti-type, figure, and fore-runner of Jesus Christ.—Hence, the Septuagint version renders it, I have covenanted τοις εκλεκτοις μου, with my elect people, or with my chosen ones: *i. e.* with them in Christ, and with Christ in their name. I have sworn unto David my servant, unto the Messiah who was typified by David; unto my co-eternal Son, who stipulated to take on himself the form of a servant; thy seed, *i. e.* all those whom I have given to thee in the decree of election, all those whom thou shalt live and die to redeem, these will I establish for ever, so as to render their salvation irreversible and inamissible; and build up thy throne, thy mediatorial throne, as King of saints, and covenant Head of the elect, to all generations: there shall always be a succession of favoured sinners to be called and sanctified, in consequence of thy fœderal obedience unto death; and every period of time shall recompense thy covenant-sufferings with an increasing revenue of converted souls, until as many as are ordained to eternal life (*s*) are gathered in.

Observe, here, that when Christ received this promise from the Father, concerning the establishment of his [*i. e.* of Christ's] throne to all generations; the plain meaning is, that his people shall be thus established: for, consider Christ in his divine capacity as the Son of God, and his throne was already established, and had been from everlasting; and would have continued to be established without end, even if he had never been incarnate at all. Therefore, the promise imports that Christ shall reign, not simply as a person in the godhead (which he ever did, and ever will, and ever must); but relatively, mediatorially, and in his office-character, as the Deliverer and King of Zion. Hence it follows that his people cannot be lost: for he would be a poor sort of king who had, or might have, no subjects to reign over. Consequently, that throne of glory, on which Christ sits, is already encircled in part, and will at last be completely surrounded, and made still more glorious, by that innumerable company, that general assembly, and church of the first-born, who are written in heaven (*t*): for the remission of whose sins his blood was shed; for the justification of whose persons his righteousness was wrought; for the preservation of whom, in a state of grace, his intercession is still carried on in heaven; and to recover and retrieve whom from the personal dishonours of sin, the Holy Spirit comes down, and takes up his abode in their hearts, nor will ever cease from his gracious guardianship until he has sanctified them into the kingdom of God

Well may the Psalmist add, And the heavens shall praise thy wonders, O Lord; thy faithfulness also in the congregation of the saints. What are we here to understand by the heavens? I should suppose the primary inhabitants of heaven; namely, the angels of light. Electing goodness, redeeming mercy, sanctifying grace, and preserving power, so beneficently exhibited in the salvation of fallen man, are wonders even to the very angels themselves. But are angels the only beings who shall wonder at this display of love? No: thy faithfulness also in the congregation of the saints. In the congregation of believing saints below, and of glorified saints above. For saints and angels, in the great result of things, when the transactions of grace and providence shall be unfolded and clearly laid open to the delighted view; at that august period, saints and angels, the redeemed and the unredeemed (but both elected, the one as well as the other) spirits that were always unembodied, and saints whose souls were for a time dislodged from the body in consequence of original sin, but who shall receive their bodies again in the resurrection of the just; all these, when they stand and shine above, shall join in casting their crowns, and in striking their golden lyres to the praises of him who has loved his people, and redeemed them unto God by his blood (*u*).

Time will not allow me to consider, as I designed, all the preliminary verses which lead to the text. Enough I hope has been observed to justify the declaration with

(*q*) Jude xxiv. (*r*) Mal. iii. 17. (*s*) Acts xiii. 48. (*t*) Heb. xii. 23. (*u*) Rev. v. 9.

which the text begins: Blessed are the people that know the joyful sound! awfully intimating that there are some who sit within the sphere of this joyful sound, but who know it, feel it, and enjoy it not. It is to them *a vox, et præterea nihil:* a sound, and no more than a sound. But the blessedness results to those who know the joyful sound, and whose believing souls can say, The free blessings of the gospel are all our salvation, and all our desire.

It is a very common thing, when we talk of knowing the things that belong to our spiritual and eternal peace, for unconverted people to cry out, Oh, how presumptuous you are! I totally deny the charge. It is not presumptuous to take God at his word, and to believe and be sure that there shall be a performance of the things which are spoken and promised by the Lord (*x*). Thus when God avers to the penitent sinner, I, even I am he that blotteth out thy transgressions for my own sake, and will not remember thy sins (*y*); it is not humility, but presumption itself, and the very quintessence of unbelief, that bids us put a negative on God's solemn asseveration, and induces us to question whether he will indeed make good his promise. I am firmly of opinion that the man who reads and professes to believe the Bible must have a large stock of assurance in the worst sense of the word (*i. e.* of audaciousness and effrontery), if he venture to deny that assurance in the best sense of the word, or a clear perception and conviction of interest in God's pardoning love, is the possible privilege of Christ's converted people. These will certainly concur with David in pronouncing them blessed who know the joyful sound: who know it when they hear it, and who know it for themselves; whose hearts have been ploughed up by the Spirit of God, to receive the gospel-seed; and in whom it springs into righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost (*z*). This, and this alone, comes up to the full idea of knowing the joyful sound. Hence we may learn who the persons are that know it indeed. Not Church of England People, in exclusion of others; not Romanists; not members of the Church of Scotland; nor, in short, the partizans of any one denomination in particular. But the many individuals who, through grace, are enabled to know the joyful sound are those whom God takes out of all these and other denominations, to be a people for his name (*a*): to wit, the elect of every age, place, and party. All God's converted, all his repenting, all his believing, all his obeying people, through the whole extent of the earth, from under one end of the heavens to the other; all whose hearts are touched by the attractive power of his divine Spirit—are the people that know the joyful sound.

The joyful sound of what? Of that free grace which it is the business of God's ministers to proclaim, saying, Peace, peace to him that is far off, and to him that is near (*b*). That joyful sound which says, Ho, every one (without exception of time, or place, or person), Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters (*c*) of life, joy, and salvation. But observe that even this is not a universal call. God forbid that I should be misunderstood by any who hear me this day. Do not imagine that I am hoisting the Arminian colours, and hanging out the false Arminian flag. No, by no means. I suppose there is hardly a more indefinite call, in all God's word, than that which I quoted last. But then, take notice, it is addressed only to those that thirst: *i. e.* to those who so far know the joyful sound as to wish for an experimental participation of the blessings it proclaims. It would be frivolous to call them to the waters who do not thirst. It would be ridiculous mockery, should we invite the dead to sit down at table, and lay a plate and knife and fork before them, and ask them why they will not eat? The plain fact is, they cannot eat nor drink. They must be made alive ere they can have so much as an appetite to either.

There is a passage very frequently, but very idly, insisted upon by the Arminians; as if it were a hammer which would at one stroke crush the whole fabric of free grace to powder. The passage is, Why will ye die, O house of Israel (*d*)? But it so happens, that the death here alluded to is neither spiritual death, nor eternal death: as abundantly appears from the whole tenor of the chapter. The death intended by the prophet is a political death; a death of national prosperity, tranquillity, and security. And the sense of the question is fairly and precisely this: What is it that makes you in love with captivity, banishment, and civil ruin? Abstinence from the worship of images might, as a people, exempt you from those calamities, and once more render you a respectable nation. Are the miseries of public devastation so very alluring as to attract your determined pursuit? Why will ye die? die as the house of Israel; and considered as a political body? Thus reasonably did the prophet argue the case. Adding, at the same time, this no less reasonable declaration: As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth. Wherefore, turn yourselves, and live ye. Which imports these two things: 1. That the national captivity of the Jews added nothing to the happiness of God. It brought him no accession either of profit or pleasure.

(*x*) Luke i. 45.
(*y*) Isa. xliii. 25.
(*z*) Rom. xiv. 17.
(*a*) Acts xv. 14.
(*b*) Isa. lvii. 19.
(*c*) Isa. lv. 1.
(*d*) Ezek. xviii. 31.

And I should wonder much if (philosophically speaking) any thing whatever could add to the divine felicity, which is already infinite; and consequently insusceptible of augmentation.—2. That if the Jews turned from idolatry, and flung away their images, they should not die in a foreign, hostile country, but live peaceably in their own land, and enjoy their liberties as an independent people.

And now what has all this to do with the blessings of grace and glory? No more than it has to do with Gog and Magog. Would it not be very absurd, if I was to stand in a church-yard, and say to the dead bodies there interred, Why will ye die? Nor, in my idea, would it be less so, were I to ask a spiritually dead sinner, Why wilt thou die? Alas, he is dead already (*e*): and to put such a question to one in such a state would be, in reality, to ask a man who is already fallen in Adam (as every man is), Why wilt thou fall in Adam? Let Arminians rant in this manner if they think fit. They shall, for me, have all the ranting, unenvied and unrivalled, to themselves. I think it will not bear water.

Quite a different thing is the joyful sound of gospel grace. It imparts life to the dead, and health to the living. You hath he quickened, who were dead in trespasses and sins (*f*). And, says God, concerning his quickened Church, I will [not tantalize her with an empty offer; but actually] bring it health and cure (*g*). Regeneration gives spiritual life, and sanctification gives spiritual health, to the soul. How is spiritual health evidenced to ourselves and others? Not by lolling in the elbow chair of sloth: but by abounding in the work of the Lord. For, however some people may call us Antinomians (as Christ himself and the apostles were so (*h*) called before us, by the unblushing Pharisees of that age), and falsely accuse our good conversation (*i*), as though we were enemies to the moral law; we are so far from it, that (I aver it boldly, and let any contradict me if they can)—We who believe salvation to be the absolute gift of grace are the only people that assert the due honours of the law, and establish its authority on an unshaken basis.

1. We assert its honours, by considering it as a transcript of God's own holiness; as absolutely perfect in all its requisitions; as the invariable standard of moral excellency; as the sublime rule by which Christ himself adjusted his own matchless obedience; and as the school-master which, in subserviency to the Holy Spirit's influence, prepares us (by the severity of its discipline) for the reception of Christ, and for bearing, to good purpose, that sound of gospel grace which is joyful to those only whom the law, thus viewed, has (*k*) instrumentally convinced of sin.

2. We establish its (*l*) authority, by grafting our obedience to it upon the never-dying principle of (*m*) love to Christ; by aiming at practical conformity to its precepts, as the grand visible evidence of our part in God's election and in the Messiah's (*n*) redemption; by believing and asserting that it still remains in full force, and will so remain while the sun and moon endure, as the rule of our moral walk; and by beseeching God the Holy Ghost to (*o*) write it upon our hearts accordingly. For, whatever is absolutely of moral obligation, is and must be, in its very nature, irrepealable.

Thus does the joyful sound proclaim the majesty, and even add to the sanctions, of the moral law. To fulfil the whole righteousness of that law, and to endure its awful penalty, as a covenant of works, the Son of God Most High bowed the heavens and came down.—To make his ransomed people love that law as a directory of conduct; and to make them actually transcribe its maxims into their lives, as a medium of their conformity to God; the uncreated Spirit descends upon their souls as a dove, and works in them both to will and to do.

But still we must consider the law as in the hand of (*p*) Christ: and remember, that the love of God, graciously shed (*q*) abroad in the heart is that only acceptable principle from which believers act.

Now, that joyful sound which the people are pronounced blessed who know, con-

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(*e*) An ingenious pen has lately exposed, with equal strength and delicacy, the impertinent application, which Arminianism makes, of the prophet Ezekiel's question and exhortation.

"Arise ye dead," Arminius cries;
"Arise ye dead in sin!"
"Unstop your ears, unseal your eyes,
"And a new life begin.
"Why will ye die, ye wretched souls?
"Ye dead, why will ye die?
"Quicken, and rank your spirits whole:
"To life ye can if ye will."
At Baal's worshippers—of old,
Beggar'd, pray'd, and cry'd aloud;
Cutting their bodies, as we're told,
To move a fancied god;
So on the idol man he'll call,
And pompously declare,
Though slightly damaged by the fall,
How great his powers are.

"Rise, noble creature! Man, arise!
"And make yourself alive!
"Prepare yourself to mount the skies;
"For endless glory strive."
Deluded Sire! But man will lie
Still senseless as a stone;
And you yourself stand fooling by,
Till both are quite undone:
Unless Almighty power be shew'd
By God's free-will, not thine,
To quicken both, and make his love
On both your hearts to shine.

See Sermon I. verse, in verse, p. 194. By the Rev. Mr. John Berridge, Junior

(*f*) Eph. ii. 1. (*g*) Jer. xxxiii. 6.
(*h*) Matt. xi. 19. with Rom. iii. 8.
(*i*) 1 Pet. iii. 16. (*k*) Gal. iii. 21. Rom. iii. 20
(*l*) Rom. iii. 31.
(*m*) 1 Cor. xiii. 8. with Matt. xxvii. 40.
(*n*) 1 Pet. i. 2. (*o*) Heb. viii. 10.
(*p*) 1 Cor. ix. 21. (*q*) Rom. v. 5.

sists, greatly, in what the word of God brings to light concerning (*r*) that eternal purpose of electing grace which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord. For, notwithstanding the profane endeavours of some to misrepresent that great and precious truth as a gloomy, uncomfortable doctrine, they, whose eyes God has enlightened, and they whose hearts God has touched, know that it is not a gloomy, but a joyful, sound: and all their hearts' desire is, O that I might, with more unclouded faith, behold my name shining in the Lamb's Book of Life! Christ himself, that great preacher of predestination, and who certainly was a competent judge of the question in hand, considered election as a heart-reviving doctrine: or he never would have commanded his disciples to rejoice because their names are written in heaven (*s*). Whoever professes to preach the gospel without taking absolute election into the account, that minister turns his back upon the tree of life, quenches one of the capital lights which he ought to elevate on a candlestick, and withholds from his people the very root and essence of the joyful sound.

What is free remission of sin, through the precious blood and atonement of Jesus Christ;—what is unconditional and irreversible justification, through Christ's righteousness imputed;—what is that truth which tells us that the Spirit of Christ is the renewer, the inhabitant, the illuminator, and the everlasting comfortor of God's children;—what is that word which assures us that the Lord will not turn away from the people of his love, nor suffer them finally to turn away from him, but that he will seal them his for ever, and preserve them through life and death to glory, though every step they take upon earth is paved with snares, and, if left to themselves a moment, down they must fall into the nethermost hell;—what is the continued advocacy of Christ, whereby he wears his priesthood upon his throne, and intercedes for his militant people, so that, while they are travelling, or fighting, or fainting, he is praying, by the perpetual presentation of himself before God, as a lamb newly slain;—what are the promises which relate to the succour, support, and deliverance of the soul, in death; which ensure a bodily resurrection to glory, honour, and immortality; and which ascertain he endless beatification of soul and body together, in the kingdom of God;—What, I say, are all these, but so many parts and branches of the joyful sound? and a joyful sound it is. God make it such to us!

Was the matter left in the hand of our free-will, the joyful sound would soon darken into a dismal one. We should never come into a state of grace at all. And, if God was to put us into it, and then resign us to our own management, we should quickly make shipwreck of every thing. Adam, in the state of innocence, did not, probably, stand twenty-four hours. And how should the believer, who is in a mixt state of sin and grace, and in whom are (*t*) the company of two armies, flesh and spirit, at perpetual war with each other; how could such a person possibly continue, even for four-and-twenty minutes, if the same Almighty love, which put him into the covenant, did not keep him in it?

A good man of the last century says, and with great truth, "the strongest believer of us all is like a glass without a foot, which cannot stand one moment longer than is is held." And our Lord had a similar view of the matter, when he declared, that he holds all his sheep in (*u*) his hand: as much as to say, Was I to leave you for an instant, down you would fall: therefore I hold you fast, and none shall pluck thee out of my hand.

O how comfortable is it, when the Lord makes these truths known, by his Spirit, to the heart! How blessed are the people that thus know the joyful sound! Who can see that God has loved them in his Son; who can feel that Christ died for them, to be their everlasting peace; who are satisfied that their peace is not now to make, but was completely made and sealed, by the precious blood of his cross, ages and ages before they drew their breath; who are sweetly assured that the Holy Spirit, who has begun to show them the great things of Christ, will go on more clearly to show them that he will never leave them nor forsake them, in life, in death, nor even at their journey's end! This is that joyful sound which God enables his people to know. And what is the consequence of knowing it?

Blessed are the people that know the joyful sound. Wherefore are they blessed, or happy? And in what does their blessedness consist? They shall walk, O Lord, in the light of thy countenance. As much as to say, we need but know this joyful sound to be happy. We need but know what it is to be loved, chosen, redeemed, and sanctified from among men; and then that knowledge will cause us to (*x*) walk upon our high places, and to triumph in the name of the Lord our God. We shall bask in the smile, we shall enjoy the sun-shine, of God's countenance upon our souls.

What is the meaning of that phrase, They shall walk in the light of thy counte-

(*r*) Eph. iii. 11.
(*s*) Luke x. 20.
(*t*) Cant vi. 13.
(*u*) John x. 28. See also Deut. xxxiii. 3
(*x*) Hab. iii. 19.

nance? Suppose any great personage was to patronize some obscure man, and favour him with his peculiar intimacy and friendship. It would, in that case, be natural for us to say, "such a person is greatly countenanced by this or that nobleman." So here: They shall walk in the light of thy countenance: *i. e.* they shall be, sensibly, in the favour of God. They shall enjoy comfortable communion and fellowship with God. They shall have a satisfactory persuasion that the Lord is at peace with them, through the blood of Christ; and that (*y*) being justified by faith, they also are, on their part, at peace with the Lord. They (*z*) receive the atonement (for the true business of faith is, not to make atonement, but simply to receive and rest upon Christ's atonement, already made, and which faith itself does not render more efficacious than it intrinsically is). Sometimes, the tide of assurance rolls in so richly upon the soul, as to rise quite (if I may so speak) to high-water mark, and not to leave so much as the shadow of a doubt upon the mind. When it is thus with the believer, he may be eminently said to walk in the light of God's countenance. Faith looks (*a*) within the vail. The interposing scene opens. We almost hear the angels sing. We almost see the souls of the glorified do homage to grace, and throw their crowns at the divine footstool. We almost behold the King of saints (*b*) in his beauty, shining as (*c*) the Lamb in the midst of the throne.—Precious moments these! But soon the scene closes. We descend from the mountain top, and find ourselves again in the valley.

If God, however, has not yet given you any assurance of his love, do not imagine that you are therefore an alien and an outcast. For, I imagine, that God's countenance, or favour, and the light of his countenance, or the clear and comfortable knowledge of his favour, are two distinguishable things. God may bear a favour to us, he may love us, and be resolved to save us; and yet not indulge us with the immediate light of his countenance.—But of one thing I am as clearly positive as that I am now preaching in the Lock Chapel: namely, that none, whose hearts are at all wrought upon by the finger of God's Spirit, can sit down, quite easily and contentedly, without wishing to experience what the light of God's countenance means. Their desire is to know it, to walk in it, and to walk worthy of it.

Have you never observed, after the sun has been shining, perhaps for hours together, a diffusing mist has arisen from the earth, or a floating cloud has interposed in the sky, and shaded the grand luminary from your view? yet, in reality, the sun still shone as before, though your sensation of its lustre was suspended.—Thus, in the darkest seasons of spiritual distress, God's countenance, or favour, is still toward you for good; and shines, not only with inextinguishable, but also with undiminishable, intenseness. Is it not, however, a most desirable felicity, to see and to feel the light of his face, beaming full upon us, as the sun when it goeth forth in its might (*d*)? This is what the apostle means, where he says: God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give us the light of the knowledge of the glory of God [*i. e.* to enlighten us into the knowledge of the Father's glorious grace, as exhibited] εν προσωπῳ, in the person [and as displayed in the finished salvation] of Jesus Christ (*e*). And this is, likewise, what the psalmist means in the text: They shall walk, O Lord, in the light of thy countenance.

Do you ask, "How is this happy communion with God to be attained?"—I answer: that it is not of human attainment, but of the Holy Spirit's vouchsafement. Whence David, elsewhere, prays, Lord, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us (*f*).

Do you farther ask' "How this sweet illumination and fellowship are to be sought, and cultivated, and cherished?"—I answer: That the wisdom, and the will of God, and that orderly concatenation of one blessing with another, which he has established in his covenant of grace, all concur to assure us that, if we wish to enjoy the unintercepted rays of his presence within, we must cultivate holiness—abound in good works—be much in God's company, by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving—drink continually at the fountain of his written word—and converse frequently, and compare experiences, with others of God's children; more especially with such of them as are either eminently lively, or remarkably exercised with desertions: such conversations are always profitable, and often make (*g*) our hearts burn within us, while we mutually unfold the Scriptures, and (*h*) speak one to another, concerning (*i*) the things which pertain to the kingdom of God. The sick and the dying beds of Christ's people are, in a very eminent degree, schools of instruction and consolation. I have often gone to them as cold (spiritually speaking) as a stone: and returned from them half as warm as an angel.

In one word: communion with God requires that we be found in all the means of grace, and in the way of universal duty:

(*y*) Rom. v. 1.
(*a*) Heb. vi. 19.
(*e*) Rev. v. 6.
(*z*) Rom. v. 11.
(*b*) Isa. xxxiii. 17.
(*d*) Judges v. 31.
(*e*) 2 Cor. iv. 6.
(*g*) Luke xxiv. 32.
(*i*) Acts i 3.
(*f*) Psalm iv. 6.
(*h*) Mal. iii. 16.

and that we shun, as we would poison or the plague, whatever tends to cast a damp upon our intercourse with the Holy Ghost, to tarnish our graces, or darken our evidences. Were you to find that even the crossing of a straw was conducive to bring a cloud upon your soul, and to obstruct your fellowship with God, it would be as much your duty to abstain from crossing that straw as if, 'Thou shalt not cross a straw' was one of the ten commandments. But in all these respects every man must judge for himself in particular. God has generally connected good with good, and evil with evil. If therefore you are suffered to be off your guard, and off your watch, though you cannot (if you are a true believer) so fall as to break your neck, yet you may break your limbs in such a manner as to go halting to the day of your death. The Lord graciously "strengthen (*k*) such as do stand," and effectually "raise (*l*) up them that fall;" by making both these and those more ardently and more practically careful than ever, to walk in the light of his countenance! For surely, next to the love of God's heart, believers value the smiles of his face: from which, as from the agency of the sun, arise the buddings of conscious joy; the leaves of unsullied profession; the variegated blossom of holy tempers; and the beneficent fruits of moral righteousness.

They are totally mistaken who suppose that the light of God's countenance, and the privileges of the gospel, and the comforts of the Spirit, conduce to make us indolent and unactive in the way of duty. The text cuts up this surmise by the roots. For it does not say they shall sit down in the light of thy countenance; or they shall lie down in the light of thy countenance; but they shall *walk* in the light of thy countenance. What is walking? It is a progressive motion from one point of space to another. And what is that holy walking which God's Spirit enables all his people to observe? It is a continued progressive motion from sin to holiness; from all that is evil to every good word and work.

And the self-same light of God's countenance, in which you, O believer, are enabled to walk, and which at first gave you spiritual feet wherewith to walk, will keep you in a walking and in a working state to the end of your warfare. So that your path shall, under the shinings of his Spirit (for we can do nothing but as He vouchsafes his grace from moment to moment), wax brighter and brighter to the perfect day (*m*). The truly righteous shall hold on in his course; and he that hath clean hands shall grow stronger and stronger (*n*). Nor shall they only walk, O Lord, in the light of thy countenance; they shall also at times even run and not be weary (*o*): namely, when they are eminently drawn of God. Draw us, and we will run after thee (*p*).

Though God finds all his children stillborn, or spiritually dead, before he has quickened them by his own effectual power and grace, yet he makes them alive, in order that they may live afterwards to his honour and glory (*q*). He lifts up the light of his countenance upon the human mind, with a view analagous to that for which he causes the light of the natural sun to rise upon the world. To what end does the sun shine upon us in a morning? Not that we may continue to close our eyelids and press all day the bed of indolence; but that we may up and be doing. And why does the light of God's Spirit shine inwardly upon his people? That they may arise and walk in the light of his countenance, and work the works of God while it is day (*r*), as Jesus Christ gave them example: walk becomingly of him who has called them to glory and virtue. For it is not holy talking, but holy walking, that proves us to be the children of God.

Yet, after we have done as much, and have walked as far, in the ways of God as his grace has enabled us, what is the subject matter of our confidence and rejoicing? Not ourselves, nor our own performances; but the free mercy of the Father, and the all perfect merit of Him that died and rose again. As good Mr. Hervey asks, "Can our charitable deeds expiate our innumerable offences? As soon might a drop of fresh water correct and sweeten the unfathomable brine of the ocean. Can our defective performances satisfy the demands of a perfect law, or our wandering devotions screen us from the displeasure of an injured God? As well may our uplifted hand eclipse the sun, or intercept the lightning when it darts through the bursting cloud. We can be reconciled to God only by Jesus Christ (*s*)."—It is the sweet employ of faith to do as many good works as she can; and to renounce them as fast as she does them: saying, Lord, when saw we thee hungry, and fed thee (*t*)? &c.

(*k*) Litany. (*l*) Ibid. (*m*) Prov. iv. 18.
(*n*) Job xvii. 9. (*o*) Isa. xxxix. 31.
(*p*) Cant. i. 4. (*q*) 1 Pet. ii. 9. (*r*) John ix. 4.
(*s*) See Mr. Hervey's Sermon, entitled The Ministry of Reconciliation.
(*t*) Mat. xxv. 44.—The holy and judicious Dr. Crisp has some remarks equally valuable in themselves, and pertinent to the argument in hand. "We [who believe] do not perform Christian duties in order to our being delivered from wrath: but we perform them because we are delivered.——A man will work for Christ who hath tasted of Christ's loving-kindness: he stands ready to shew forth the praise of that glorious grace which hath so freely saved him. Such a man is as glad to work for Christ's sake, as if he was to work for his own salvation.—There are many ingenious persons in the world, who will be more ready to serve a friend that

Thus, we learn, from the text, that the self-same people, who walk in the light of God's countenance, and are active in the observations of moral duty, have, when they have done all, something infinitely better to rejoice in and to rely upon than the sanctity of their walk, and the various duties which they perform. In thy name, not in their own rectitude, shall they rejoice, all the day: and in thy righteousness, not in their own doings, shall they be exalted. During the day of sublunary life, they shall sing, with the apostle, God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ:* and when, having breathed their last on earth, they fly to the coast of immortality, they are then inchoatively, and shall (after the final audit) be completely, and everlastingly, exalted to the kingdom of God, in and through the alone imputed righteousness of their Saviour, their Surety, and their Head.

By the name of Christ, in which the elect are here said to rejoice, I understand Christ himself: the blessed person, signified by that name. Who is the brightness, the *απαυγασμα*, the emanation, or forth-beaming ray, of the Father's glory;† and is, by virtue of that eternal and incomprehensible derivation,‡ God of God; Light of Light; very God of very God; begotten, not made; co-equal partaker of one substance [i. e. of the same numerical nature and essence] with the Father: and by whom all things were made.

In his name, i. e. in the divinity of his person, and in his offices as mediator; in his finished atonement, in the perfect righteousness of his obedience, and in his never-failing intercession for the elect; it is the privilege of the humble, the contrite, the feeble, the tempted, and of the fallen (if returning) believer, to rejoice: because it was for such men, and for their salvation, that this adorable Being came down from heaven, and poured out his soul unto death.

Do not imagine that David was an Antinomian, because he makes no mention of good works as objects of joy and dependence. True it is that he does not say, "Saints shall rejoice in their faithfulness, in their affected mortifications, or even in those works that spring from genuine grace." No: not in these, but in his name, shall the Gentiles trust,§ and of his only righteousness shall they make their boast. Inherent graces and personal duties are the ornaments, but neither the foundation, nor the pillars, of God's mystic temple.

As Christ's righteousness is the only merit that can exalt us to the presence and to the kingdom of God; so that doctrine alone is to be considered as evangelical which depresses the righteousness of man, and exalts the righteousness of Christ: leading us to trust, not on what we do, but singly on what he has done and suffered for us. The business of the Law is to knock us down from the pedestal of self-confidence, and to grind us small; as Moses ground to powder, and dispersed, the materials of the Israelitish Idol. The business of grace is to lift us from the dust, to settle us upon Christ the rock of ages, to put a new song of free salvation into our mouths, and to order our goings in the path of God's commandments. This it is (even the power of the Holy Ghost, who first breaks us in pieces by the hammer of the Law, and then puts us together anew by the grace of the gospel) that enables us to rejoice in the name of Christ all the day. Not that a believer's rejoicing is uninterrupted, from the time of his conversion until the moment of his arrival in heaven: for the elect have their weeping, as well as their triumphant, seasons; and their pilgrimage is wisely chequered and diversified, both with joys and sorrows that the world knows not of. The meaning, therefore, of the text, is that a sinner is no sooner born again than Christ, and Christ alone, becomes the object of that sinner's dependence: who can thenceforth say, with Dr. Watts,

> "While Jews on their own works rely,
> "And Greeks of wisdom boast;
> "I love th' incarnate mystery,
> "And there I fix my trust."

The converted sinner having thus, through the good hand of God upon him, fixed all his hopes on Jesus Christ the righteous, travels the residue of his way, leaning on the merits of the‖ beloved mediator: and is, finally, exalted to the actual participation of the celestial inheritance above, in and by

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has already raised them; than to serve a master, that they may be raised. This is the true service of a believer. His eye is to the glory of Christ, in regard of what Christ hath already done for him: and not in expectation of any thing Christ hath yet to do. He looks upon all, as perfectly done for him in the hand of Christ, and ready to be delivered out to him [i. e. to the believer himself] as his occasions may require. The work of salvation being thus completed by Christ and not to be mended by the creature; the believer having now nothing to do for himself [as a cause or condition of salvation]: all he doth, he doth for Christ.—— I would only ask you this plain question: Are our works of sanctification, Christ himself; or are they not? If they be Christ himself, then there are thousands of Christs in the world. If they be not Christ, then there is no coming to the Father, by them: because, the coming to the Father, for peace, pardon, reconciliation, and salvation, is by Christ alone; and by him as the sole way.——Salvation itself, therefore, is not the end proposed, in any good work we do. The ends of our good works are, the manifestation of our obedience and subjection; the setting forth the praise of God's grace and thereby glorifying him in the world; the doing good to others, with a view to their profit; and the meeting the Lord Jesus Christ in the performance of duty, where he will be found, according to his promise: these are some of the special ends, for which obedience is ordained, salvation being settled upon before."
Crisp's Sermon, vol. i. p. 69—77. Dr. Gill's Edition.

* Galatians vi. † Hebrews i. 4.
‡ Θεον ΕΚ Θεου, φως ΕΚ φωτος, κ. τ. λ. Symb. Nicæn.
§ Matthew xii. 21. ‖ Cant. viii. 5.

virtue of that divine righteousness which God the Son wrought out, which God the Father imputes, which God the Spirit applies, and felt emptying faith receives.

The learned and evangelical Mr. (*b*) Thomas Cole, a renowned and useful minister of Christ in the last century, had an observation or two, in his last illness, full to the sense of the clause with which the text concludes; In thy righteousness shall they be exalted. "It would be miserable dying, if we had not something every way adequate to the demands of the law, to ground our hopes of eternal life upon. We have an abundant entrance into the kingdom of God, by the way of Christ's righteousness. The devil and the law may meet us: yet cannot hinder us from entering into heaven by that righteousness. We shall be sure to meet with the devil, with conscience, with wicked men, and with the law of God, in our way to heaven: and we can deal with none of them, but by that righteousness which hath satisfied all. Let us bring that along with us, and they will all flee before it. If a sinner comes in his own righteousness, shut him out, sayeth God; so sayeth conscience; so sayeth the law. But, when one comes clothed with the righteousness of Christ, let him in, sayeth God; so sayeth conscience; so sayeth the law: and let the devil say a word to the contrary, if he dare.

"I should not dare to look death in the face, were it not for the comfortable assurance which faith gives me of eternal life in Christ Jesus, and for the comfortable and abundant flowings in of that life. It is not what I bring to Christ, but what I receive from him. The beginnings of which I see springing up into life eternal.

"Some persons think to lick themselves whole, by their own moral righteousness; but it is the ready way to die in horror of conscience.

"If you want the manifestation of the pardon of any sins, carry them to free grace; which, having blotted them out, knows how to give you a sense of it. The gospel of our salvation is a gospel of free-grace; and they that would have it otherwise may gather up what they can, and go boasting to heaven's gates; but they will be turned back again."

And how was this great man of God supported by Christ's righteousness, when in the immediate view of death? Learn what that righteousness can then do for us, by the following memorable speech, which he addressed to one of his visitants: "You are come to hear my last dying groans: but know, when you hear them, that they are the sweetest breath I ever drew since I knew Christ Jesus."

O thou blessed Son of God, exalt us in thy righteousness, and shake us out of our own! Ye, that hear me this day, which, O which, are you for? For being found and exalted in Christ's obedience? or for inheriting perdition and damnation in your own? God enable you and cause you to choose the good part!

To cut off, as far as man can do it, all the pleas of proud, self-righteous unbelief, let me conclude with two or three pertinent remarks.

1. Why is the gospel news of salvation called the joyful sound? Not, indefinitely, a joyful, but peculiarly, and exclusively of all other schemes whatever, the joyful sound?

Because it is the vehicle of making known to us that God is love, and that he has (in the blood and righteousness of Christ) opened a channel for his love to exert itself in the salvation of the unworthy. The lost are found; the blind see: the deaf hear: the lame walk: the leprous are cleansed: the dead are made alive: and all without money, and without price (*c*).

2. Have you any part or lot in that blessedness of which the text speaks? Any comfortable views, or hopes of interest in God's election, and in Christ's propitiation, and in the Spirit's renewing grace? Ask, and it shall (not be sold to you for your works and for your imaginary fulfilment of pretended conditions, but a sense of interest shall) be given you: seek, in the alone name and for the alone righteousness' sake of Christ, and ye shall find the mercies you want: knock, but let it be with an empty hand, at the door of divine clemency, and it shall be opened unto you. For every one that asks, receives; and he that seeks, finds; and to him that knocks, it shall be opened (*d*). As surely as God draws you to Christ, so surely will Christ, at his own set time, make you a sharer in the blessedness of them that know the joyful sound.

3. You, who have believed with your hearts unto righteousness, (*e*) give God the whole glory; and pray that you may continually have more enlivening views of that

(*b*) Author of a well-known treatise on Regeneration, Faith, and Repentance. This excellent man died (if so triumphant a passage to glory may be called death) September 16, 1697: as I learn from a valuable manuscript formerly put into my hands by a gentleman of London; out of which manuscript (containing Mr. Cole's own account of his spiritual experiences, together with a memoir, afterwards added, of his dying sayings) I extracted the passages given above. And I wish I was at liberty to publish more: or rather that the very respectable and judicious person who favoured me with a sight of those choice papers would himself give them to the public, and condescend to be the editor of them. I should ask his pardon for the freedom I take in venturing to print even the few lines here quoted, without having first solicited his permission, did I not believe that he infinitely prefers the glory of God and of the gospel to any punctilios derivable from the scruples and delicacies of ceremonious complaisance.

(*c*) Isa. lv. 1. (*d*) Matt. vii. 7, 8. (*e*) Rom. x. 10.

imputed righteousness, on which he has caused you to trust. As, on the one hand, nothing can warrant and animate your joy; so, on the other (to use the expression of a good man, now with God), "Nothing can effectually kill sin, but a clear beholding of Christ's righteousness." Cleave to this sure and stedfast anchor, and you will finally rise superior, both to the waves of affliction, and to the mud of your own lusts and corruptions.

4. Make it your predominant object of ambition to walk in the light of God's countenance. If you are blessed with his smile, no matter though the whole creation were to frown.

5. But whether you walk in light or darkness, in comfort or distress, remember that you have nothing but the name, the covenant, the person, and the work of Christ, to rejoice in and to depend upon. We, says the apostle, are the circumcision, who worship God the Spirit (*f*), and rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh.

6. Know whence all your spiritual and eternal exaltation arises. Not from yourselves, in any respect, nor in any degree. Free-will, until sanctified by regeneration, is a broken tooth, and a foot out of joint. And works, "done before the grace of Christ and the inspiration of his Spirit are," as our Church justly pronounces them to be, "sinful and displeasing to God." (*g*) Nay, even the best works we can perform after conversion fall immensely short of what God's law requires, in point both of matter and of manner, of quantity and quality, of number, extent, purity, and weight. What, then, would become of us, if it was not for Christ's righteousness? St. Paul himself, with all his matchless retinue of holy works and useful labours, must have sunk, even from the scaffold of martyrdom, into the nethermost hell. Blessed, therefore, be the free grace of God, for that precious word of infallible promise, In thy righteousness shall thy people be exalted!

7. What is it which made, and will for ever continue to make, Christ's righteousness so infinitely meritorious and efficacious? The divinity of his person. All the created beings in the universe, whether angelic or human, unfallen, fallen, or restored, would never, by their utmost endeavours united, be able to furnish out and make up a righteousness of sufficient value to claim the favour of God upon the footing of justice and merit, or to present any one of the chosen seed blameless before the burning eyes of infinite sanctity. Such power belongeth only to the righteousness of the God-man Jehovah incarnate. Nothing but that that all-perfect and everlasting merit, which is the complex result of his obedience and of his sacrifice, can exalt and retrieve us to the dignity and felicity of heaven.

The divinity of Christ can hardly receive stronger proof from Scripture than that which our text supplies. For the whole two verses, which have been the subject of our meditation this morning, are a solemn address to the Messiah; not as man and Messiah, but, in his highest capacity, as God with God, or as the eternally and the only begotten of the Father. Let us give the text a short review, and we shall immediately perceive that it is neither more nor less than a devotional application, explicitly directed to the second person of the Trinity: an application formed in the strictest terms of worship, even of worship absolutely and properly divine; and which cannot, without the most gross and damnable idolatry, be offered to any being inferior to God himself.

Blessed are the people that know the joyful sound of salvation by thee: They shall walk, O Jehovah, in the light of thy countenance: in thy name shall they rejoice all the day; and in thy righteousness shall they be exalted.

Now, what would you think of the man that was to offer such an address as this to the highest archangel in heaven? And what was David, if he could solemnly and deliberately pen this address to a created intelligence; and cause it to be publicly sung by the Levites and chief singers of Israel, and even leave it on record for the seduction of posterity? And at a time, too, when the Jewish nation were particularly careful to execrate and shun every thing that had the least tendency to idolatry? Either Christ is truly God, or David was the sacrilegious worshipper of a false one.

If, therefore, any of you should be beset by the cunning craftiness of men who lie in wait to deceive; should you meet with such as tell you that Christ is not Jehovah, or very and eternal God; recollect, if no other passage of scripture, yet these two verses, and their context; which will, alone, at any time, suffice to put to flight the sophistry of the aliens.

Can we be exalted in the righteousness of a creature? Would God the Father accept, and command us to trust in, the atonement of a finite being? By the same rule, we might (with the impudent Papists) trust in the supposed merits of the Virgin Mary, or of St. any body else. And by the same rule, we might descend a step lower, and (with the still more impudent Pelagians) trust in our own supposed merits, and burn incense to the withered arm of our own blasted free-will. In short, there is no end to the horrible impieties, which flow from trampling

(*f*) Οι περιτομη Θεω λατρευοντες, Phil. iii. 3. Irrefragable proof of the personality and absolute Deity of the Holy Ghost!

(*g*) Article XIII.

the divinity and the righteousness of Christ under foot.

Moreover, if Christ was not God over all, blessed for ever, each individual of mankind who trusts in the Messiah's merits would come within the circuit of that tremendous malediction, denounced by the lips of Him who is able to save and to destroy. Thus saith Jehovah, Cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart departeth from Jehovah: for he shall be like the heath in the desert, and shall not see when good cometh, &c. Jer. xvii. 5, 6. Faith in Christ would be the most damning sin under the cope of heaven, and God's law would pronounce us accursed for relying upon him, if he were not as absolutely Jehovah as the Father. And I must add, that this awful text concludes equally strong against Pharisees of all sorts and sizes, who trust either in angels, or in departed spirits, or in their own wretched selves, for any part of salvation, whether little or much. Christ alone is to be trusted in for pardon, for justification, for everlasting life, and for the whole of our safety and felicity, from beginning to end. Whence it is immediately added, in the above chapter of Jeremiah, Blessed is the man that trusteth in Jehovah, and whose hope Jehovah is. For he [*i. e.* the man that trusts and hopes in Jesus only] shall be as a tree planted by the waters, and that spreadeth out her roots by the river, and shall not see when heat cometh, but her leaf shall be green; and shall not be careful in the year of drought, neither shall cease from yielding fruit.

I perceive the elements are upon the sacramental table. And I doubt not many of you mean to present yourselves at that throne of grace, which God has mercifully erected in the righteousness and sufferings of his co-equal Son. O beware of coming with one sentiment on your lips and another in your hearts! Take heed of saying, with your mouths, "We do not come to this thy table, O merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness;" while perhaps you have in reality, some secret reserves in favour of that very self-righteousness which you profess to renounce; and think that Christ's merit alone will not save you unless you add something or other to make them effectual. O be not so deceived; for God will not thus be mocked, nor will Christ thus be insulted with impunity. Call your works what you will, whether terms, causes, conditions, or supplements; the matter comes to the same point, and Christ is equally thrust out of his mediatorial throne, by these or any other similar views of human obedience. If you do not wholly depend on Jesus as the Lord your righteousness (*h*); if you mix your faith in him with any thing else; if the finished work of the crucified God be not alone your acknowledged anchor and foundation of acceptance with the Father both here and ever; come to his table, and receive the symbols of his body and blood at your peril! Leave your own righteousness behind you, or you have no business there. You are without the wedding garment; and God will say to you, Friend, how camest thou here? If you go on, moreover, to live and die in this state of unbelief, you will be found speechless and excuseless in the day of judgment: when the slighted Saviour will say to his angels concerning you, Bind him hand and foot, and cast him into outer darkness; for many are called, but few chosen (*i*).

On the contrary, you who can truly say "We do not come to Thee, trusting in our own righteousness," but feel and confess ourselves to be "unworthy of so much as gathering up the crumbs under thy table;" in thee alone do we seek to be justified, and in thee alone do we (*k*) glory; let such "draw near with faith, and take this holy sacrament to their comfort." The Lord enable you to bring your sins and your duties, and yourselves and your all, to the great Propitiation! May he wash us in his own blood, clothe us with his own righteousness, and seal us a holy people to himself by his Spirit! then shall we be acceptable guests at his table below; and ripen fast for the house of glory above: while this is all our plea and all our song—Lord, I am not worthy to come under thy roof, nor that thou shouldest come under mine; but the (*l*) Lamb that was slain is worthy; and my every particle of hope centres in him, in his covenant, in his obedience, cross, humiliation, and exaltation. For the sake of his agonies, take away my iniquities. For the sake of his righteousness, receive me graciously. And in the mantle of his imputed merit may I be (*m*) found living, dying, at the judgment-bar, and to all eternity.

(*h*) Jer. xxiii. 6. (*i*) Mat. xxii. 12. 14.
(*k*) Isa. x. v. 25. (*l*) Rev. v. 12. (*m*) Phil. iii. 9.

JOY IN HEAVEN OVER ONE REPENTING SINNER:

The substance of a discourse preached in the parish church of St. Luke, Old-Street; on Sunday Morning, October 29, 1775.

Ye are come unto the innumerable company of angels, and to the spirits of just men made perfect. Heb. xii. 22, 23.

SERMON VIII.

Joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons who need no repentance. Luke xv. 7.

REPENTANCE is one of those graces without which there can be no salvation. It is an essential pre-requisite to spiritual peace on earth; and absolutely necessary as a pre-

parative for the eternal happiness of heaven. The reason is evident: *viz.* because every man is a fallen being. We must therefore, by the effectual working of God's good Spirit, be made sensible of our fall; or we shall never feel our need of redemption and restoration from it, through the alone covenant-grace of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

Not that either repentance, or faith, or any of their practical fruits, are in the least respect causal, or conditional, or meritorious of pardon, happiness and eternal life. Every grace and every good work are the free gifts of God. From him only "all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works, do proceed (*n*)." He it is who "grants us true repentance and his Holy Spirit (*o*)." Consequently, we cannot possibly, in the very nature of things, merit (*i. e.* earn) or entitle ourselves to his favour, by any grace we exercise, or by any duty we perform. His gifts lay us under infinite obligations to him instead of empowering us to merit anything from him. They do not render him a debtor to us, but render us unspeakable and everlasting debtors to him.

Therefore, when we say that no man can be ultimately saved without such and such qualifications; we do not mean that those qualifications have any influence in obtaining our salvation (for inherent grace and eternal glory are already obtained, and infallibly secured to all God's elect, by the obedience and blood of Christ): but that those qualifications (as faith, repentance, and holiness of heart and life) are essential branches and indispensible evidences of this absolutely free salvation.

The argument may be illustrated thus. No person can attain to full maturity of manhood, until he has passed through the intermediate stages of infancy, childhood, and youth. And yet it would be very absurd, were we to say that a state of manhood is merited by the previous states of youth, childhood and infancy!—So, in order to the consummation of our recovery unto God, it is antecedently necessary that we believe, repent, and resemble Christ in holiness. Yet faith, repentance, and sanctification, do not merit the kingdom of heaven, though we cannot reach that kingdom without them. According to the established order of grace, we must be endued with those spiritual gifts before we can receive the gift of glorification to crown the whole. Just as, according to the established course of nature, we must be children before we can be full grown men.

In this only sense then it is that the several graces of the blessed Spirit are so many pre-requisites to final salvation. All the links of the gospel chain are inseparable: but each ranks in its own order, and the concatenation is strictly regular. Inherent grace is the dawning of eternal glory: and eternal glory is the perfection of inherent grace. They are parts of one magnificent and undivided whole. Grace is the earnest of glory; glory is the full possession of grace. Grace is the first fruits: glory the unbounded harvest. And he that has the former shall as certainly have the latter.

All religions, except that of Christ Jesus, concur to place self-righteousness as the ground or condition of obtaining the divine favour. Paganism, Popery, corrupted Judaism, Mahometism, Arminianism, differ they ever so much in some respects, most cordially agree in representing man as a helper, if not as a principal, in his own salvation. It is the gospel alone, whose proclamation runs by grace [not by grace considered as a sanctifying principle communicated to us, but by grace considered as it is in God; *viz.* by his own unmerited, unconditioned, sovereign goodness] are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God: not of works, lest any man should boast (*p*).

It is this that recommends as well as distinguishes the religion of our Lord; which had been no gospel to the lost and to the fallen, but for the unmingled freeness, or absolute gratuitousness, with which all its blessings are bestowed. As Dr. Arrowsmith somewhere remarks, the mediatorial riches of Christ would have been so many dead commodities, "if it were not for needy, undone sinners, who take them off his hands."

I remember a just observation of good Mr. Hervey's: that in the days of our Saviour's residence on earth, "the levee of that prince of peace consisted almost entirely of the poor, and the maimed, and the halt, and the blind." Hence it was asked by his enemies, with an air of insult and contempt, have any of the rulers or of the pharisees believed on him? But this people [ὁ ὀχλος ουτος, this mob, this riff-raff, who follow him, and] who know not the law are accursed (*q*).

Very few rulers, or people of eminent rank and station, few scribes, or men of distinguished parts and erudition, few pharisees, or seemingly rigid moralists, attended the ministrations, and were attached to the person, of Him who came to seek and to save them that are lost. No consideration can be more mortifying to human pride than this infallibly certain truth; that harlots and publicans and sinners, *i. e.* many of those who were the meanest in rank, and whose antecedent lives had been of the most profligate stamp, were the very people who thirsted for his redemption, and composed his visible

(*n*) Second Collect at Evening Prayer.
(*o*) Daily Form of Absolution.

(*p*) Eph. ii. 8, 9. (*q*) John vii. 48, 49

retinue. These were made partakers of his great salvation: and not one that trusted in his name, though vile as vileness itself, was ever sent empty away. So true is his own gracious declaration: All that the Father giveth me shall come to me; and him that cometh unto me I will in no wise, nor on any account, cast out. (*r*)

Consult the first verse of the chapter whence I have read you the text, and you will perceive what kind of persons they chiefly were who frequented the ministry of God manifested in the flesh: Then drew near unto him all the publicans and sinners to hear him. We never go to Christ until his Spirit has beat us off from every other confidence, and driven us out of every other refuge. Under our first serious impressions we usually try a variety of self-righteous expedients for our own relief. We have recourse to moral reformation, good resolutions, vows, long prayers, frequent church-goings, monthly sacraments; accompanied perhaps by a train of abstinences, austerities, and rigorous mortifications. While we do these things with a view to spin from them a justifying righteousness for ourselves, we are as absolute enemies to the gospel of Christ, and as far from the kingdom of God, as the Devil and his angels. We must come, not as pharisees, but as publicans; not as scribes, but simply as sinners; if we would come, so as to be graciously received.

And be it carefully noticed that they who were savingly led to Christ experienced his renewing power, together with his forgiving grace. Though none were rejected for their past immoralities (how numerous, enormous, and aggravated soever), yet the reigning dominion of vice was from that hour cancelled in them that believed. Thus for instance, the extortioner of Jericho was no sooner converted than his rapacity and oppressiveness were exchanged for benevolence, justice, and liberality. The language of his heart, of his lips, and of his subsequent practice was, Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have taken any thing from any man by false accusation, I restore him four-fold (*s*). Look also at the harlot of Magdala. Though a slave to the impulse of no fewer than seven devils, during her unregenerate state; effectual grace no sooner causes her to believe in Jesus for salvation than a sanctifying change ensues. She goes in peace, and sins as a prostitute no more (*t*).

And the scribes and pharisees murmured, saying, This man receiveth sinners, and eateth with them. Pharisees always did, and always will murmur at the gospel, and at them that preach it. They murmured at Christ himself: and no wonder if their successors murmur against us. They can no more abstain from carping at the Christian scheme of grace, than some dogs can help barking when they hear the sound of a trumpet. This man receiveth sinners, and eateth with them, said the Arminians of Judea: "This Messiah, as he calls himself, is a downright Antinomian. You may know him by the company he keeps. He associates with the vilest of mankind; and doubtless he himself is as bad as they." So reasoned the pharisees concerning Him who did no sin, but who went about doing good. And his own lips have taught us to expect that they, whose predecessors called the master of the house Beelzebub, will not be very candid and complaisant to them of his household (*u*).

True it is that Christ received sinners and ate with them: that he received them with the most beneficent welcome into the expanded arms of his compassion, and even admitted them to a state of intimate fellowship and friendship. And what he then did he still does; and will go on to do, until the whole fulness of his mystical body is gathered in by grace and perfected in glory. He receives sinners in a threefold respect: (1.) As the donation of his Father who elected them to salvation. (2.) At the hand of the Holy Spirit, in effectual calling. (3.) He receives their souls at the hand of angels in the hour of death.—To which may be added that he will receive them in body and soul united, when he himself shall descend to change the living and to raise the dead.

Christ was not insensible of the calumnies with which the pharisees laboured to stain his character, for extending his mercy to the helpless, the unworthy, and the abandoned. He spake this parable to them: saying, What man of you, having a hundred sheep, if he lose one, doth not leave the ninety-and-nine in the wilderness, and go after that which is lost, until he find it? Christ is a faithful and watchful shepherd. He will not suffer so much as one of his sheep to be finally lost. If an individual saint wander from the fold, Christ goes after that soul; and never ceases from his labour of love, until that soul is found. If you or I happen to lose any thing on which we set a value, we may find it or we may not; our search may issue in the recovery of the lost object, and it may all prove fruitless and unsuccessful. Herein is a very wide difference between God's seeking and man's seeking. God never seeks in vain. An earthly shepherd may lose many a sheep, and lose them beyond retrieval. But Christ never lost a sheep which he did not seek: and never sought a sheep which he did not find.

And when he hath found it, he layeth it on his shoulders rejoicing. He does not

(*r*) John vi. 37. (*s*) Luke xix. 8. (*t*) Luke vii. (*u*) Matt. x. 25.

suspend the return of the sheep on the sheep's own free-will (which would be very sheepish policy indeed); nor stand expostulating and giving the sheep what Arminianism would call "a gentle pull" by the fleece: but actually lays hold on the wanderer; takes it up in his arms; layeth it upon his shoulders by main strength; nor lets it go until he has actually and finally brought it home. As all who seek his favour, and an interest in his righteousness, are sure to find both one and the other; so all whom he seeks are sure to be found of him.

And when he cometh home, he calleth together his friends and neighbours; saying, Rejoice with me, for I have found my sheep which was lost. Our Lord himself applies and explains this part of the parable in the words with which I began:

I say unto you, that likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety-and-nine just persons who need no repentance.

Those therefore whom in the preceding verse Christ terms his friends and neighbours; and whom he calls upon to rejoice with him on account of every conversion which his Holy Spirit accomplishes below, are (1) the elect angels, and (2) the glorified souls of departed saints.

I firmly believe, upon the warrant of the text, that as often as divine grace converts a single sinner to Christ, the pleasing event is immediately known in heaven; and our great High Priest says in effect to the radiant throng that encircle his throne, Rejoice with me, for another of my lost sheep is found.

Indeed there is nothing in heaven but joy. The peculiar presence of Deity most eminently manifested there, is an endless and ever-increasing source of blessedness, both to the spirits of the just, and to the seraphs that never fell. Where God is possessed; where Christ is seen; where the adorable Trinity pour forth their plenitude of glory unclouded on the delighted, undazzled view; where saints, the children of redemption, are the melodious songsters; and angels, the first fruits of creation, are the enraptured musicians; where the grand employ is praise, and Jehovah himself is the exceeding great reward; surely there the cup of joy must overflow; and only the blest inhabitants themselves can tell how blest the inhabitants are.

Is there then any thing that can heighten the celestial triumph? that can add to the felicity of those who stand in the divine presence, and enhance even their transcendent joy? There is: and we have just heard what it is. It is the regeneration of a fallen soul. It is the renewal of a sinner below. As our Lord expresses it at the 10th verse, There is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth. No sooner is every fresh conversion made known on high than additional joy is there. The memorable day is, if I may so speak, marked as a festival in the calendar of heaven. Beatified saints exult, angels clap their wings, and the whole united choir raise their voices, and strike their golden harps for joy that a soul is born of God and made free of the Jerusalem which is above.

Such exalted hosannas would not resound, on these occasions, among the inhabitants of the skies, if the doctrine of final perseverance was untrue. Tell me, ye seraphs of light; tell me, ye souls of elect men made perfect in glory, why this exuberance of holy rapture on the real recovery of a single sinner to God? Because ye know assuredly that every true conversion is (1) a certain proof that the person converted is one of your own elect number: and (2) that he shall be infallibly preserved and brought to that very region of blessedness into which ye yourselves are entered. The contrary belief would silence your harps, and chill your praises. If it be uncertain whether the person who is regenerated to-day may ultimately reign with you in heaven, or take up his eternal abode among apostate spirits in hell; your rejoicings are too sanguine, and your praises are premature. You should suspend your songs until he actually arrives among you: and not give thanks for his conversion until he has persevered unto glorification.

But there are no "election-doubters," no perseverance-deniers in the kingdom of heaven. The happy spirits there are as orthodox as the sun is bright. When a sinner repents, they rejoice over him. Knowing that he could not have repented if he had not been elected: and that as surely as he was elected, so surely shall he be glorified.

It is this which occasions the jubilee above. It is this, which raises the harmonious concert high; which gladdens the shining hosts already saved; and puts a new song into their mouths, even accumulated thanksgiving unto God. They rejoice when they perceive the Redeemer's interest advanced, and the empire of the cross extended; when the communion of saints is enlarged, and when God's secret purposes of mercy have their open accomplishment in a sinner's visible accession to the kingdom of grace. For they are confident of this very thing, that he who hath begun the good work in that sinner's heart will perform it unto the day of Jesus Christ (*x*): and, consequently, that every man or woman upon earth, who repents after a godly sort, is an heir of the grace of life, and shall be their

(*x*) Philip. i. 6

companions in blessedness to all eternity.

It is observable that our Lord does not say, in general terms, Joy shall be in heaven over sinners that repent: but joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth; *i. e.* over each penitent in particular. To show how dear the soul of a returning prodigal is to God; and with what eclats of triumphal joy the news of a conversion is received by the angels and the saints in light. For this, they sing their thanks in strains sweet as perfect love can dictate, and high as admiring gratitude can wind them up.

Should it be inquired, "How the spirits of those who have died in the Lord are able to know, and therefore to rejoice at, the penitence of their fellow creatures on earth? I answer, that there is no occasion for our having recourse to, what some popish writers term, The glass of the Trinity; as if glorified saints literally saw all things in God, as in a looking-glass, or reflecting mirror. Such a conceit savours more of childish fancy than of solid reason and scriptural authority. I rather suppose that the departed spirits of believers receive their information of what passes in this lower world from the angels of God; who are watchful observers of sublunary events, and, as they were represented in Jacob's vision, are continually (*y*) ascending and descending, *i. e.* passing and repassing from heaven to earth, and from earth to heaven; charged with the performance of the divine commands, and acting as the instruments and commissioners of Providence.—Hence they are termed angels, or messengers; which is a name, not of nature, but of office.

These holy and powerful beings are all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister unto them [*i. e.* unto those of mankind] that shall be heirs of salvation (*z*). Numerous detachments of them are constantly, though invisibly, employed on earth as guardians of the elect, and sometimes as executioners of vengeance on the wicked. They carry up the glad tidings of a sinner's repentance, and communicate the intelligence to their companions above. By this means, probably, joy is in heaven over the sinner that repenteth. Soon as the information circulates through the Church triumphant, the universal hallelujah, which it occasions, is similar to the angelic hymn sung at the Messiah's birth: Glory be to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will towards men!

But "What is that repentance which induces the benevolent celestial choirs thus to rejoice over the sinner who repents?" The words μετανοεω and μετανοια, as they stand in the text now under consideration, seem to include something more than the word μεταμελεια always imports. (*a*) μεταμελεια literally and naturally signifies, an anxious and painful apprehension, arising from consciousness of preceding guilt. In this sense, an unregenerate and unreformed person may repent of having acted criminally, when he finds that his crimes are likely to be followed by consequences fatal to his interest and happiness. But the repentance here spoken of, is μετανοια: *i. e.* a change of mind, or regeneration, truly so called. That new birth and new heart which are the gift of God, and the work of his Spirit. Where these take place, sorrow for sin, hatred of sin, war against sin, and renunciation both of sinful self, and of righteous self, are the blessed and certain consequences. The inward principle of evangelical repentance is regenerating grace, or the habit of holiness, supernaturally infused by the Spirit of God. The actings of evangelical repentance, or the experimental and practical ramifications of it, are those just now described. No man can spiritually repent until he is born of God: and every man who is born of God repents spiritually. When the Lord turns and looks upon us, in effectual calling, we are then turned, and look with mournings unto Him whom our sins have pierced.

Thus the first clause of the text is clear and obvious in its meaning. The saints above, and saints on earth, constitute, in fact, but one Church. St. Paul viewed them in a still closer connection, and styles them both one family (*b*). Nay, they form one mystic body: part of which (like Jacob's ladder) is on earth, and the other part in heaven. Hence they have but one common interest: and the efficacious drawing of a soul to Christ, by the Spirit and grace of God, is cause of triumph and rejoicing to those above. Jehovah himself is the converter of sinners. Acts of repentance, of humiliation, and of trust in the Mediator's righteousness, are the effects of that conversion. Attending angels are glad spectators and witnesses of the whole: and, on their return to the seat of the blessed, they diffuse the grateful intelligence, and all heaven resounds with acclamations to Him that sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb that was slain for us men and for our salvation.

The latter portion of the text seems to carry some embarrassment in it, and to have perplexed most of the commentators who have undertaken to explain it. That joy

(*y*) Gen. xxviii. 12. (*z*) Heb. i. 14.

(*a*) I am fully aware, that μεταμελεια and μετανοια are occasionally reciprocated, both in the sacred and in secular writings. I only mean to shew that St. Luke in the text has madeuse of the most comprehensive and expressive terms, by which that repentance which occasions joy in heaven could be described. (*b*) Ephes. iii. 15

shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth is very intelligible, on principles of Scripture and of sound metaphysics. But that this joy should be more than over ninety and nine just persons who need no repentance, involves a two-fold difficulty. For,

1. Are there any persons upon earth so just, so holy, and so good as to need no repentance? Certainly not. Nor did our Lord intend to convey such an idea. Christ, though perfect, was not a perfectionist. He truly said, concerning himself, that he always did those things which were pleasing to the Father (*c*): but he knew the depravation of human nature too well to affirm as much concerning any other man. He utterly denied sinless perfection, as predicable of any earthly being, himself alone excepted. The purest action of the holiest believer in the world needs, more or less, to be repented of. The great and good Bishop Beveridge did not go a jot too far in confessing to God, and in leaving that confession on record, "I cannot pray, but I sin: I cannot preach, but I sin: I cannot administer, nor receive the holy sacrament, but I sin. My very repentance needs to be repented of: and the tears I shed want washing in the blood of Christ."

Incarnate truth, who taught us to pray for the forgiveness of our daily trespasses, can never be supposed to intimate that any of us may be so far advanced in grace as to have no daily trespasses to be forgiven. But, if we do not need repentance, we cannot need forgiveness: the necessity, both of forgiveness on God's part, and of repentance on our's, arising from our continued sinfulness in his sight. So that a man must be entirely sinless, and perfectly holy, ere the use and the exercise of repentance can be superseded. But there is not a just man upon earth, who doeth good and sinneth not (*d*). If, therefore, we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us (*e*).

(1.) By the ninety and nine just persons, who need no repentance (a certain number for an indefinite one), may be meant the Jews in general; and more especially the Pharisees. These might be styled just, or righteous persons, not because they were so in reality; but because they looked upon themselves to be such, wore the form of godliness, and carried their self-righteousness so far as even to dream that they needed no repentance. The Pharisees were perfectionists to a man. They held that it was possible to yield an unsinning obedience to the whole law of God: and it necessarily followed that repentance was not only needless, but absurd and contradictory, in men who had reached the very pinnacle of rectitude, and who had no remaining iniquity to repent of.—Taking the passage in this sense, it ought to be (what it very fairly may) rendered thus: Joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth (*f*); not over ninety and nine just persons who need no repentance: who are so extravagantly carried away by the delusions of self-opinion as to forget that they need repentance for every thing they do.—The contrast is beautiful. One repenting sinner stands opposed to ninety-nine legalists; and outweighs them all in the divine estimation. The former occasions joy in heaven. The latter, though so greatly superior in point of number and of exterior attainments, yet occasion no joy at all among the denizens of glory. On the contrary, were the blessed susceptible of grief, they would weep at that proud blindness which induces unrepenting sinners to prefer a cobweb to a coronation-robe, by establishing their righteousness instead of embracing the righteousness of Christ.

(2.) The words will bear yet another interpretation, and may be read as follows: Joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, or is newly brought to God, more than over ninety and nine just persons, *οἵτινες οὐ χρείαν ἔχουσι μετανοίας*, who have no need of regeneration. For though believers need the influence of the Spirit to sanctify them more and more; they do not need the Spirit's influence to regenerate them over again. A soul once born of the Holy Ghost is never unborn from that day forward. The power of indwelling grace exerts and displays itself with increasing strength and brightness: but regeneration, or the infusion of spiritual life, neither needs nor can admit of repetition. It is a divine act, which, having once passed upon the soul, stands good for ever, and is physically incapable of reiteration. All subsequent revivals, whether in a way of holiness, support, or consolation, are but expansions of the original principle, occasioned by the Holy Spirit's repeated breathings on the spark which he primarily inspired, and which nothing can to-

(*c*) John viii. 29.
(*d*) Eccles. vii. 20.
(*e*) 1 John i. 8
(*f*) So *ἤ*, and *μᾶλλον ἤ*, frequently signify. For example: *Κατεδίη αὐτοὺς δεδικαιωμένους ἢ ἐκεῖνος ἐ. ἐ.* This man went down justified, not the other. Luke xviii. 14. *Ἠγαπήσαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι μᾶλλον τὸ σκότος, ἢ τὸ φῶς.* Men have loved darkness, not light. John iii. 19. *Εἰ δικαιον ἐστιν ἐνωπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὑμῶν ἀκουειν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ Θεοῦ, κρινατε.* Judge ye whether it be right before God to obey you, not God. Acts iv. 19. *Πειθαρχειν δει Θεῳ, μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρωποις.* We ought to obey God, not men. Acts v. 29. *Ὁ δε ἑκατοντάρχος τῳ κυβερνητῃ και τῳ ναυκλήρῳ ἐπει. θετο, μᾶλλον ἢ τοις ὑπο τα Παυλα λεγομενοις.* But the centurion gave credit to the captain and to the proprietor of the vessel, not to the things which Paul spake. Acts xxvii. 2. *Φιλήδονοι, μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόθεοι.* Lovers of pleasure, not lovers of God. 2 Tim. iii. 4.

from the passage we have been considering, that angels and saints in glory are acquainted with each other. If not a single conversion obtains on earth, which is not known among the inhabitants of the upper world; and if those dignified spirits express a friendship for every repentant sinner, by rejoicing over him, and by giving thanks to God on his behalf, does it not seem more than probable that social knowledge, intercourse and harmony, constitute no small portion of that felicity which is at God's right hand for ever?

6. Observe, too, that angels are present with us when we know it not. Not only the Deity himself, but also his ministering spirits, are about our bed, and about our path, and spy out all our ways; though our eyes are withheld, that we cannot discern the millions of immaterial beings who throng our atmosphere. There is, therefore, no darkness, nor shadow of death, where the workers of iniquity may hide themselves (*x*). As the eyes of the Lord are in every place, beholding the evil and the good, so his angels, likewise, disperse themselves at his command, beholding and noticing whatever is done among men.

7. If repentance and conversion be so amiable in the estimation of these holy, unembodied spectators, what ineffable abhorrence must they conceive when witnesses to the commission of sin! Hence the Jews had a proverb, When an Israelite sins the angels weep. And St. Austin has a similar observation: "*Quoties benè agimus, gaudent angeli, et tristantur dæmones. Quoties à bono deviamus, diabolum lætificamus, & angelos tuos suo gaudio defraudamus.*" *i. e.* As often as we do well, angels exult and Satan grieves; as often as we commit evil, we make Satan glad, and defraud the angels of their joy. Striking reflection! strongly calculated to impress us with detestation of vice, and incite us to the pursuit of virtue! Greatly superior to that topic, beautiful as it was, whence the heathen poet derived an argument against the prevailing immoralities of Rome:

———*Sed luna videt, sed sidera testes*
Intendunt oculos.———

8. Observe and imitate the amiable benevolence which glows in angelic bosoms. The peers of heaven are certain that their own salvation is secure. They know that they were loved and elected of God from all eternity; and that, through the efficacy of his confirming grace, they shall never be suffered to deviate from his image, nor to lapse into condemnation. Was their continuance in happiness at all dependent on the conversion of man, self-interest would sufficiently account for those strains of sympathetic joy with which they celebrate the repentance, or initial salvation, of Adam's revolted sons. But, if the whole human race were to perish, the dignity of the unfallen angels would still remain unimpaired, their safety unshaken, and their glory unobscured. It is love, therefore, ardent and refined as their own exalted natures; it is benignity, pure as æther, and disinterested as the shining of the sun, which induce those beneficent intelligences to adopt our concerns, and consider human happiness as an addition to their own.

Yet, what is the benevolence of angels themselves, when compared with the philanthropy manifested by Jesus Christ! To rejoice at the salvation of sinners, comes easily within the compass of created friendship. But to merit that salvation, by such a series of sufferings as no mere creature could have undergone, nor will ever be able fully to comprehend and acknowledge, was the matchless effect of infinite compassion, and of kindness properly divine.

Impressed, softened, and assimilated by the force of these examples, may our bosoms kindle with the fire of celestial affection, and the arms of our charity be expanded wide, like the arms of Jesus when he hung upon the cross! Let every man seek another's welfare (*y*); rejoicing with them that rejoice, and weeping with them that weep (*z*). Who of us is most angelic? Or (which is a still more important question), who among us has drunk deepest into the Spirit of Christ? He that is most mild, most liberal, most benevolent, most tender-hearted, most forgiving, most glad of another's felicity, most actively subservient to the temporal and spiritual wants of men. He that is readiest to every good word and work, who not only improves, but seeks, all opportunities of promoting the glory of God, the interest of religion, and the happiness of his neighbour.

9. As angels are invisibly dispersed over the planet we inhabit, and expatiate in the atmosphere which surrounds us, so I cannot doubt that they bear an especial part in the solemnities of our public worship, and note with peculiar attention whatever passes in the house of God

We are expressly assured, by an unerring pen, that the mysteries of man's redemption and restoration are things which the angels desire to look into (*a*). Though they themselves, having never fallen from their primitive rectitude, do not stand in need of an atoning sacrifice, and a righteousness imputed; yet they wish to be more and more conversant with, in order that they may more and more admire, the covenant of

(*x*) Job xxxiv. 22. (*y*) 1 Cor. x. 24. (*z*) Rom. xii. 15. (*a*) 1 Pet. i. 12.

grace, as carried into a complete execution by the correspondent work and sufferings of Christ.

There is a remarkable passage which gives us to understand (*b*), that the principalities and powers in heavenly places know, by the Church, the manifold wisdom of God; or, that the various ranks of angelic beings rise gradually into clearer and more enlarged acquaintance with the divinely-concerted plan of human salvation: partly by observing the tenor of God's gracious dealings with the souls he regenerates; and partly by attending to those sublime truths which Christ's faithful ministers dispense when they preach his gospel in the congregation of the saints. I question whether there be an individual minister upon earth who declares the whole counsel of God with power, and with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven (*c*), but listening angels are a part of his auditory, and sometimes reap instruction from the lips of a mortal man. Even the private conversations of God's people, when they speak together concerning what he has done for their souls (*d*), and build up each other on their most holy faith (*e*), as companions in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ (*f*); at such seasons of religious fellowship, do not hovering angels join the company? and may they not derive real improvement, as well as matter of rejoicing, from the spiritual experiences of saints?

10. But there are multitudes of persons (and perhaps more than a few now under this very roof), who never yet occasioned joy in heaven among the angels of God; but, by the unbelief and hardness of their impenitent hearts, have gratified the angels of the bottomless pit, times and ways without number. Yet, even you shall be received, if you come as sinners to the sinners' Friend. May God's spirit bend the gospel bow, and wing an arrow to your hearts! Which of you is willing to make joy in heaven this morning? Over what repenting soul shall the angels of God triumph? For whom shall Gabriel sing, and Raphael strike his harp? All heaven shall exult on your account, if you close with Christ as your wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.

11. I would hope that some penitents are here; some, in whom that gracious word has had its accomplishment, They shall come with weeping, and with supplications will I lead them: I will cause them to walk by the rivers of waters, in a straight way, wherein they shall not stumble; for I am a father to Israel, and Ephraim is my first-born (*g*). Come, then, to the Son of God, for the merit that saves. Look to the Spirit of grace for the influence that sanctifies. The lower you fall at the feet of Christ crucified, the louder praises are angels singing for you above. Be glad, therefore, and of good courage. God will never be exceeded by angels in loving kindness and in tender mercies. He will be very gracious to thee at the voice of thy cry: when he shall hear it, he will answer thee (*h*).

12. Are any backsliders hearing me today? any who, having formerly known the good ways of God, are now become careless and forgetful of the things belonging to their peace? May this be the set time for your revival and return! God, your Redeemer, says, Awake, thou that sleepest; and arise from the dead, i. e. come out from among your evil companions, renounce your sinful connections, revert to the people and to the ordinances of God, and Christ shall give thee light (*i*): He will restore to thee the comforts of his Spirit, and the joy of his salvation, and thou shalt again sing in the ways of the Lord, that great is the glory of the Lord (*k*). Stay, O stay no longer from thy happiness! He who received thee once will receive thee anew, and angels shall rejoice over thee afresh, if the cry of thy heart be this, I will go and return to my first husband, for then it was better with me than now (*l*).

13. As joy is in heaven on account of one sinner that is born again by spiritual regeneration, into the kingdom of grace below, great must be the joy when a regenerated soul, loosed from the pains and dishonours of its earthly prison, is born, at death, into the kingdom of glory above. Every saint at his departure out of the body is carried off, and carried up, by angels, into Abraham's bosom (*m*): admitted to the sight of Christ, and introduced to the fellowship and familiarity of spirits that never fell, and of spirits completely restored from their fall. Who can describe the joy which obtains in heaven on such felicitating occasions as these! The glorified soul himself rejoices that the imaginary bitterness of death is past, and that he is safely arrived at the house not made with hands. Saints, who were antecedently landed on the shores of immortality, welcome their blood-bought brother to his throne. Angels who had been spectators of his conversion upon earth, and who lately acted as vehicles to convey him to glory, congratulate his admission into the mansions of bliss.

With profoundest reverence be it added, that all the three persons in the Godhead rejoice, when the infallible designs of eternal love are glorified in the actual and ulti-

(*b*) Eph. iii. 10. (*c*) 1 Pet. i. 12. (*d*) Psalm lxvi. 16. (*e*) Jude xx (*f*) Rev. i. 9. (*g*) Jer. xxxi. 9. (*h*) Isa. xxx. 19. (*i*) Eph. v. 14.

(*k*) Psalm cxxxviii. 5. (*l*) Hos. ii. 7. (*m*) Luke xvi.

mate salvation of a chosen sinner. As the bridegroom rejoiceth over the bride, so will the Lord thy God rejoice over thee. Thou shalt also be a crown of glory in the hands of the Lord; and a royal diadem in the hands of thy God(*n*). The Lord hath taken away thy judgments, he hath cast out thy enemy: the king of Israel, even the Lord, is in the midst of thee; thou shalt not see evil any more.—The Lord thy God, in the midst of thee, is mighty. He will save, he will rejoice over thee with joy; he will rest in his love. He will joy over thee with singing (*o*).

14. Still higher will be the joy in heaven when the whole assembly of the elect, without one absentee, shall meet, and reign, and shine, and sing together, and

"walk with God,
High in salvation and the climes of bliss."

But I must let the curtain drop. Who can paint what eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath entered into the heart of man to conceive? May free grace give us at last to know by triumphant experience what this blessedness means!

15. In order to that most desirable end, let those of us who have not yet repented, beg of God to grant us, and to work in us, the exceeding great and precious grace of effectual calling. Let those in whom repentance is wrought beseech the Holy Ghost to deepen it day by day; and enable us in every part of our lives and conversations to bring forth fruits suitable to repentance (*p*). In this case, angels will rejoice over us whilst we live, and when we die. Happy prelude to our endless rejoicing with them in the heaven of heavens!

Thither, O Saviour of sinners, may thy blood and righteousness bring us. Thither may thy Holy Spirit guide us, and thy intercession keep us. Even unto Mount Sion, and the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem and the innumerable company of angels: to the general assembly and church of the first-born, who were written in heaven; and to God the judge of all; and to the souls of just men made perfect; and to thyself, the Mediator of the new covenant (*q*). In the hour of death smile and shine upon us. Revive us with an application of those comfortable words, The sun shall be no more thy light by day; neither for brightness shall the moon give light unto thee: but the Lord shall be thy everlasting light, and thy God thy glory (*r*). Yea, seal us to that place prepared for us before the foundations of the world; and concerning which thou hast told us (*s*), The glory of God doth lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof.

(*n*) Isa. lxii. 3. 5.
(*o*) Zeph. iii. 15. 17.
(*p*) Matt. iii. 8.
(*q*) Heb. xii. 22. 24.
(*r*) Isa. lx. 19.
(*s*) Rev. xxi. 23.

THE EXISTENCE AND CREED OF DEVILS CONSIDERED,

WITH A

WORD CONCERNING APPARITIONS.

A discourse preached in the parish church of St. Olive, Jewry, on Sunday Afternoon, October 29, 1775.

And the Lord said unto Satan, whence comest thou? Then Satan answered the Lord, and said, From going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down in it.—Job i. 7.

My name is Legion: for we are many.—Mark v. 9.

SERMON IX.

Thou believest that there is one God. Thou doest well. The devils also believe, and tremble.

ONE grand motive which induced St. James to write this epistle was to stifle and repress a most dangerous error which, even in the apostolic times, began to gain ground among too many reputed followers of Christ.

This error was, that a mere naked assent to the truths of Christianity, considered as a doctrinal system, without having the heart affected, and without having the life sanctified, would be sufficient evidence of their salvation, and prove them children of God.

Against this most dangerous delusion the blessed apostle James drew his pen. And the principal drift of this epistle is, not to counteract St. Paul (for all the divine writers speak one uniform, harmonious language): but merely to show the delusion which the Gnostics, who were the Antinomians of that age, were under, and to prove that something more weighty, and more substantial than mere head knowledge, is requisite to stamp us heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ.

Hence we find the apostle, at the 14th verse, asking, What does it profit, my brethren, though a man say he hath faith, and hath not works? Can faith save him? Observe with what caution St. James expresses himself. "He does not say, "what will it profit a man to have faith without works?" for he knew that to be impossible. But the words are, What will it profit a man to say that he hath faith, without works? There is a vast difference between believing, and saying we believe. The man who professes himself a believer must offer something more solid than his own *ipse dixit*, than a mere verbal profession, if he wishes to be credited by those to whom that profession is made. Was I to affirm that I am possessed of a neat hundred thousand per annum, not one of you would believe me. And why? because I have nothing to show for it. I have no writings to produce as my authentic vouchers. By the same rule, when a man comes to you or me, and says, I have faith; it is very natural for us to ask, Where are

your works? If thou hast faith, thou hast it to thyself before God. Faith is a hidden principle, until rendered visible by a holy life and conversation. What does it profit a man barely to say that he has faith? It profits a man much to have faith; for if he has faith, he will also have a life correspondent with the holiness of that leading grace. Indeed a man can never be holy till he has faith. To them, says Christ, who are sanctified by faith that is in me.—There is no such thing as real holiness without faith; and there is no such thing as true faith without holiness. These two always go together; and none but a visionary self-deceiver, or an intentional hypocrite, would ever wish to put them asunder. Can faith, that is, can a bare profession of faith save him, or prove him to be in a saved state? Far from it. Profession will only sink us deeper into condemnation at last, unless God give us to feel and to possess those graces to which our lips lay claim. Here a Pharisee may step in, and ask, But will not works save us? Indeed they will not. Will not faith and works together save us? No. Faith is the evidence, not the cause, of salvation: just as works are the evidences, not the cause, of faith.

I observed, at another end of the town this morning, and I will repeat the observation here: That the religion of Jesus Christ stands eminently distinguished, and essentially differenced, from any other religion that was ever proposed to human reception, by this remarkable peculiarity: that, look abroad in the world, and you will find that every religion, except one, puts you upon doing something, in order to recommend yourself to God.

A Mahometan expects to be saved by his works. A Socinian thinks to go to heaven by his works. A Papist looks to be justified by his works. A Freewiller hopes for salvation by his works, compliances, endeavours, and perseverance. A Pagan, if he believes that there is a future state, expects to be happy hereafter, by virtue of the supposed good he does, and of the evil he leaves undone. A mystic has the same hope, and stands on the same sad foundation. It is only the religion of Christ, which runs counter to all the rest, by affirming that we are saved, and called with a holy calling, not according to our works, but according to the Father's own purpose and grace, which was [not sold out to us on certain conditions, to be fulfilled by ourselves, but was] given us in Christ, before the world began (*t*). It was long ago remarked by a good man, that "It is the business of all false religions to patch up a righteousness, in which the sinner is to stand before God." But it is the business of the glorious gospel to bring near to us, by the hand of the Holy Spirit, a righteousness ready wrought; a robe of perfection ready made; wherein God's people, to all the purposes of justification and happiness, stand perfect and without fault before his throne.

You may object, "if that is the case, if we are saved and justified entirely by a righteousness imputed, to what purpose are those good works which the Bible every where inculcates, and which the chapter whence the text has been read, so particularly enforces the practice of?" I answer, that as robes and a coronet do not constitute a peer, but are ensigns and appendages of his peerage (for the will of the sovereign is the grand efficient cause which elevates a commoner to noble rank); and as the very patent of creation is only an authentic manifesto, not causal, but declarative of the king's pleasure to make his subject a nobleman: just so, good works do not make us alive to God, nor justify us before him; nor exalt us to the dignity and felicity of celestial peerage: they are but the robes, the coronet, and the manifesto, shining in our lives and conversations; and making evident to all around us that we are, in deed, and in truth, chosen to salvation, justified through Christ, and renewed by the Holy Ghost.

I need not apprise you that the generality of those who are dead to God, either think, or pretend to think, that we who preach, and you who believe, absolute salvation by the finished atonement and the finished obedience of Jesus Christ, rested on by faith alone; are "opening the floodgates to licentiousness, and annihilating the necessity of good works."

I would wish you to notice the inconsistency of those objections with which worldly people assail the gospel of the grace of God (*u*). One while, they tell us that we are righteous overmuch, and are more godly than we need to be. At another time we are for no good works at all, but make void the law through faith. Now, these two cavils effectually, and *primâ facie*, demolish each other, like two equal contrary forces in natural philosophy. Would it not be very absurd if I was to say of a lady that she is literally as straight as an arrow, and as crooked as a rainbow?

They who are acquainted with themselves, with the love of Christ, and with the holiness of the moral law, know and feel, that so far from doing too much, they can never do enough for God. This knowledge and persuasion effectually cut up the two incoherent objections above mentioned. On one

(*t*) 2 Tim. i. 19.

(*u*) Acts xx. 21.

hand, we cannot, even in speculation, be negligent of good works: since we consider, and are zealous for them as the grand visible indications of our appointment to eternal glory.—On the other, a sense of those immense deficiencies which attend our best obedience operates as a most powerful inducement to the unintermitted performance of as much good as we can. Not that we are hereby justified. For as I have often asked (and I shall continue to reiterate the question as long as I can speak for God), where is the man that ever fulfilled the law of God? Let us only bring ourselves to the test of the second table, whose precepts are all summed up in this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. Since the fall, no man ever did this but Jesus Christ.

As I was going through Holborn the other day, I saw a house on fire. The mob were assembled, and the engines were playing. I felt, with great tenderness, for the immediate sufferers. Yet it instantly occurred to me, that I was not so deeply concerned as when I lately saw my own house in a similar danger. What was the reason? Because I do not love my neighbour as myself. And was there nothing else to exclude me from justification by my own righteousness, I should know, from this circumstance alone, that it is utterly impossible for me to be accepted of God, and entitled to heaven, through my defective conformity to the moral law.

In the prosecution of his argument, St. James puts a very obvious case: a case which, I am afraid, happens almost every day. If a brother or sister be naked, and destitute of daily food, and one of you say unto them, Depart in peace! be ye warmed and filled! notwithstanding ye give them not those things which are needful to the body: what does it profit? Intimating that as a string of smooth canting words, unaccompanied by substantial relief, conveys no service to a distressed petitioner, and is no decisive proof of benevolence in the speaker; so an empty, unactive profession of faith, without a heart and life devoted to God, and to the good of mankind, will stand us in no stead at all. The apostle himself makes the application: even so faith, if it hath not works, is dead, being alone. Are we to infer from this that works cause us to live in the sight of God? No. It would sound very odd in your ears, and with very good reason, if I was to affirm that I am therefore alive because I have the honour of preaching before you this afternoon: no. My preaching does not make me alive. It only shews that I do live. Since if I did not live, I could neither move, nor speak, nor act. In like manner, holy works do not endue us with life.——They only prove us to be spiritually alive, if the Spirit of God has enabled us, from right principles, and to right ends, thus to bring forth fruit to his honour and praise.

The goodness of the fruit does not make, but discover and declare, the goodness of the tree: since if this were not good, it could not produce good fruit. The purity of a stream does not make the fountain pure, but proves it to be so. All that we can possibly say and do for God, contribute not one jot or tittle to the acquisition either of spiritual or of eternal life, but only make known that he has infused into our souls the breath of supernatural regenerating grace, by the powerful ministration of the Holy Ghost.

A man may say, adds the apostle, thou hast faith and I have works. Show me thy faith without thy works: as much as to say, I defy thee to do it: faith can only be shown by the good works which it produces. Therefore, I will show thee (and every true believer says the same), I will show thee my faith by my works: I will adduce these, to demonstrate the reality of that.

Thou believest that there is one God. Thou doest well: this is very right, so far as it goes: but remember that the devils also believe this, together with a great deal more, and tremble. The faith of a deist (which is all ultimately resolvable into this solitary article, I believe that there is one God) is at best but a small part of the devil's creed; and, if it proceed no farther, will leave the soul infinitely short of everlasting salvation.

In the text there are three objects of enquiry:

I. Who are the devils here mentioned?

II. What it is that they believe, and how far their faith goes?

III. In what respects their faith differs from the faith of God's elect, or from that faith which the Holy Spirit breathes into every converted heart?

I. By the devils here referred to, we are doubtless to understand that whole body of apostate spirits whose names were not in the book of life, and who were therefore permitted to fall from that state of holiness, dignity, and happiness, in which they were originally made.

Our text styles them devils, δαιμονια, probably from their depth of skill, and from the exquisite subtilty of their knowledge. At what precise point of time the angels and these among the rest, were created; and whether their creation was successive, or simultaneous, cannot perhaps, be exactly ascertained from Scripture: which only informs us at large that within the first six days the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the hosts of them. St. Austin thinks that the angels were called into being, when God said, Let there be light. And it seems extremely certain, from a passage in the book of Job, that the angels were created before our part of the universe, or that terra-

queous globe which we inhabit, was completely formed into its present state. For we read that no sooner was this portion of our own solar system moulded into its present scheme, than angels admired the fabric, and blessed the Builder. Whereupon are the foundations of [the earth] fastened? or who laid the corner stone thereof? When the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy (*z*). Who were those morning stars? Who were those sons of God? The angels of light; styled morning stars, from their purity, their dignity, their excellency and glory; the sons of God, because they were of God's own immediate creation.

It is likewise plain that the fall of a vast number of these unembodied spirits was antecedent to the fall at least, if not to the creation of man. For we read in the only authentic account of the origin of evil any where extant, that one of these apostate spirits was the being who, in a borrowed form seduced the mother of the human race.

Should it be asked, "How came any part of those angels, who were created in such a state of natural and moral excellence, to make shipwreck of their holiness, of their majesty and of their joy?" I answer, that the origin of evil, whether among angels (with whom evil seems, strictly, to have originated), or among men, is the most difficult question, perhaps, and the most mysterious part of the divine conduct that ever yet presented itself to human investigation. Clouds and darkness are the seat of its residence; though wisdom, goodness, and justice, were certainly (in a manner unknown to us) the motives to its permission.

It becomes us probably, on such a occasion as this, to repress the sallies of imagination, and to clip the wings of idle curiosity. It may be that we cannot answer the question in better words than in those of our Lord, Even so, Father! for so it seemeth good in thy sight. We may perhaps venture to surmise that, according to our present views and apprehensions of things, the divine perfections could not have been manifested in equal glory and to equal advantage, if nothing but absolute and uniform good had universally and immutably prevailed. I was greatly pleased some days ago with the remark of a pious and learned friend, who, in the course of our free conversation on this subject, observed, that "Had evil never been permitted, how could the justice of God have been glorified in punishing it? How could the wisdom of God have been displayed in over-ruling it? How could the goodness of God have been manifested in pardoning and forgiving it? And how could the power of God have been exerted in subduing it?" Here, probably, is our *ne plus ultra* on this subject, until we ripen into that fulness of knowledge which awaits us at God's right-hand. Until our dis-imprisoned spirits rise into a superior state, it becomes us to confess our ignorance and incompetency, and to address the uncreated Cause of all things, in those words of (I think) good bishop Hooper, a few moments before his martyrdom, "Lord, I am darkness, but thou art light!"

Should it be enquired, What particular crime it was which drew on the fallen angels that indignation and wrath, that tribulation and anguish, which we read will be their portion? we are not perhaps altogether in the dark as to that. For where St. Paul observes, that (*a*) a bishop should not be a novice, [νεοφυτος, newly converted, or lately implanted into Christ], but a person of gravity, and wisdom, and long experience in the ways of God; the reason assigned is, lest a raw, unfledged bishop, being lifted up with pride, should fall into the condemnation of the devil. Whence it seems, that pride and self-admiration were the immediate sins which rendered Satan and his angels obnoxious to the vengeance of the Almighty.

St. Jude likewise, in the 6th verse of his Epistle, gives us some insight into the nature of the sin committed by those degenerate spirits. The angels, says he, who kept not their first estate (την ἑαυτων αρχην, their own proper and original principality), but left their own habitation; who were not satisfied with that rank in the scale of being, and with that degree of knowledge, dignity, and bliss, assigned them by creating Wisdom, but left their own station and deserted the post in which their Maker placed them; he has reserved in everlasting chains under darkness, to the judgment of the great day. Whence we may soberly conclude that the original sin of the apostate angels was a compound of pride on one hand, and of murmuring on the other.

Discontent is the daughter of pride. Every discontented heart is a proud heart. Instead of being angry with Providence for not making us greater than we are; the meanest person of us all, if he rightly knew himself and God, would fall low at his footstool and adore him for condescending to bestow any thought upon us, or to take any care of us whatever. As I once heard a valuable person remark, "God is often better to us than our fears; and always better to us than we deserve."——We should be perfectly at ease, under every possible combination of circumstances, if we could but give credit to infinite Wisdom, for doing all things well (*b*).

(*z*) Job xxxviii. 6, 7. (*a*) 1 Tim. iii. 6.

(*b*) "Presumptuous man! the reason would'st thou find
Why form'd so weak, so little and so blind?
First, if thou can'st, the harder reason guess,
Why form'd no weaker, blinder, and no less!
Ask of thy mother earth, why oaks were made
Taller and stronger than the weeds they shade?
Or ask, of yonder argent fields above,
Why Jove's satellites are less than Jove?" *Pope.*

Some there are in the world who sagely laugh at the very mention of devils. These illuminated rationalists cannot bring themselves to believe that there are any such beings. Let me therefore just drop a cursory hint as to the scriptural evidences, and the philosophic reasonableness, of the article now in question.

(1.) There is nothing unscriptural in that doctrine which asserts the real and literal existence of degraded and malevolent unembodied spirits, who retain, amidst all the losses and horrors inseparable from their fallen state, a very extensive portion of knowledge, subtlety and power. The Bible is so far from denying this that, from the first to the last of the inspired books, it gives us a large account both of these spirits themselves and of their various operations. Yea, the Bible is the only source whence any thing certain can be gathered concerning their existence, their history, and their activity.

(2.) There is nothing unphilosophical in the scripture account of these nefarious agents. The whole universe consists of matter and spirit. The positive existence of matter (though it be incapable of absolute demonstration, strictly so called, yet) will not admit of a moment's reasonable doubt: and with regard to spirit, we must commence Atheists at once ere we can deny the real existence of that. God the Father is an unembodied spirit. God the Son, prior to his incarnation, was an unembodied spirit. God the Holy Ghost is an unembodied spirit. Angels are unembodied spirits. The glorified souls of the departed elect are disembodied spirits.

Moreover, by the same rule that there are good unembodied spirits, why may there not be evil unembodied spirits? Where is the absurdity of this belief? (I now consider it merely in a rational point of view). If it be Atheism to deny the existence of good unembodied spirits; then is it not totally unreasonable to deny the existence of bad unembodied spirits?

We know that there are good embodied spirits and bad embodied spirits upon earth, *viz.* good men and women, and bad men and women. Now, what is a man, or a woman? an immaterial ray, if I may so speak, united to a machine of dust; a deathless spirit, implunged in a mass of dying matter. And why may not that spirit exist when the matter is dropped? That matter which is so far from ennobling, that at the best of times it hangs as a dead weight upon the incarnated angel within!

I will go still further, and declare it as my stedfast and mature belief, not only that there are unembodied spirits, but also that, upon some special occasions, unembodied spirits and disembodied spirits have been permitted, and may again, to render themselves visible and audible.

There is nothing absurd in the metaphysical theory of apparitions. I do not suppose that one story in a hundred of this kind is true. But I am speaking as to the naked possibility of such phænomena. And this I am satisfied of, that if a spirit (like mine or your's for instance), even while shut up in a prison of flesh, can render itself and its operations perceptible to other spirits through the medium of the senses; and if the bodily powers, quick and acute as they are in some men, be at best but very incommodious engines of mental action, and (on the sum total) rather clog and impede and embarrass both the faculties and the exertions of the soul, which yet can do such great things, even while in connection with so feeble and depressing a vehicle as now hangs about us; where is the unreasonableness of believing (yea, how great is the unreasonableness of not believing) that a soul, disimprisoned and disentangled from this burden of the flesh, is (so far from losing the powers it had) abundantly more at liberty to make itself perceived than when it was connected into one compositum with a material habitation?

As I have ventured, with that intentional humility which becomes me, to set before you my judgment concerning the doctrine of apparitions; permit me a moment longer to digress from the immediate subjects of our text, while I remind you of two very remarkable Scripture examples quite in point to the case in hand.

(1.) Eliphas the Temanite gave the following relation of a spectre which he himself both saw and heard (*c*). In thoughts from the visions of the night, when deep sleep falleth on men, fear came upon me, and trembling, which made all my bones to shake. Then a spirit passed before my face. The hair of my flesh stood up. It stood still, but I could not (distinctly and perfectly) discern the form thereof: (I can only say in general terms, that) an image was before mine eyes. There was silence (deep and solemn, all around, while the spirit spake); and I heard a voice, saying, Shall mortal man be more just than God? shall a man be more pure than his Maker? Or, as others render it, Shall mortal man be just before God? shall man be pure in the presence of his Maker? No: nothing can constitute us just, in his eyes, but the imputation of Christ's perfect righteousness. Nor can any thing restore us, inchoatively on earth, and completely in heaven, to the purity of God's image, but the omnipotent agency of God's sanctifying spirit.

(*c*) Job iv. 13, &c.

(2.) Carry back your views to our Lord's transfiguration on Mount Tabor (*d*), and you will read of not one only, but two persons, who descended for a while from heaven to earth, appearing visibly to, and conversing audibly with, the Son of God and three of his disciples.—As Jesus prayed, the fashion of his countenance was altered, and his raiment became white and glittering. And behold there talked with him two men, who were Moses and Elijah: who appeared in glory, and spake of his decease, which he should accomplish at Jerusalem.

From such holy, from such happy, from such glorified beings as Moses and Elias; I revert, for the present, to those malignant spirits of whom our text speaks; to the devils who believe and tremble. Spirits of a very different cast from those above! Spirits who are bound down, under the chains of Divine providence, and now imprisoned at large, in the atmosphere that surrounds our globe, till the great audit comes, when they shall be turned into hell, together with all who forget God, and obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.

II. I now proceed to the second enquiry: *viz.* What it is that these devils believe? and how far their faith goes?

To which I answer, in general, that the devils are incomparably more orthodox than nineteen in twenty of our modern divines. Do you think there is such a being as an Arian devil? or a Socinian devil? or a Sabellian? Is there an Anti-Trinitarian among the devils? or an Arminian, or a Pelagian? No. They endeavour to seduce men into these heresies: but they are too well informed to be speculatively heterodox themselves.

They believe the existence of God, and that God is one. So the text may be rendered: Thou believest, ὁτι ο Θεος εις εστι, that God is one in nature and essence: the devils believe as much; and that in the unity of this Godhead there is a co-existence of three distinct, eternal, consubstantial, and equal persons.

Satan and his angels believe also, and tremble in believing, that the second of the Divine persons assumed the nature of man; and by the perfection of his obedience and atonement, secured the justification and completed the redemption of every elect sinner.

They know, too, that the covenant-office nd business of the Holy Ghost is to quicken, to convert, and bring to eternal life, all those who are elected by God the Father, and sprinkled with the blood of Jesus Christ.

They know that the Bible is the unerring word of God: that every syllable of it is true: and that a time shall come when they themselves shall be arraigned at the Messiah's bar, and receive sentence for all the evil they have done, and for the evil which they have prevailed on men to do. They believe this, and tremble: φρισσουσι, they are all in horror, commotion and confusion. The term is borrowed from that violent, convulsive fermentation, which agitates the ocean when it is wrought and lashed into all the turbulence and rage of total tempest. Thus do these once dignified, but now degraded spirits, believe with all the certainty of demonstration, and tremble with all the horrible magnificence of angelic fury and despair. They wait, with anxious dread, the enunciation of that sentence which they know they must receive from the lips of that incarnate God whose crucifixion was brought about through their instigation. They asked him, in the days of his flesh, Art thou come to torment us before the time (*e*)? And they still tremble at the sure expectation of what they are to suffer, when they have filled up the measure of their iniquities, and the destined season of their torment is come.

What was observed a few minutes ago concerning the orthodoxy of devils, holds, I doubt not, equally true of every human soul now in hell. When the departed spirits of unregenerate men do (figuratively speaking) open their eyes in torments; they, at the same time, open their eyes on the truths of God. There is not an Arian, a Socinian, a Sabellian, a Pelagian, or an Arminian, weltering in that lake of fire. As there are no heretics in heaven, so there are none in hell. It is only on earth that men have the dreadful prerogative of out-sinning the very devils themselves.

Do not however mistake me, as though I meant to pass sentence of condemnation on any of my fellow-creatures. Whether the souls of such men as Arius, Socinus, and Arminius, who certainly trampled the gospel system under their feet, and were the artful and indefatigable instruments of disseminating the most pernicious errors; I say, whether the departed souls of such heresiarchs and heretics as these are saved or lost (which is among the secret things that belong to God); I will venture to declare that Arius is not an Arian now. Sabellius is not now a Sabellian. The two Socinuses are not now Socinians. Pelagius is no longer a Pelagian, nor Manes a Manichean. Arminius is not an Arminian, nor does Roëllus any longer dispute the eternal generation of the Son of God.

III. Let us consider in what respects does the faith of devils differ from the evan-

(*d*) Luke ix. 29—31

(*e*) Matt. viii. 29

gelical faith of the saints, or from that faith which is of the (*f*) operation of God?

Much every way: but chiefly in these.—

(1.) The faith of the devils is only a mere assent of the understanding, unaccompanied by any cordial consent of the will and affections, to the truth: a faith without regard to Christ, or any concern for the glory of God. They discern the traces of infinite wisdom shining in the gospel plan; but they feel nothing of Christ's suitableness and loveliness. They speculatively see, but it is only to hate and blaspheme (and, if it were possible to counteract) the covenant-designs of the Trinity respecting the salvation of sinners.

Sorry I am to observe that we have some professors among ourselves who are for shutting out all feelings of grace for Christian experience. I dare do no such thing. On the contrary, I am persuaded that if a cold, dry assent to the written word be that faith which is connected with salvation, all the devils in hell are and must be children of God. But I cannot bring myself to have so good an opinion of Satan and his legions. Nor, consequently, can I suppose that faith to be saving which has nothing to do with spiritual feelings.

If once the feeling, or inward perception, of God's Spirit, as a (*g*) convincer of sin, and of righteousness, and of sanctification, were to be excluded from faith, there would presently be an end of all vital religion, and the power of godliness would take its flight from that day forward. What is conviction of sin? It is no conviction to me, unless I feel myself convinced of my sinfulness and inability. What is conviction of Christ's righteousness? No conviction at all to me, unless I feel the necessity and value of that righteousness. What are the comforts of the Holy Spirit? No comforts at all to me, except I feel them. Unfelt consolation is a contradiction in terms.

Hence our (*h*) Church teaches us to pray, that by the light of the same Holy Spirit who taught and illumined the disciples in the day of Pentecost, we, too, may have a right judgment in all things pertaining to God; and be enabled evermore to rejoice in his holy comfort. But how can we rejoice in the comfort of the Holy Ghost unless we feel and perceive his visitations? Where is the enthusiasm of believing that the blessed Spirit of God can make my soul feel, no less vividly, than the impressions of outward objects can make my soul perceive, through the organs of sensation? Putting Scripture quite out of the question, I am bold to assert that no churchman can reprobate religious feelings without reprobating the Church at the same time. For in the 17th Article upon election, or predestination unto life, the Church roundly affirms, that the godly consideration of our election and predestination in Christ is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and to such as feel in themselves the workings of the Spirit of Christ. May we feel these workings more and more, mortifying the deeds of the flesh, and drawing up our minds to high and heavenly things!

(2.) The faith of the devils is faith without repentance. Though they saw something of the glory of God before they fell; yet they do not repent of having fallen. My meaning is, they do not repent of having offended God; though the fear of punishment, resulting from self-love, may make them wish they had not sinned.

(3.) Their's is a faith without love. Their language to the Almighty is, Depart from us, for we desire not the knowledge of thy ways. Whereas the cry of those who are endued with the faith of God's elect (*i*) is, Like as the hart panteth after the waterbrooks, so longeth my soul after thee, O God (*k*).

(4.) The diabolic faith is an Antinomian faith: a faith without holiness, a faith without good works. Whereas the faith of God's people is a faith inseparably connected with holiness, and infallibly productive of practical obedience. Whoever has St. Paul's faith, will and must have St. James's works.

(5.) The faith of devils is a faith without desire. But that faith which the Holy Ghost works in the hearts of his people, causes them earnestly to desire the favour, the presence, and the image of God in Christ. Nothing will satisfy a renewed soul but communion with God, and conformity to him.

(6.) The faith of devils is a faith without reliance. Though they know the mercy of God to be immense, and though they see the merits of Jesus Christ to be all-sufficient; yet they have not one grain of reliance, nor wish they to rely either upon the one or upon the other. Whereas they who (*l*) believe through grace are enabled, in some degree, to trust the goodness, the covenant, and the promise of God: to trust the blood, and obedience, and mediation of Christ; to trust the grace, the power, and faithfulness of the Holy Ghost. They trust a little, and wish they could trust more. They build a little, and wish they could build higher and deeper, on the merits of Christ. They not only give their assent to the history of his obedience and sufferings; but rely upon them, and take shelter under them, as the sole procuring cause of pardon and salvation.

(*f*) Col. ii. 12. (*g*) John xvi. 8.
(*h*) Collect for Whitsunday. (*i*) Titus i. 1.
(*k*) Psalm xlii. 1. (*l*) Acts xviii. 27.

(7.) While the devils believe against their wills, and wish they were not forced to believe so much; the saints believe with their hearts unto justification, and are ever crying Lord, increase our faith!

(8.) The faith of the infernal spirits does not look to the influences of the Holy Ghost. Whereas that faith which the Holy Ghost inspires, as it comes from him, so it leads to him; and causes the soul to see, and to feel, and to rejoice, that all its strength, all its holiness, and all its happiness, are treasured up in the faithful hands of that holy, blessed, and adorable Comforter.

To conclude. What learn we from the whole subject?

1. That those objections which are commonly brought against the doctrines of grace, and against the good old Church of England doctrine of predestination in particular; as if those doctrines carried an implication of arbitrariness and cruelty and injustice in God; all fall to the ground, when we consider how vast a body of apostate spirits, much our superiors in natural excellency, and of an incomparably higher order than ourselves, were permitted to fall still lower than we, and are all absolutely passed by, or reprobated, without the election of so much as one of them to eternal blessedness. Thus God spared not the angels that sinned. No sooner did they transgress than their punishment commenced; and Satan, with his rebellious hosts, fell like lightning from heaven (*m*). Now, if God could pass by millions and millions of angels, sparing not one of the whole number; who dares take divine sovereignty by the throat, and say, concerning its dealings with men, "What doest thou?" Has not the potter power over the clay, to make, of the same lump, one vessel unto honour, and another to dishonour (*n*)? certainly he has I hope, and believe, that thousands of those who at present are not enlightened into the Bible and Church of England doctrine of predestination; nay, who look upon it as if it was a Jezebel, fit only to be thrown out of window and trampled under foot; I hope the time will come when even these shall experience the blessings with which God's electing love is fraught.

2. Bless the Trinity for distinguishing grace: astonishing it is, that he who is God by nature, as being the everlasting Son of the Father, should, by consent of the two other divine persons, vouchsafe to take our nature upon him, when he passed by the non-elect angels and left their nature alone. Well might those of the elect, unfallen angels, who announced the Messiah's birth, sing Glory to God in the highest, and on the earth peace, good-will towards men: lost, guilty, feeble, hell-deserving men to the exclusion of revolted seraphs! O sinner, sinner, who maketh thee to differ from another? and what hast thou which thou didst not receive (*o*) from the sovereign, discriminating bounty of free-grace? Men are taken and angels left! Nor does the Father of spirits incur the least shadow of injustice by doing what he wills with his own; or by withholding from any of his creatures, whether angelic or human, that grace, holiness, and happiness which he owes to none. Are you or I unjust in not giving to a person what we do not owe him? Surely not. And is God unjust who taketh vengeance? God forbid (*p*). O ye potsherds of the earth, who presume to cavil at the divine decrees, strive no longer against your Maker, nor madly run on the thick bosses of his buckler! Remember that you are no more qualified to arraign the glorious mystery of predestination, and to comprehend the whole of God's designs, than the purblind mole, peeping from the top of its little cavern, can survey, judge, and pronounce of the universe at large. Fall down therefore at the footstool of the Omnipotent; and acknowledge, without limitation or reserve (what thou wilt surely and clearly discern in a future state), that God is holy in all his ways, and righteous in all his works. Be content to know no more of his motives and purposes than himself has condescended to reveal.

> "With trembling pinions soar,
> Wait the great teacher, death: and God adore
> Aspiring to be gods, if angels fell;
> Aspiring to be angels, men rebel."

3. If the faith of the devils is a faith without works, it follows that such faith is unprofitable and dead, being fruitless and alone. For as the body without the soul is dead, so faith without works is dead also. Where there is life there will always be some degree of motion. And the believer who is truly such, cannot help shewing that he believes, by living unto God, and by doing the works which he enjoins.

On the contrary, as a body literally dead is totally motionless and incapable of transacting any worldly business, and its being in such a state of absolute inactivity convinces us that its death is real, though it may still retain the shape and form of a man: so we may pronounce that person to be spiritually and religiously dead, who is motionless and inactive in the ways and works of God: notwithstanding such person may profess to be alive, and among some may even have a name to live. Faith without holiness is no more gospel-faith than an image of wood or stone deserves to be termed a man.

4. I need not apprize you that you are

(*m*) Luke x. 18. (*n*) Rom. ix. 21. (*o*) 1 Cor. iv. 7. (*p*) Rom. iii. 5 6.

called upon, by the voice of Providence, to perform a good work this afternoon. The barren faith of devils, I am persuaded, will not satisfy you and me. We are for proving by the good works we do that grace is a lively, benevolent, operative principle.

Since the first institution of that parochial school for which your bounty is now solicited, no fewer than five hundred and twenty-seven young persons have been admitted. Of those, one hundred and sixty have been apprenticed: fourteen fitted for the sea service: and upwards of three hundred have gone to domestic services, or been otherwise decently provided for. On the present establishment, there are now sixty children of both sexes, who are maintained and taught, chiefly by means of those voluntary contributions which are raised by good people from time to time. Such of you as are alive unto God through Jesus Christ, need no arguments from the pulpit to stir up your pure minds, even by way of remembrance. You do not, you will not, you cannot forget that Christ has made the poor his own receivers-general. I should therefore be guilty of offering an insult to all your fine feelings as men and Christians should I press this matter farther, by detaining you with petitions and remonstrances. They who possess a better faith than that of which the text speaks, will, as lovers and imitators of Christ, rejoice while and as often as they have opportunity to do good unto all men; and especially unto them who are of the household of faith.

You know not, but many of these young people, whom you are now going to assist (nay all of them, for any thing we can tell to the contrary), may have their names in the Lamb's book of life; may be useful members of society through the support afforded them, and in the world to come, through the free grace of God, reign in life everlasting.

That they and you their benefactors may to all eternity sing and rejoice together, ascribing the whole of your salvation to the covenant mercy of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is my heart's desire, and my prayer to the tri-une God.

MORAL AND POLITICAL MODERATION RECOMMENDED.

In a discourse delivered at St. Mildred's in the Poultry, London, Friday December 13, 1776. *Being the day appointed for a general Fast.*

SERMON X.

Let your moderation be known unto all Men.
Phil. iv. 5.

It was a favourite and frequent remark of king Henry VII., that when Christ came into the world, peace was sung: and when he went out of it peace was bequeathed. From the justness of which observation may be inferred the manifest impropriety on a Christian minister's taking too deep and too acrimonious a part in matters of merely civil concern.

Few men indeed have been more prone to dabble in politics than some divines. And it must be added that in general few men have acquitted themselves more lamely upon that subject than those reverend daubers with untempered mortar. For one Dean Tucker, who draws a sensible pen on the occasion, a hundred ignorant and mercenary scribblers emerge from their concealments to darken counsel by words without knowledge.

The truth is, that those of the clergy who mostly content themselves with paddling in the shallows of a superficial morality, step much beyond the line both of their ability and of their proper department, when they attempt to fathom the deep water of politics. For it is well known that (in past ages at least) politics and morality have had but very slender connexion with each other.

As to those of us who deem it our duty to preach the gospel, and to know nothing among our people but Jesus Christ and him crucified, we, of all persons in the world, should religiously abstain from whatever may conduce to cherish the seeds and fan the fire of civil discord. Shocking it is when they who profess to experience, and to preach, the love of Christ, can so far prostitute the dignity and design of their sacred calling as to offer fulsome incense at the shrine of aggrandized authority, or seek to exasperate differing parties against each other; instead of labouring to preserve unity of spirit, to strengthen the bond of peace, and to promote righteousness of life.

Such bad men in black pay very little attention to that solemn vow which they took at the time of their investiture with the holy order of priesthood: when they pledged themselves to God and man that they would "lay aside the study of the world and of the flesh; and maintain and set forwards as much as in them lieth, quietness, peace, and love, among all Christian people."

Our direct business is with the polity of an invisible and better country; even of a kingdom which is not of this world. On one hand, we are to sound the trumpet, not of secular, but of spiritual, alarm: and on the other, to proclaim unto them that mourn and to them that believe in Zion,

> "The joyful news of sin forgiv'n,
> Of hell subdu'd, and peace with heav'n."

Hence it is my stedfast opinion, that pulpits were built to answer far nobler and more important purposes than those of political declamation: and that an occasion must be very singular indeed to warrant the substitution of discussions so exceedingly remote

from the letter and spirit of our heavenly commission. To those therefore who, as ministers of Christ, entangle themselves with the affairs of this life, may that question be fairly accommodated, What dost thou here, Elijah?

There may arise, however, a coincidence of circumstances so uncommon in themselves as to admit of some short deviation from this general rule. Among these, I deem myself authorized to number that occasion on which I have the honour of addressing you at present. We are assembled for a purpose intimately connected with matters of national consideration: namely, to humble ourselves at the footstool of uncreated Majesty; to deplore our own sins, and the sins of our people; and to supplicate the blessing of heaven on our king and country, the two prime objects of our earthly love.

Things standing thus, I find myself constrained for once briefly to start from my usual sphere. With a view to make my political moderation known to as many as condescend to hear me this day, and in order to rectify a few mistakes which have been industriously and unjustly circulated, I request leave to premise some necessary particulars declarative of my civil creed. For notwithstanding my religious and political honesty have on more worldly occasions than one apparently stood in my way, yet, through the good hand of God upon me, it is my invariable rule to be strictly and inviolably transparent, even though it were to my own hindrance. We live at a time when virtue of every kind is (for the most part) literally and solely its own reward. And an exceeding great reward is most certainly and inseparably connected with it. For who can describe the sweetness of that moral joy which results from the testimony of conscience, that, in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have our conversation in the world? With this simplicity, I observe,

1. That as I am, in the literal sense of the word, an Englishman, so I wish to be such in the best sense of it. Next to the gospel of Christ, I love and revere the constitution of my country. Consequently,

2. I am not a republican. On the contrary, I am a royalist on principle. I have a most cordial and profound veneration both for the office and for the person of the king: and hold myself obliged, if necessity required, to lay down my life in their just defence. Every pulse I have sincerely and strongly beats for the present moderate episcopacy in the Church; and for consistitutional monarchy in the state.

Here, if I might be allowed a few moments' digression, I would observe that the notion of a pure republic is a mere idea and no more. A commonwealth, truly and strictly so called, never yet subsisted, and never can subsist, except in the brains of a few speculative men, and in such writings as those of Plato, and Sir Thomas More. The many were always statedly governed by the few: and always must be, while men are men; *i. e.* while Providence distributes wisdom, wealth, and power, with unequal hand. A whole nation can no more be civil governors than a whole Church can be clergymen, or all clergymen bishops. I once asked the most respectable republican in this kingdom, whether a single instance can be produced of a genuine republic in the whole compass of ancient or modern history? I knew the answer must be in the negative; and so it was. There were, I confess a few short periods when the Athenian administration approached the nearest, perhaps, of any other to an entire democracy: but, even then, it fell extremely short of the name. In our own country, when the House of Commons, after the execution of Charles I. assumed the sovereign power; was England, even during the short continuance of that self-created authority, a real Republic? Nay, verily. The three nations were three kingdoms still. They were governed by a multitude of kings instead of one. Though without the name and the splendours, the long parliament (until Cromwell tripped up their heels) possessed and exercised all the powers of the most absolute royalty: and he that has the substance need care but little for the shadow. Look at those nominal Republics which are now subsisting in several parts of Europe. Ask an inhabitant of Holland, of Genoa, of Venice, Geneva, or of the Switz Cantons, whether the government there is completely popular? No such thing. They are not Republics, but Oligarchies. And Oligarchy is, usually, a species of the most grievous and insufferable tyranny.

3. In my opinion, every true Englishman is a constitutionalist: or, one who considers that happy mixture of the regal, the aristocratic, and the popular rights, established in this kingdom, to be one of the best and noblest efforts of human wisdom and justice that ever did honour to the human understanding and to the human heart. Yet, let it be observed, that the persons who compose that most august threefold body are not (as some have inaccurately affirmed) the constitution itself, but the natural and sworn guardians of it.

4. Though the constitution does not consist of the three estates, but the three estates derive their very being and importance from the constitution, still the health and safety of the constitution depend on the preservation

of that just balance and mutual counterpoise of power which this wise distribution of authority was calculated to effectuate and maintain. If, in some remote age, the regal influence should absorb either the aristocratic or the representative branch of the legislature, or both; on the other haad, should the higher or the lower house of parliament be, in some future period, sufficiently powerful and wicked (as the commons in the last century were) to annihilate the just prerogratives of the Crown, or the just privileges of the other parliamentary estate; the constitutional balance will be broken: the several weights, by being thrown into one scale, will preponderate too much one way; and the sacred ark of generous and equal liberty will kick the beam. In the former case, posterity would be subject to the will of an individual tyrant: in the latter, to the still more terrible yoke of many.

5. I believe that the spirit and privileges of the English constitution are analogous to the vital fluids in an animal body: which ought, by a liberal and impartial circulation, to warm and invigorate not only the head and heart, but the meanest and remotest limb. Yea, every single hair is entitled, in its measure, to partake of the common supply.

A motley empire, made up of slaves and freemen, could not, from the very nature of so heterogeneous a combination, continue long in that condition. Like the mongrel image in Nebuchadnezzar's vision, it would soon fall and be broken. Despotism has ever proved an insatiable gulf. Throw ever so much into it, it would still yawn for more. Were liberty to perish irretrievably from any part of the English world, the whole would soon be deluged by the black sea of arbitrary power.

Moreover, *Tua res agitur, paries quum proximus ardet:* "When your next neighbour's house is on fire, your own is in danger."—Some years ago, a gentleman in Nottinghamshire who had injured one of his feet, by paring a nail to the quick, laughed on being told that there was danger of a mortification. "Be it so," said he; "the foot is a long way from the heart." But, as distant as it was, the ascending mortification put a period to his life not many weeks afterward. It holds as true in the body civil as in the body natural, that if one member suffer, all the members suffer with it.

6. The English constitution is a system of qualified liberty. What is liberty? 1. Not an inflammatory turbulence of conduct; nor an unlimited freedom or indecency of speech; nor a blind red-hot attachment to party. Party, as one well defines it is, "The madness of many for the gain of a few." Whereas true liberty consists in the legal safety and good order of each, for the advantage of the whole. 2. Liberty is not licentiousness, or a power of committing evil with impunity; but the privilege of doing all the good we can; and of enjoying, without molestation, and without fear, as much personal happiness as is consistent with the written law of God, the unwritten law of conscience, and the welfare of society at large.

Now I would no more reprobate the true modest constitutional liberty, merely because some mistaken zealots may, occasionally, abuse it to licentiousness, than I would reject the scripture-doctrine of grace, because a few men of corrupt minds may possibly pervert it to Antinomianism.

If you wish to know, clearly, what is comprized in the idea of English liberty, two or three hours' reading will, at any time, thoroughly inform you. Peruse Magna Charta, publicly signed by king John; and afterwards confirmed, with still greater circumstances of solemnity, by Henry III; though execrably violated by both. To this, add a persual of the Petition of Right; very solemnly, but not very sincerely, ratified and recognized by Charles I.—Then run over the Bill of Rights, which received either the hearty, or the dissembled, concurrence of William III. And, lastly, make yourself acquainted with the coronation oath, taken by our succeeding monarchs. Whatever reaches fully to this fourfold standard is constitutional freedom. All below this united mark is not liberty; and all beyond it is, in legal construction, licentiousness.

Can any thing be more reasonable, and more easy, than for an Englishman to devote about three hours, out of a whole lifetime, to the knowledge of the constitution of his country? How astonishingly and how deplorably general is our political ignorance as a nation; though most of us affect to value ourselves on the excellency of our civil fabric! Like the Jews of old, too many Britons profess to worship they know not what: and too many others set but a slight esteem on a constitution which they would almost worship, if they knew its worth. How inexcusable is English ignorance, when the short labour and trivial expense of so few hours' attention would dissipate the mental cloud, and turn the darkness into day!

7. Intimately associated with civil, is religious, liberty.

This consists, (1.) In that natural and indefeasible right which every reasonable man has from God (and which no human authority can lawfully take away or abridge), of thinking for himself, of determining for himself, and of decently declaring his ideas concerning all and every thing that relates to sacred matters. (2.) In worshipping God, both privately and publicly, according to the

dictates of his own conscience; and that as safely, and as fearlessly as St. Paul preached in his hired house at Rome, *viz.* ακωλυτως, without impedient, and no man forbidding him.

Every species of positive penalty for differing modes of faith and worship is at once anti-christian and impolitic, irrational and unjust. While any religious denomination of men deport themselves as dutiful subjects to the state, and as harmless members of the community, they are entitled to civil protection and to social esteem; whether they be Protestants, Papists, Jews, Mahometans, or Pagans. In this respect, among many others, the British legislature, for near a century past, have eminently made their moderation known to all men. And Judge Blackstone, in a treatise which does equal honour to his country and to himself, has lately observed that, "undoubtedly, all persecution and oppression of weak consciences, on the score of religious persuasions, are highly unjustifiable upon every principle of natural reason, civil liberty, or sound religion. But" (as he justly adds) "care must be taken not to carry this indulgence into such extremes as may endanger the national Church.—There is always a difference to be made between toleration and establishment.

"Certainly our ancestors were mistaken in their plans of compulsion and intolerance. The sin of schism, as such, is by no means the object of temporal coercion and punishment. If, through weakness of intellect, through misdirected piety, through perverseness and acerbity of temper, men quarrel with the ecclesiastical establishment, the civil magistrate has nothing to do with it unless their tenets and practice are such as threaten ruin or disturbance to the state. He is bound indeed to protect the established Church: and if this can be better effected by admitting none but its genuine members to offices of trust and emolument, he is certainly at liberty so to do: the disposal of offices being matter of favour and discretion. But this point being once secured, all persecution for diversity of opinions, however ridiculous or absurd they may be, is contrary to every principle of sound policy and civil freedom. The names and subordination of the clergy, the posture of devotion, the materials and colour of the minister's garment, the joining in a known or an unknown form of prayer, and other matters of the same kind, must be left to the option of every man's private judgment (*q*)."

If we consider this branch of Christian moderation merely in a civil view, nothing will be found more politically wise. The remark of a late (*r*) philosopher must ever hold good: that "The true secret for the discreet management of Sectarists is to tolerate them." By which means they are rendered less considerable, and of course less formidable. The more the children of Israel were oppressed in Egypt, the more they multiplied and grew.

Let us now take a survey of moderation, not as a public, but as a private virtue: or rather as a Christian grace, inspired by the Holy Spirit into the hearts of those who are born of God; and shining in the tempers, words and works of his elect, regenerated children.

St. Paul addressed not only the text, but this whole Epistle, to the saints in Christ Jesus at Philippi; and whom he declares to have been partakers of the same grace with himself. To these, whose names were in the book of life, and whose evident justification by Christ's righteousness entitled them to rejoice in the Lord always, he delivers that amiable precept, Let your moderation [το επιεικες ὑμων, your lenity, candour, tenderness, equity, and condescending meekness] be known unto all men.

The lovely constellation of graces, comprised in this expressive term, are what the apostle means by our participating the mind that was in Christ: even that wisdom from above, which is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated; full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy. It includes those effects of the blessed Spirit's influence, which are love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance, and crucifixion to the flesh with its affections and lusts.

Would you see the import of this significant word exemplified to the life? Consult the following character, or moral portrait of the Messiah; whom as Man and Mediator God the Father thus prophetically described: (*s*) Behold my servant, whom I sustain; my elect, in whom my soul delighteth. I have put my Spirit upon him: he shall bring forth judgment [or, make known my gospel and purposes of grace] to the Gentiles. He shall not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the streets [*i. e.* He shall be all mildness, affability, and patience. No boisterous wrath, nor tumultuous noise, shall discolour any part of his behaviour. Though reviled, he will not revile again; nor threaten when he suffers. He will avoid every appearance of ostentation, and be as humble as he is good. No fierce opprobrious language shall issue from his lips. Not the smallest rising of malevolence shall violate his purity of heart. Invincible calmness shall dignify his conduct, and candour dwell upon his tongue]. A bruised reed shall he

(*q*) Commentaries, Book iv. Chap. 4.

(*r*) Mr. David Hume.

(*s*) Isa. xlii.

not break, and the smoking flax shall he not quench. He shall bring forth judgment unto truth. May we derive from his fulness, and, like him, thus make our moderation known unto all men! That (to use the words of a good man long since with God), "As paper receives from the press letter for letter; as wax receives from the seal mark for mark; and as a mirror reflects face for face, so we may receive from Christ grace for grace; and have in ourselves a measure of every virtue that shone so bright in him!"

By viewing the features of some persons you may know from what family they sprang; and by observing the moral walk of religious professors you may discern to whom they belong. As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God. All who have God for their Father, and Christ for their Saviour, have, sooner or later, the Holy Ghost for their Sanctifier; and their sanctification by him is the effect and evidence of their adoption. By nature the children of God themselves bear the image of the earthly Adam: but in the very moment of their conversion by insuperable grace they begin to bear the image of the heavenly. The seal of divine influence is set upon their hearts; and their lives thenceforward correspond to the transforming efficacy of that sacred impression. Being melted down by penitence and conviction of sin, they are cast afresh, and (t) delivered into the gospel mould, where they are shaped and fashioned into vessels of honour fit for the master's use. Like the scion, they are severed from the sinful stock on which they grew; and, being inserted into Christ the true vine, they bring forth fruit to God.

As when a river is turned into a new channel the stream forsakes its ancient bed and pursues a course unknown until then, so the soul of man, when its native captivity to sin and death is turned as the rivers in the south, flows back to God, from whom it ran before; nor ceases to flow until it has gained the ocean of infinite good.

This is the inseparable effect of union and communion with him. The glorious liberty of the children of God is a liberty from the darkness of unbelief, and from the bondage of moral corruption into the light of faith, the fire of love, and the law of righteousness. That question in the prophet, Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? admits of a favourable solution. The converting Spirit of God does that for us which we could never do for ourselves. He makes the Æthiopian in a moral sense, fair as the driven snow, and renders the spotted leopard spotless, in comparison of what he was. The vessels of iniquity become vessels of glory; and the soul that once cleaved to the dust of sensuality, and lay dead in trespasses and sins, is quickened from above, and made to sit in heavenly places with Christ Jesus. When the citadel of the human heart is taken by grace the enemy's colours are displaced; Satan's usurped authority is superseded; the standard of the cross is erected on the walls; and the spiritual rebel takes the vow of willing allegiance to Christ his rightful sovereign. The strong holds of sin, on one hand, and of self-righteousness on the other, are battered down; and the soul, from that blessed moment made free indeed, cries out, Other lords have had dominion over me; but the darkness is past, and the true light now shines: the snare is broken, and I am delivered.

From this experience of the divine power in our own hearts, we cannot but adopt the celestial anthem, Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will towards men! Our moderation becomes known to all; and some of the practical effects produced by, and connected with, that spirit of holy moderation are these that follow:

Where lust, that fiery serpent, was wont to crawl, divine love kindles her hallowed flame and raises the affections as on eagles' wings to heaven.

Where unbelief, blind and sullen as the mole, lay wrapt in malicious gloom, loving darkness rather than light, and seeking to undermine what she had not eyes to see; faith diffuses the brightness of celestial day, and leads the willing soul to him who bought her with his blood.

Where insensibility, thoughtless as the bird that hastens to the snare, and gay as a victim crowned for the slaughter, sported on the precipice of destruction, and danced on the verge of death; serious conviction fixes her keen but salutary weapon: and filial fear keeps the avenues of the converted person's heart, and the actions of his life, in powerful but sweet restraint.

Where envy pined, where malice hissed, where slander sharpened her tongue, and pride, that bloated snake, lifted her swelling crest: universal charity throws wide her arms, humility stoops to the tenderest offices of beneficence; and dove-like meekness smiles with benignity in her heart, and the law of candour upon her lips.

Where intemperance mixed the intoxicating bowl, and lawless riot pushed the superfluous glass; seeking to drown every thought of eternity, and to sink the poor remains of human dignity in the poisonous

(t) St. Paul expresses this idea very finely, in Rom. vi. 17. But God be thanked, that [though] ye were the slaves of sin, yet in consequence of your regeneration from above] ye have, from the heart, obeyed that mould of doctrine into which ye were delivered.

draught: there religious moderation marks out the limits, mindful of that more than golden rule, Whether ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God.

Where profaneness, assuming the mask of wit, spawned the irreligious jest, and solicited the hellish laugh; prostituting perhaps even the language of Scripture to the purposes of licentious mirth, and playing on the very words of the Holy Ghost; trifling with sacred subjects at which angels tremble, and lightly mentioning that adorable Name at which angels bow; there, from the moment of conversion, grace introduces a total change. The renewed sinner abhors himself, as in dust and ashes, for all that he has done; and can never sufficiently adore, admire, and revere that infinite goodness, which instead of turning him into hell has turned him to God, and made him a living monument, not of deserved vengeance, but of unmerited mercy. His heart, which until then was a sink of impurity and profanation, is transformed into a house of prayer; and his mouth, once the seat of blasphemy, is consecrated into an altar of praise.

Where avarice sat brooding, tenacious as death, and insatiate as the grave; unfeeling as marble, and deaf to the cries of distress as the adder that stops her ear; discreet liberality unlocks the heart, and well directed beneficence extends her hand to bestow. The language of the soul is similar to that of Zaccheus: Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have taken any thing from any man, by false accusation, I restore him four-fold. The true believer, like his adorable Saviour, goes about doing good, and seeking whom he may relieve.

Where discontent, like a wild bull in a net, raged and struggled, turning the rod of affliction into a serpent, and charging Providence with folly; reclining patience kisses the hand that smites, and, knowing that infinite wisdom and goodness have mingled the draught, not only receives, but even relishes, the cup; while celestial hope casts her anchor on the inestimable promise of Him who says, I will never leave thee nor forsake thee; and who has immutably declared that all things, without exception, work together for good to them that love God, to them that are the called according to his purpose. Thus does the follower of Christ, in the communicated strength of the Holy One, take up his cross; content to bear it as long, and to carry it as far, as God's unerring will shall please:

"Nor thinks it chance, nor murmurs at the load;
But knows what man calls fortune is from God."

Where sacrilegious impiety once robbed Jehovah of his own day, and profaned the Sabbath, either by rioting and excess, or by travelling, or by the transaction of worldly business, or by making it an opportunity of recreation and idle amusement; thus rendering the best of days subservient to the worst of purposes, either of atrocious guilt, or of criminal insignificance; either basely selling, or unprofitably squandering, those precious, those irretrievable, hours which should be appropriated to the glory of God, and to the spiritual improvement of the soul;—there, religious regard to divine appointment, and love to the gracious Appointer, constrain the Christian to keep the Lord's day holy to the Lord, and to cultivate an habitual, increasing fitness for the enjoyment of that Sabbatism, that everlasting rest, which remaineth for the people of God.

In a word, where impenitency, armed with ten-fold brass, stiffened her neck, and withdrew her shoulder from the yoke of obedience;—the once obdurate sinner, being made willing in the day of God's power, cries out, with vanquished Paul, Lord, what wouldst thou have me to do? Tears of contrition flow like water from the smitten rock; repentance strikes her conscious breast; and devotion darts her aspiring eyes to heaven.

May those of us who have hitherto been unconcerned about the great work of conversion beg of God to shew them the things belonging to their peace, ere death makes them wise indeed; wise, perhaps, too late!

And may such of us as are awakened by grace to the experimental knowledge, love, and imitation of Christ, be led farther and deeper into acquaintance with God, and communion with his Blessed Spirit: gaining day by day brighter evidences of our election to eternal life, and more substantial marks of our interest in the covenant of grace. Pray for the full assurance of faith, for the feeling of God's favour to you in Christ Jesus, and for the knowledge of salvation by the forgiveness of sins.

There are indeed seasons of darkness and distress, wherein God's dearest people may be tempted to fear that their mark is not the mark of his children; and to say, with them in the Psalmist, We see not our tokens. But let not the doubting believer think himself an alien because he doubts: nor let him imagine that because he sees not his tokens, he therefore has no tokens to see. A broken and a contrite heart is an infallible token for good. For justification, fly to the righteousness of Jesus. If you cannot wrap yourself in it, yet throw yourself upon it, and he will not cast you out. For sanctification, commit yourself in the diligent use of means to the power and faithfulness of the eternal Spirit, who has inviolably promised and covenanted to write his law upon the hearts of his people. He will not send you empty away, nor permit you to seek his face in vain.

To seek his face with fasting and sup-

plication and mourning, is the duty, and I trust will be the grand business, of us all this day. And reason enough we have to prostrate ourselves before the God of armies and the King of kings: for, even as individuals, and much more as a nation, our iniquities are increased and our trespasses are grown up unto the heavens.

> "What land so favoured of the skies?
> And yet what land so vile?"

Sin is the source of all the temporal evils which we are met to deprecate. Mr. Soame Jenyns has justly reminded us that, "If Christian nations were nations of Christians, all war would be impossible and unknown among them." Be it then our prayer, on this solemn, this interesting occasion, that as the far greater part of the inhabitants of our island are nominal Christians, and have been baptized with water into the outward profession of the gospel; God would please to make us Christians indeed and in truth, by baptizing us with the Holy Ghost, and with the mystic fire of his sanctifying love. We might then hope soon to see the day when war shall be made to cease; when our swords shall be beat into ploughshares, and our spears bent into pruning hooks. *Phosphore, redde diem;* May our loved and honoured sovereign quickly behold his empire resembling a city that is at unity with itself! Until that most desirable period shall arrive, let our moderation as Christians, and our loyalty as subjects, be known unto all men, by every word of our lips, and by every action of our lives: ever mindful of this grand scriptural maxim, that we cannot truly be said to fear God, unless we also love the brotherhood, and honour the king.

I shall only detain you a moment or two longer by observing that you have now an opportunity of adding another good work to those in which you have already been engaged. When Cornelius fasted and prayed, he crowned those duties with shewing mercy to the poor: and an angel was sent to him from heaven, acquainting him that his prayers and his alms-deeds were ascended as a memorial before God. The Ethelburga Society, who are at the expense of supporting a Sunday evening lecture, and of maintaining a charity-school for the education, board, clothing, and apprenticing, of no fewer than fifty-two children of both sexes, request your benevolent contribution, to assist them in the support of this noble and eminently useful institution. I beseech you therefore, brethren, rightly to improve the present season of national humiliation, by duly considering these awful words of God with which I shall conclude:

Wherefore have we fasted, say they, and thou seest not? Wherefore have we afflicted our soul, and thou takest no knowledge? Behold, in the day of your fast, ye find pleasure, and exact all the things wherewith ye grieve others. Behold, ye fast for strife and debate, and to smite with the fist of wickedness. Ye shall not fast as ye do this day, to make your voice to be heard on high.—Wilt thou call this a fast and an acceptable day unto the Lord? Is not this the fast that I have chosen; to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? when thou seest the naked that thou cover him, and that thou hide not thyself from thy own flesh? Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thy health shall spring forth speedily. Thou shalt call, and the Lord shall answer; thou shalt cry, and he shall say Here I am: if thou take away from the midst of thee the yoke, the putting forth of the finger, and speaking vanity. And if thou draw out thy soul to the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul; then shall thy light rise in obscurity, and thy darkness be as the noon-day. And the Lord shall guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in drought: and thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water whose waters fail not.

REFLECTIONS ON THE CONVERSION OF MATTHEW,

RECORDED IN LUKE v. 27, 28.

"After these things he [i. e. *Jesus*] *went forth, and saw a publican named Levi, sitting at the receipt of custom: and he said unto him, Follow me. And he left all, rose up, and followed him."*

DIVINE grace is the same thing in all ages; and, when conferred in an equal degree, has the same effect in all persons. The reason of this is evident: namely, because the spiritual and moral depravity that flows from original sin being as great now as it was the day Adam fell, the very same efficacy of grace is still requisite to subdue it that was requisite from the beginning. The primary disease continuing, the primary remedy is as absolutely necessary now as it was at first.

Besides, the blessed Spirit of God, who is the moral physician of souls, and the author of all that is heavenly and spiritual in the human heart, is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever: and so are his ordinary operations. Sin and grace are things unalterable in their nature: the revolution of ages makes no difference. Man is as much a fallen creature at present as he was four or five thousand years ago: nor can less suffice to his renewal now than was necessary to his renewal then.

This exertion of supernatural grace upon the soul in regeneration is what divines mean

by effectual calling. All mankind without exception, God's elect as well as the rest, are by nature dead in sin, and alienated from the love of Christ and heavenly things: nor is the human will, though free enough to sin, free to spiritual good, until the arm of the Lord, or almighty power from on high, is revealed in the soul, and regenerates it after the image of God. In the article of first conversion man is nothing, and grace does all.

What has been hitherto observed is a natural introduction to that concise but comprehensive piece of sacred history now under consideration. "After these things," *i. e.* after the Son of God had been preaching to the pharisees; and, among other miracles, had wrought a supernatural cure on the person of a bed-rid paralytic; "after these things he went forth" by the sea side, as we learn from St. Mark; "and saw a publican named Levi, sitting at the receipt of custom:" *επι το τελωνιον*, at the custom-house, or tax-office, erected for the payment and receiving of the toll imposed by the Roman government on all that passed and repassed the sea, or lake of Galilee. In this place, and to receive this toll, sat Levi, or Matthew: the same who was honoured with a subsequent call to the apostleship; and who wrote the gospel which at this day bears his name.

Methinks I see the busy officer with his book of entry before him, receiving and noting down the payments of the thronging passengers: when lo, in the midst of the hurrying employ, the Son of God comes by. Matthew perhaps at first looks up; and, mistaking the Lord of life for a common passenger, holds out his hand expecting to receive the usual tax. But the blessed Jesus had a design in coming which Matthew little thought. He came to make the publican a saint and an apostle. Our Lord's going that way was casual and accidental to outward appearance: but the true reason of his going was to call and convert a sinner whose name was in the book of life. Matthew was one of the sheep of Christ, given him by the Father, and marked out for glory, and who was therefore to be called by grace from the darkness of unbelief, and from the servitude of sin, into the light of faith and the liberty of holiness. And now the blessed moment was come. The time of love before appointed, the season in which he was to be savingly turned to God was arrived, and the efficacious grace of the Holy Spirit made its way into his heart when Christ accosted him with that unexpected, but resistless word, "Follow me."

When Christ thus addresses himself to the soul of man, divine grace at the same time lays hold of the heart and captivates the affections into a sweet and willing compliance. It is most absurd in theory, and evidently false in fact, to suppose that when God speaks internally he may speak in vain. So far is this from being true, that no word of his shall fall to the ground, nor return again empty, but assuredly accomplish the end for which it was sent. No one who entertains a becoming idea of the great God will venture to deny the freeness, the efficacy, and the independency of his operation; and that when he will work, in vain do the potsherds of the earth set themselves in array against him.

But, though the event is thus infallibly secured, and, when the influence of grace is savingly exerted, conversion as the effect must necessarily and surely follow (since it is simply impossible that the purpose and the agency of an all-wise and all-powerful Being should be defeated and miscarry); yet this infers no sort of violence on the human will, since all God's dealings with his rational creatures in a way of grace are wisely and wonderfully suited to the faculties with which he has thought proper to endue them. In regeneration the will of man is not forced but renewed; it is not compelled, but amended and set right; in consequence of which it spontaneously directs its future motions to God, heaven, and things divine.

When our Lord said to Matthew, "Follow me;" though an invisible power accompanied the word to the heart, as the plumage wings an arrow to the mark, yet there was no compulsion on Matthew, he was not forcibly compelled, but by grace willingly and effectually inclined to follow the Lord that called him. He was not dragged, but drawn, and, being drawn, he ran.

From this view of the case, I cannot for my own part but be of opinion that the laboured attempts of some learned men to reconcile the efficacy of God's grace with the liberty of the human will, are to the full as needless as the methods they have frequently taken to do it are unscriptural and dangerous. For to make a shew of reconciling what were never at variance is needless; and to represent the divine will as depending on that of man, is fundamentally subversive of those high and great apprehensions of the Deity which even the religion of nature dictates. We know that every reasonable creature is endued with a will, or faculty of disliking, on one hand, and of desiring on the other. By virtue of this essential power, the will chooses that which is most agreeable to it, and delights in what it chooses.

But then this choice is determined to do good or evil, according to the moral and spiritual state in which a man is. In a state of unregeneracy, his will and desire are carried toward that which is evil: since as

is the fountain such is the stream; and the man himself being morally corrupt, his faculties and his actions must be so too. In a state of grace, the bias and inclination of the will are to that which is spiritually good, the man himself being formed anew, and sanctified by the Holy Spirit, his faculties and the prevailing tenor of his actions must of course bear the impress of heaven, since as is the tree so is the fruit.

Hence it appears that, in the work of converting sinners to himself, God is so far from impelling them as machines, or dragging them blindfold and against their wills into happiness (though I do not see where would be the injury of even that); but this is so far from being the case, that the eyes of our understanding are then, and not till then, opened to discern where our happiness lies, and in what our real interest consists: even in the knowledge, love, and resemblance of the only true God, and of Jesus Christ whom he hath sent; and this is no sooner discovered to the soul than the will from that moment chooses and aspires after the divine favour, the divine image, the divine presence, and the divine glory.

Here you see is not the least encroachment on human freedom. The will continues free or unforced at the very time that grace is all in all. Here is sovereign efficacy without violence; and invincible energy without compulsion. There is no force (but that of love); and there needs no other. The soul that has once had but a distant glimpse of the ravishing beauty and goodness of God, the infinite excellency of holiness, the exceeding greatness of the Redeemer's kindness, the fulness of his merit, and the immense riches of the salvation procured by him; the soul that has once seen and tasted these needs no compulsive force in order to love him who is the fountain of good, and to aspire after that good of which he is the fountain. The transcendent power of the sacred Spirit by which his influence is made invincibly effectual to conversion, is no more inconsistent with liberty of will (truly understood) than the shining of the sun is inconsistent with the liberty of seeing.

Was there but this single instance of converting grace on record in Scripture, this (I mean the instantaneous conversion of Matthew, mentioned in the passage before us) would be sufficient to put the point out of all doubt. He was a person who sustained the character, and discharged the office, of a publican, or tax-gatherer for the Romans; an employ above all others odious to the Jewish nation, and at the same time infamous to a proverb. We may suppose that it was a principle of covetousness and attachment to the world which induced Matthew, who, as both his names declare, was an Israelite by birth, to engage in a way of life which could not fail of rendering him hateful to his countrymen, who considered every publican, and more especially if he was a native Jew, as a tool to foreign tyranny, and a betrayer of his country. Notwithstanding the odium and detestation he was sure to incur. Matthew previous to his conversion accepted of the office, and in all probability was as avaricious and oppressive in the execution of it as the rest of his hireling brethren. To see such a man, and in the very midst of his actual employ wrought upon at once by a word speaking; so wrought upon as instantly to leave all, rise up and follow that blessed, but despised person who had not where to lay his head; all this evidently shows that a conversion so speedy and so total, and of such a person too, could be effected by no less power than that which is omnipotent, and may vie with the greatest miracles which the Son of God performed.

It is true indeed there was something extraordinary in the call of Matthew. He was called not only to be a follower of Christ, but (ultimately) to be an apostle likewise; and it was this that justified his forsaking all secular employment, that he might be more at liberty to attend his Divine Master, and then to diffuse his gospel. But I apprehend that with regard to the conversion of Matthew as a Christian, the grace and power by which it was brought about, were neither more nor less than must be exerted by the good Spirit of God, in order to the conversion of any person whatever.

Besides, it is more than probable that Matthew's call to the apostleship was subsequent to that call of which the text speaks. For aught appears to the contrary, this history simply relates to his conversion as a man, not to his mission as a public minister, for (except in the single instance of Judas) Christ made men believers before he sent them forth as preachers. It would seem that when the Son of God said "Follow me," a call to faith and sanctification was chiefly meant; which graces are equally necessary to the salvation of one as well as another. Hence our Lord declares, concerning all his people without exception, "My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me;" and St. Paul exhorts us to be "followers," or imitators "of God, as dear children;" for it is certain that the Saviour of sinners says in effect to every sinner he saves, "Follow me" in holiness, in love, in every good word and work: and that grace which stands connected with everlasting life, never fails of inducing those who partake of it "to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly, in the present world;" to be ornaments to the gospel they profess, and to walk in the blameless footsteps of him who hath redeemed them unto God by his blood, and by whose power and grace they are called

te glory and virtue. We are not indeed required, like Matthew, to renounce our temporal vocations, and bid adieu to that lawful state of life and honest labour in which Providence hath placed us, for we may rise up and follow Christ without doing that. Nay, it is our indispensible duty to be industrious and diligent in our civil employments; and he that worketh not should not eat; the drones should be driven from the hive. Religion is so far from being a plea for idleness, that idleness is absolutely incompatible with true religion. "Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called," says the apostle: *i. e.* let every man continue in the same secular calling, and carry on the same lawful business after conversion that he did before. The reason why St. Matthew was in the literal sense made to forsake all, and throw up his employ as a custom-house officer was, as I observed but now, that, by being at perfect liberty to attend on the personal ministry of Christ, he might be thoroughly qualified both to preach the gospel afterwards, and to write that evangelical history of what he had seen and heard. But this affects not us. The case of the apostles as such was peculiar to themselves. We can have no such motives to forsake all; and he must be a madman who now thinks he has. There are other ways of forsaking all. We are to forsake all, not in a secular, but in a spiritual, sense. Forsake iniquity, forsake the love of the world, the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life; forsake all dependence on our own righteousness; forsake all sinful connections, all unscriptural doctrines, and unscriptural practices; nay, in point of affection, forsake even all things, and give up our hearts to God. This is the forsaking to which we are called. Thus rise up, and follow Christ. Pray for grace to make you happy in the love of God, and holy in all manner of conversation and godliness. Beg of the blessed Spirit to raise you up from the death of unbelief and sin, to the life of faith and righteousness, and to make you follow him in the regeneration. So shall we immediately, on our dismission from the body, follow the Son of God into the glories of his kingdom, and lift up our heads with joy when flesh and heart fail.

Nor shall death finally detain our mortal part. If, by grace, we have these evidences of our belonging to Christ; these marks of our interests in his merits, and of our renewal after his image; he will say to our sleeping dust, in the morning of the resurrection, "Awake, and follow me;" follow me, first, into the blessedness of the millenniary state, and thence to heaven. Then shall he call, and we shall answer; he shall seek us, and each shall say, "Here I am." We shall hear the voice that shakes the earth and wakes the dead. We shall fors the grave; rise up from the tomb at our Lord's command; leave all our imperfections behind us; and follow him: follow the Lamb whithersoever he goes, and be for ever with the Lord.

In the mean while, let us examine ourselves whether we be in the faith; whether we have reason to trust that the power of converting grace hath begun to work effectually upon our hearts. In a word, whether we have ever experienced, in a spiritual sense, any thing similar to what the text relates. Though we are not called to be apostles, yet all who shall appear with Christ in glory are called to be saints. And what is a saint? One who is hallowed, or set apart, by divine grace, for the use and service of God: one who is made a partaker of that faith which relies, singly relies, on the blood and righteousness of Christ, for justification with God: and who is a subject of that holiness without which none shall see the Lord: one who leaves all things, so far as they consist not with faith and good conscience; who counts all that earth can give but dross and dung, when compared with the excellency of the knowledge of Christ, and with the privilege of being found in him; who rises up into the moral likeness of God; and follows the Lord that bought him in sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth. Such persons have fellowship with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ: they have a manifest interest in the favour of the former, and in the merits of the latter. Walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comforts of the Holy Ghost, they are built up into temples of God; their grace, their peace, their joy, are multiplied.

After surveying this picture of a saint, next look into your own heart, and see if you can discover any resemblance of it in yourself; any corresponding features, any traces of the divine image there. For as face answers face in a glass, so the experience of one saint is in general nearly similar to that of another. Some indeed may have a stronger likeness of their heavenly Father than others: but every true believer does, in a greater or less degree, resemble God. Bring yourself therefore, now, to the test of God's word. Try your state and experience by the touchstone of the text. Has Christ ever said to you by the still small voice of his good Spirit, "Follow me?" If he has, you do follow him: for his will is effectual, and his command is ever accompanied with power. But is the unbeliever, the impenitent, the unholy, a follower of Christ? Surely no. He only is a follower of his who resolves the whole praise of his salvation into the grace of God and the atonement of the Cross, who is grieved at heart for all that he has done against Jesus; and whose desire is

practically to walk worthy of him unto all well pleasing.

Hereby you may know whose image and superscription you bear. These are the outlines of that divine resemblance, in a restoration to which consists the dignity and the happiness of man. Let this then be your prayer: "Try me, O God, and search the ground of my heart: prove me and examine my thoughts. Look well if there be any wickedness in me, any root of bitterness yet undiscovered; and lead me in the way everlasting. Show me the true state of my soul. Bring me out from every false refuge. Strip off every deceitful covering, every covering that is not of thy Spirit. Forbid that the anchor of my hope should be cast, or the house of my dependence built, on any but Christ, the rock of ages. Forbid that I should rest short of that repentance which is thy gift, and is connected with life eternal: and forbid, O forbid, that I should sit down without aspiring to that conformity unto thee in righteousness and true holiness, abstracted from which repentance is false and faith is dead."

Such are the breathings of the soul that is born of God. If this, O man, be not the language of thy inmost heart, thou art far from Christ, thou art yet in thy sins: thou hast not forsaken all; thou hast never been made to rise up and follow the Lamb of God. But if this is thy wish and thy prayer, I am bold to say that it is the echo of effectual grace; and that God hath begun that good work in thee which shall be carried on to the day of Christ, and be found with honour and glory at his appearance. That Spirit of regeneration, who hath drawn the outlines of his sacred image upon thy soul, will go on to improve the imperfect draught, until he hath touched it with the perfect likeness of his blessed self. What he hath begun in this life shall be completed in the article of death. The dawn of grace, the morning of consummate sanctification, when thou art taken up to shine at God's right hand.

Until then, look incessantly unto Jesus, the Author and Finisher of faith. Even while the penitent sense of thy past offences and of thy remaining imperfections humbles thy soul, and overwhelms thy conscience with a holy blush; let glowing gratitude, aspiring love, and unlimited confidence in the blood of sprinkling, exalt thy heart, and wing thy affections to the throne. And beware of ascribing any part of thy conversion to yourself: for the work was God's, and so should be the glory. Do not rob God by putting free will for free grace; but remember that you never had rose up and followed Christ, if he had not by the effectual call of his Spirit said to your heart, "Follow me." For it is no thanks to you, but to him. If you love him, it is because he first loved you. Man's will was never yet before-hand with God. "Herein is love," says the apostle; "not that we loved God, but that God loved us, and sent," &c. Under such impressions, David's devout aspiration will be the counter-part of your's; "Make me to go in the path of thy commandments, for therein is my desire. Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth that desire in comparison of thee!" Prelusive this to that still more triumphant song which the spirits of the just are now singing before the throne of God and the Lamb; "Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb, for ever and ever."

LIFE A JOURNEY.

"They went forth to go into the Land of Canaan; and into the Land of Canaan they came."

Genesis xii. 5.

God having decreed to put Abram's posterity into possession of the country since called Palestine, commanded that patriarch to leave Chaldea, his native land, and to set out with his family for the place whither Providence should lead him.

Abram, who had obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful, was not disobedient to the heavenly vision: but, as the inspired penman informs us, he took Sarai, his wife, and Lot, his brother's son, and all the substance they had gathered, and the souls, or persons, which they had gotten in Haran; and they went forth to go into the land of Canaan, and into the land of Canaan they came. The same unchangeable God who had promised to bring them into that land, actually brought them into the land he had promised: and they not only sat out for Canaan, but arrived safely there, according to the purpose and promise of him who had bid them go.

Now, since Abram is distinguished in Scripture as father of the faithful; or as one whose stedfast unsuspecting confidence in the promises was singularly eminent; and whose faith for that reason stands on record as a pattern to the people of Christ in all succeeding generations; since he was likewise a type of the Church collective, which consists of and takes in all true believers, from the beginning to the end of time; and as the land of Canaan to which Abram travelled is represented in Scripture as a figure of heaven, that better country, to which all God's elect people are bound, and to which they shall all be led: for these reasons we shall, I apprehend, put no force on the words of that text which stands as a motto to this essay, nor strain them beyond their due meaning, if (beside their literal signification as a history) we consider them in a spiritual light, as importing the safety of

those who, in consequence of being called forth from a state of nature by converting grace, are enabled to set their faces Sionward, and to enter on a journey to the kingdom of God. The chief business, therefore, of the present attempt shall be to shew that, to every real Christian, the present life is only a journey to a better; and that all they who do in earnest set out for the heavenly Canaan, the Jerusalem which is above, shall certainly get safe to their journey's end, and not one of them perish by the way.

When a merchant sends out his fleet on a trading voyage he is not sure of the event. His ships may arrive at the desired haven, and return with the wished increase; or they may founder on their passage, and both cargo and crews be lost.—Or, when a person takes a far journey, he has no assurance of safety. He cannot pre-discern what is before him; nor whether he shall come back to his house in peace or no. Such is the uncertainty of earthly transactions with regard to our foreknowledge of them. We cannot tell what a day, what a moment, may bring forth. The issue of things lies hid in the womb of futurity, till Providence and time make manifest the determinations of God, by bringing those determinations to pass.

Not so clouded are the better things which relate to a better life. The feeblest seeker of salvation by the blood of the Lamb, and the meanest hungerer after the kingdom and righteousness of Jesus, may be assured before-hand that the kingdom shall be his. The inseparable blessings of grace and glory are styled the sure mercies of David (Acts xiii. 34.) τα οσια Δαβιδ τα πιστα, the sacred [i. e. the inviolably certain, and] the faithful things of David, i. e. of Christ: or, more conformably to the original passage in Isaiah, the sure benefits of David: meaning, the infallible certainty of those benefits (such as pardon, justification, sanctification, final preservation, and eternal happiness), which are secured to the Church by virtue of that unalterable covenant subsisting between the Father, the Spirit, and Christ the anti-type of David, in behalf of all who shall be made to believe through grace.

This everlasting covenant of peace and salvation, entered into with God the Son, by the other two divine persons, St. Paul had in view, when he says, God, willing to shew more abundantly to the heirs of promise, the immutability of his counsel [βουλης, of his decree], confirmed it with an oath, that by two unchangeable things [namely, his decree and oath], wherein it is impossible for God to falsify, we might have strong consolation, who have fled for refuge to lay hold on the hope set before us, Heb. vi. 17, 18.

Now, as Abram literally sat forward from the land of his nativity: so, in a figurative sense, does every person who is effectually called by grace. By nature, we are insensible of our sinful state, and ignorant of our extreme danger; impenitent, and unbelieving; and (which argues the utmost blindness and depravation) self-righteous, though unholy. This is a compendious map of the natural man. He is a native of Mount Sinai; born under the covenant of works; fondly expecting to be justified by the deeds of the law; though he has broken the law, more or less, in every particular.

From this legal state of insensibility, impenitence, unbelief, self-righteousness, and bondage to sin, every child of God is delivered, by the effectual operation of the Holy Ghost; through whose almighty agency, we are caused to turn our backs on the blind road we were pursuing before, and to steer a different course. No longer insensible of our real condition, we feel that every step we took was leading us farther and farther from God and happiness in heaven. Ignorant no longer of the danger to which we were obnoxious by reason of original and actual sin, we have recourse to Christ alone as the way, the truth, and the life. No more impenitent, we bewail the depravity of our hearts, and the transgressions of our hands: we love the rectitude we hated, and hate the sins we loved. Retrieved from absolute unbelief, we feel the necessity of Christ, and throw ourselves upon the grace of God in him, for deliverance from the wrath to come. No longer habitually self-righteous, we not only most willingly submit to, but most thankfully embrace, and most devotedly rest upon, and triumph in, the righteousness of Christ, as the sole procuring cause of our acceptance in the Father's sight. And no longer quite unholy, we pant after inward conformity to the divine image, and outward conformity to the divine law: thoroughly sensible that without holiness no man can see the Lord; and that faith, without works, is dead.

Whosoever is brought thus far, is more than half-way to the kingdom of heaven. He has made, through grace, a good progress on the road to Sion; and shall go on, from strength to strength, till he appear before the God of gods in glory.

When this happy change is effected, and the converted person begins to evidence his new birth by forsaking his old companions in sin, and by leading a new life; different people will pass different censures upon his conduct. One will without ceremony dub him a new-fashioned Methodist. Another will set him down for an old-fashioned Puritan. A third will roundly pronounce him a madman, that has lost his senses by being righteous over-much. A fourth, who has more politeness and less ill-nature than the rest, will say to him, I wonder how a person

of your good sense in other things, can be so precise. You will hurt your (*u*) nerves, and damp your spirits. There is no occasion for all this ado. Take a cheerful glass! Give the rein to your appetites! and make a merry life of it, though it be a short one.

Thus will multitudes endeavour by various methods, to call the traveller back, and to divert him from his Christian course. But he still holds on his way: answering as he passes, We shall see whose life will be merriest in the end.

Yet let not the follower of Christ cause the way of truth to be ill spoken of, or bring an evil report on the good land, by needless rigour and by affected severity. Do not sullenly reject the gifts of Providence, under a pretence of superior sanctity: but use them without abusing them. If you have them not, be not anxious after them. If you have them, enjoy them in the fear, and to the glory, of God. There is a sober, restrained sense in which a true believer may say with the poet,

> "The blessings thy free bounty gives,
> Let me not cast away:
> For God is paid when man receives:
> To enjoy is to obey."

Receive gratefully. Distribute cheerfully. Enjoy innocently. Give thanks incessantly. When you set out for heaven, do not set up for a monk: nor look upon those things as criminal which the word of God does not declare to be so. Gnat-strainers are too often camel-swallowers: and the Pharisaical mantle of superstitious austerity is very frequently a cover for a cloven foot. Beware then of driving too furiously at first setting out. Take the cool of the day. Begin as you can hold on. I knew a lady who, to prove herself perfect, ripped off her flounces and would not wear an ear-ring, a necklace a ring, or an inch of lace. Ruffles were Babylonish. Powder was anti-christian. A ribband was carnal. A snuff-box smelt of the bottomless pit. And yet under all this parade of outside humility, the fair ascetic was——. But I forbear entering into particulars. Suffice it to say, that she was a concealed Antinomian. And I have known too many similar instances.

Take heed however, O believer in Christ, of verging to the opposite extreme. Beware of a supine, lukewarm, libertine spirit. Watch unto prayer, guard against negligence. Advance not to the uttermost bounds of your liberty. It is a just remark, which I have somewhere met with, that the best way to be secure from falling into a well is not to venture too near the brink. Swim not with the stream, if the tide roll downward; neither follow a multitude to do evil. It is the duty of a Christian not to be ashamed of being singularly good: especially in an age like this, when so many are not ashamed of being eminently bad. Better go with a few to heaven, than to go with much and polite company to hell. He that fears men, and seeks to please men at the expense of gospel truths, or of good morals, is not an honest man, much less a servant of Christ. And though in matters of mere indifference you are not absolutely bound to abridge your liberty as a Christian, nor is it meet that you should affect to be good any more than to be wise, above that which is written; yet if you find (as in some instances, you probably will) that even things in themselves indifferent prove a snare, an entanglement, and a hinderance to you, in running the race that is set before you; pluck out those things, be they what they may, and cast them from you: though they be useful as a right hand, or tender as a right eye. In a word, endeavour to hit the just medium; so as neither to make too much haste, nor too little speed: neither to loiter, nor to run yourself out of breath.

If the believer's journey should prove a long one, *i. e.* should he live to be far advanced in years, he must expect to meet with diversity of paths. The face of the country will not always be the same. Even with regard to temporal things, perhaps, he may experience a vicissitude of ups and downs. Sometimes the road will go rough, sometimes smooth. To-day it may be he is high on the mount; to-morrow low in the valley. Now his way is carpeted with moss: anon it is planted with the pricking briar and the grieving thorn. But remember, O child of God, that both one and the other is thy Father's ground; that thou art still in the land of Providence, and that the land of Providence is also a land of grace to them who are strangers and pilgrims upon earth. So likewise in a spiritual sense, when faith is in lively exercise, we may be said to travel through a rich, level, open country; where all is easy, light-some, and pleasant. Soon perhaps may faith sicken (sicken it may, but, blessed be God, it cannot die) and hope may flag its wing: fear may set upon thee, as a strong man armed, and the overshadowings of doubt may for a while eclipse thy comforts. In that case, let the believer still go forward as well as he can. The way will mend, and the prospect brighten, in God's good time. And in the mean while that precious promise will be fulfilled, Thy shoes shall be iron and brass; and as is thy day, so shall thy strength be. Deut. xxxiii. 25 If thou canst not go on, sit down: but let it

(*u*) The late Dr. E——n, bishop of St David's, dissuaded a lady from hearing Mr. Whitfield preach, for fear it might hurt her nerves. But what was this, when weighed against the piety and rebuke of a great churchman now living? who, no longer ago than the very last month that ever was (*viz.* in the month of August, 1775) actually said to a lady of quality, "Do not tell me of St Paul madam: it would have been high time for the Christian church to do, if St. Paul had never wrote a line of his Epistles."

be by the way-side. Wait: but let it be at Jacob's well. Ply the ordinances of God, and the God of ordinances will come to thee and bless thee. When poor Hagar, overwhelmed with distress of mind and quite exhausted with fatigue of body, threw herself on the ground unable to walk a step farther, an angel was sent to point her to a fountain which she knew not of, and to give her the oil of joy for mourning, and a garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness. Godly sorrow ever was and ever will be the peculiar care and the tenderest object of Almighty love.

Travellers need not be told that the weather is not always uniformly the same. At times, the affections of a saint are warm, sublime, and strongly drawn up to God and divine things. Anon, his affections may gravitate, grow numbed and cold; and, like an eagle that is pinioned, be scarce able to creep where once they used to fly. Yet be not cast down. You may, like Samson, be shorn of your locks for a season, but they will grow again, and your strength shall return as heretofore. Remember that comfortable frames, though extremely desirable, are not the foundation of your safety. Our best and ultimate happiness is grounded on an infinitely firmer basis than any thing in us can supply. The immutability of God, the never failing efficacy of Christ's mediatorial work, and the invariable fidelity of the Holy Ghost, are the triple rock on which thy salvation stands. Whence that of the apostle: The foundation of the Lord [i. e. the decree, or covenant of the Lord] standeth sure; having this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are his. And again: Though we believe not [though we may occasionally reel and stagger and faint] yet he [faith's unchangeable author and immoveable supporter] abideth faithful, and cannot deny himself. Was he to deny his decree, he must deny himself: for his decree is himself decreeing. But he cannot do this. He cannot forego his covenant: for his covenant is himself covenanting. He cannot reverse his promise: for his promise is himself promising. Consequently, every believer is safe and can never be ultimately left or forsaken. As surely as effectual grace stirred thee up to undertake the heavenly journey, so surely shall glory crown thee at the end of thy pilgrimage.

Contentedly, therefore, embrace thy lot, knowing that the whole disposal thereof is of the Lord. Be the weather fair or foul, let the calm prevail, or the storm rage; be thy mind cheerful or benighted; be thy path dreary with gloom or radiant with sun-shine; commit thyself in patience and well-doing to God, as to a gracious Creator and an All-wise Disposer. A traveller is not the worse for being weather-beaten. It teaches him to endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ. Besides, he is at the worst of times sure of invisible support; and every difficulty he encounters by the way will be infinitely overbalanced when he gets home to his Father's house. For the utmost sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us.

In point, likewise, of affluence and fortune, all the travellers to Canaan are not alike. Some of them are literally rich, and increased in goods. While others have but a small allotment of temporal wealth, barely enough to carry them to their journey's end. The former may be said to be drawn in state to heaven: the latter to trudge it on foot.

I say some are drawn thither in state; for every coach does not take that road. But so we at last get safe to the new Jerusalem, no matter whether we ride or walk. It will be all one by and by. As in death, so in heaven, the rich and the poor who are partakers of saving grace, will meet together, and then where will be the difference between those who came with a grand retinue, and those who travelled pilgrim-like, with a scrip at their side and a staff in their hand?

On earth, when two persons are literally going to the same place; and the one is either well mounted or seated in an expeditious carriage, and the other goes on foot; the foot-passenger must needs make the slower progress of the two. But in spiritual things this case is often reversed. The humble foot passenger frequently outstrips the rapid horseman, or the stately charioteer, and is seen not seldom to make swifter advances in the knowledge of God and in the way to heaven: just as Elijah out-ran Ahab's chariot to the entrance of Jezreel. And thus that observation of the apostle is verified: Hath not God chosen the poor of this world, rich in faith and heirs of the kingdom? Yes, he has, and some too who are opulent; for we read that even Cæsar's household, the very court of Nero, was not wholly destitute of saints. But since much wealth too often proves a snare, and an incumberance to the Christian racer, let him lighten the weight, by dispersing abroad and giving to the poor: whereby he will both soften the pilgrimage of his fellow travellers, and speed his own way the faster.

A passenger to Zion, like most other passengers, must expect to meet with different kinds of company on the road; different in some respects, though bound to the same place. I suppose that there are scarce ten persons in any civilized nation, whose religious and metaphysical ideas are in every punctilio exactly alike, any more than their faces. Examine the countenance of any man and you will see some peculiar cast, some turn of features which distinguishes that

countenance from every other. Now, opinions are in some sense the features of the mind: and there will always be a diversity of mental features, during the present dispensation of things. The elect will never perfectly resemble (*x*) each other till they perfectly resemble Christ in glory. Hence appears not only the illiberality but also the absurdity, of being at daggers drawn with other people on account of differences merely extrinsic and circumstantial—Narrow as the way is which leadeth unto life, it is yet broad enough to admit persons of divided judgment in things indifferent. There may be several paths in one and the same road; and shall I be so weak, or so malicious, as to suppose that a professing brother is not in the way to everlasting happiness, only because he does not walk arm in arm with me, and tread in my particular track? I grant that there is but one road to heaven; namely, an interest in the atonement and righteousness of Christ; for no man cometh to the Father, but by him. I believe however, and feel myself unutterably happy in believing, that this only avenue to eternal rest admits of much greater latitude than bigots of all denominations are aware of. Let therefore the travellers to the city of God bear in mind that amiable exhortation of Joseph to his brethren, See that ye fall not out by the way.

When persons undertake a journey to a distant unknown country, it is not unusual to have recourse to a guide. During their passage to Canaan, good people may, by mutual exhortation, reproof, and instruction in righteousness, be occasionally guides to each other. But the two grand stated guides of the Redeemer's Church are the Spirit and the word of God: to which may be added in humblest subordination to these two, the ministers of God. Generally speaking, these three guides do best together. A minister without the written word, would bid fair to be a false guide, a mere will-of-the-whisp, a dancing meteor, who would only set you astray. And the word itself, without the Spirit, is but as a dial without the sun, a dead letter, and a book that is sealed. Therefore the way for us not to lose our way is to receive nothing from man but what bears the stamp of Scripture; to beg of God that he would shine upon the dial, that we may consult it profitably and know whereabout we are, *i. e.* that he would make us understand the Scriptures by the saving light of his blessed Spirit; and then to look upon no influence, impulse, suggestion, or direction, as the certain voice of God in the soul, except it harmonize and coincide with that sacred Scripture which himself inspired.—Thus wonderfully and wisely are the means of salvation connected! The word of God directs us to the Spirit of God; the Spirit of God makes that word effectual; and the true ministers of God act in the most absolute subserviency to both.

Nor are the Christian travellers guided only, but guarded likewise. And a guard is requisite: for the highway of holiness is infested with robbers. Though the celestial road is inclosed from the common, and made a distinct way of itself, yet it lies through an enemy's country, and the Canaanite is still in the land. Satan will study to annoy those whom he cannot devour. The world will try various arts, both of menace and allurement. And indwelling depravity, from whose remains we are never wholly delivered in the present life, will on all occasions be ready to revolt from the obedience of faith, and to bring us into subjection to the law of sin. The foes without, though vanquished, are not slain: and original corruption, that beast within, though wounded, is not dead; nor motionless, though chained.

Happy is it for God's regenerate people that they do not go through the wilderness defenceless and alone. If they did they might well fear, with David, I shall one day perish by the hand of Saul. But they are under the escort of a truly invincible armada. Providence is for them without; and grace within. Though they appear as strangers and pilgrims upon earth, they are no less than kings in disguise; kings and priests unto God. His own inviolable faithfulness is their portion; and his angels, principalities, and powers, think it an honour to guard them: for those exalted beings are all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister unto them that shall be heirs of salvation. Hence in that grand writ of protection recorded in the 91st Psalm, we read, He shall give his angels charge over thee to keep thee in all thy ways: they shall bear thee up in their hands, lest thou hurt thy foot against a stone. Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder, the young lion and the dragon shalt thou tread under thy feet. The gates of hell may assault, but they shall not prevail. They

(*x*) This puts me in mind of a candid and judicious remark made by a valuable Christian brother of a different denomination from myself, in a letter with which he favoured me some years since. "I have seen a field here, and another there, stand thick with corn. A hedge or two has parted them. At the proper season the reapers entered. Soon the earth was disburdened, and the grain was conveyed to its destined place: where blended together in the barn or in the stack, it could not be known that a hedge once separated this corn from that. Thus it is with the Church. Here it grows as it were in different fields: severed it may be by various hedges. By-and-by, when the harvest is come, all God's wheat shall be gathered into the garner without one single mark to distinguish that once they differed in the outward circumstantials of modes and forms."——To these truly evangelical and truly benevolent sentiments, I deem it my honour and happiness to subscribe, with hand and heart.

may endeavour to intercept the believer on his passage to Canaan; but God, who put it into his heart to go, will be his guardian even unto death.

There is no convenient travelling without proper accommodations and a competent supply of provision. Deprived of these, the healthiest would become languid, and the most robust would faint by the way. For this reason, the God of all kindness has, figuratively speaking, furnished the road to his kingdom with houses of rest and refreshment, where his redeemed may occasionally turn in and renew their strength. The good things of his Providence may be considered as the temporial accommodations vouchsafed by his bounty for the comfort and support of our mortal part: and the stated means of grace are the spiritual accommodations designed to quicken, strengthen, and sustain the soul unto life eternal. When outward ordinances are made effectual to this end through the Holy Spirit's influence, of which they are the ordinary channel, then is it that God's travellers can pursue their way rejoicing, and sing as they go, The King of Sion has brought me into his banqueting-house, and his banner over me was love. In secret prayer, in public worship, in reading the Scriptures, in sitting under the word preached, and in compassing the altar of the Lord; his saints catch some delightful glimpses of their heavenly Father's countenance, and lay up a stock of experiences and consolations for faith to feed upon afterwards, and in the strength of which they travel many days. Summer-experiences, viewed in the retrospective, are what the soul can sometimes reflect on with comfort during the cold and darkness of wintry desertions: just as the pot of manna reserved in the ark reminded Israel of the months and years that were passed: and remained as a token for good, long after God had ceased to rain on his people the bread of heaven, and to feed them with angels' food.

Nor does his goodness only spread a table for us in the wilderness, by the bounties of his providence, and by the consolations of his presence. He even deigns, perhaps at times, to soften the toils of our warfare, and to sweeten the fatigues of our journey, by shewing us, as in perspective, the city to which we are hastening; and by giving us, in the full assurance of faith, a taste of Canaan's grapes on our way to Canaan's land. Faith is the mount, and gospel-promises and gospel-ordinances are the pleasant windows whence (like Moses from the top of Pisgah) we survey that good land which is afar off. The nearer we approach to heaven, the clearer, frequently, are our views of it.

Discern'd fair and full in sight
The shining turrets rise.

I mean, if and when the light of God's spirit shines upon faith's eye and illuminates the gospel windows. For the keenest human eye can discern no object, and the most transparent windows in the world can transmit no prospect, if light be totally excluded.

Sin, temptation, weakness of faith, or sense of guilt, may sometimes spread a mist between a child of God and his view of glory. But there are also intervals of assurance, seasons of holy rejoicing, when faith is high on the wing, when hope trims her lamp, and when seraphic love (like the ascending Tishbite's fiery chariot) wraps the elevated soul to heaven. The happy traveller emerges from the dark, deep, narrow lanes, where his feet were embarrassed with mire, and where the boughs met over his head, and all prospect of the adjoining country was shut out. He mounts the hill. The sky brightens, and the prospect widens. All is light, and cheerfulness, and joy. During these golden moments this is the triumphant song: God is my Father. Christ is my righteousness. The Spirit is my sanctifier. The Messiah loved me, and gave himself for me. He died for my sins: he rose again for my justification: and because he lives, I shall live also."

Under such comfortable anticipations of the glory that shall be revealed, when faith pierces within the veil, whither Jesus our fore-runner is gone before, the believer cries out, "O how amiable is even this distant prospect of thy dwelling, thou Lord of hosts!" Or in the language of the spies of old, We have seen the land; and, behold, it is very good. When shall we drop these mortal bodies? when shall we get through the desert? when shall we go up and take possession? when shall we receive the end of our faith, even the full salvation of our souls? How long, O Lord, holy and true! why tarry the wheels of thy chariot? Make haste, my Beloved, to fetch me away; and be thou like to a roe, or to a young hart on the mountain of spices!

Fear not, thou that longest to be at home. A few steps more, and thou art there. Soon, O believer, it will be said to thee, as it was to her in the gospel, The master is come and calleth for thee. When that word is pronounced, when you are got to the boundary of your race below, and stand on the verge of heaven and the confines of immortality; then there will be nothing but the short valley of death between you and the promised land: the labours of your pilgrimage will then be on the point of conclusion, and you will have nothing to do but to entreat God, as Moses did, I pray thee let me go over, and see the good land that is beyond Jordan, that goodly mountain and Lebanon. Or with David: O send out thy light and truth, that they may lead me, and

bring me to thy holy hill, and to thy dwelling-place!

Dread not the interjacent valley; it is but the shadow of death; and what is there in a shadow to be afraid of? Dark as it may seem, it will brighten as you enter; and the farther you go, the brighter will it prove. When soul and body, like two bosom-friends who have travelled long and far together, come to the parting-place, where (like Abraham and Lot) they separate, and each goes a different way, one to the grave, and the other to heaven; when death, your last enemy, is subdued (for he is not destroyed entirely until the morning of the resurrection dawn); when you have got to the extremity of the vale, and have actually breathed your last; you will find your equipage waiting for you on the other side, to take you from the body and to set you down at the throne of God. Angels of light, those chariots and horses of fire, attend on every expiring saint; and not only as guides, shew his disembodied spirit the way to heaven, but likewise guard him during the passage: and it is probable, act as vehicles to convey him thither; just as Lazarus was (*y*) carried by angels into Abraham's bosom.

Having thus traced the Christian in his spiritual journey, from nature to grace, and from grace to glory; let me, for the present, leave him there: and address myself to those who, as well as myself, are still detained in the wilderness, and whose tour is not yet finished.

The readers of this address, and indeed the whole world at large, may be distributed into two kinds of people; of those who are travelling to Canaan, and of those who are going the direct contrary way. There are but two roads: the broad, which leadeth to destruction; and the narrow, which opens into life. Travellers all mankind are; and travellers at a very swift rate. The grand point is, Where art thou travelling to?

Are you desirous of knowing whither thy footsteps tend; and toward what country thy face is set? Consult the way-marks. Look at the directing posts. Have recourse to the Scriptures of truth. But study them on your knees, *i. e.* in a spirit of prayer, and with the simplicity of a little child.

Suppose, for instance, we consult John xvi. 8? where Christ thus describes the office of the Holy Ghost, and the effects which his converting influence has on the human mind. "When he is come," when the blessed Spirit visits and renews the chosen and redeemed world, "He shall convince the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment." *i. e.* He shall (first) feelingly demonstrate to them their absolute sinnership, and their total helplessness; working in them a deep sense and real hatred of self and sin: he shall (secondly) lead them to rest on Christ, and on his righteousness, alone for justification; and he shall (thirdly) spiritualize their desires, refine their tempers, sanctify their lives, and make them ready to every good word and work.

Now, has God the Spirit done these things for you? Has he wrought, or begun to work this three-fold conviction in your soul? If he has not, nor so much as kindled a groaning desire of it in your breast, I dare not give you the right hand of fellowship. I dare not salute you as one of my fellow-travellers to the kingdom of God. No. You are yet in Egypt. And you will quickly be in hell, except the Holy Ghost take you by the hand, and take you by the heart, and lead you in Christ to Zion.

But, if you have ground to hope that this work of grace is experienced by you in some degree; if, on looking at your soul in the gospel-glass, you can discern the traces of faith, love, repentance, and sanctification there; you are in the number of them who have set forth to go into the land of Canaan, and into the land of Canaan you shall come. Two things are particularly needful for you to observe: 1. That the world will endeavour to turn your feet out of the narrow way. If the wicked are so muzzled by Providence, that they cannot bite; they will snarl at least. If they cannot do you real injury, they will probably pelt you with scandal, and sneer at you for being, in their opinion, righteous overmuch. But let not this discourage you. Regard it no more than a traveller would mind a little dust upon his shoes. Imitate the blind man in the gospel: who the more he was exhorted by the multitude to hold his peace, cried out so much the more, Thou Son of David, have mercy on me. 2. Beware of sin. Shun the remotest appearance of evil. Think it not enough to be for the main in the right way; but endeavour to walk steadily and erectly in that way. Though a truly converted person cannot fall, so as to turn back finally, and perish everlastingly; yet, without due attention, and watching unto prayer, he may kill his peace and joy in believing, and forfeit that inward testimony of the Holy Spirit, that felt fellowship with God, and that sweet tranquillity of conscience, without which living scarcely deserves the name of life. It is a sad thing when a saint is overturned on the road, by being off his guard.

(*y*) Εγενετο—απενεχθηναι αυτον υπο των αγγελων, *i. e.* He [viz. his soul] was carried away, or borne off by angels (Luke xvi. 22.) Thus, as in life, so at death does every one of God's elect experience the utmost accomplishment of that promise: He shall give his angels charge concerning thee, and in their hands shall they bear thee: acting as thy invisible shields on earth; and, at last, as thy chariots and retinue, which shall convey thee to heaven. Such honour have all the saints! Hallelujah.

Though he cannot lose his soul, yet a fall may break the neck of his comforts, dislocate his frame, and make him go halting to his journey's end. "The devil," as one justly remarks, "is never better pleased than when he can roll a child of God in the dirt." Beg the Lord, therefore, to hold up your goings in his paths, that your footsteps slip not. Be it the language of your heart, and of your conduct, I have put off my immoral coat; how then shall I again put it on? I have washed my feet; and almighty grace forbid that I should any more defile them.

Yet, if you fall, be humbled; but do not despair. Pray afresh to God, who is able to raise you up, and to set you on your feet again. Look to the blood of the covenant; and say to the Lord from the depth of your heart,

> Rock of ages, cleft for me,
> Let me hide myself in thee!
> Foul, I to the fountain fly,
> Wash me, Saviour, or I die

Make those words of the apostle your motto: "Perplexed, but not in despair; cast down, but not destroyed." It has been justly observed that "it is one thing to fall into the mire, another thing to lie in it." Away to the cross of Christ, and to the Spirit of God, for cleansing and for healing. Your Covenant Father will then sprinkle you from an evil conscience, and make you recover the time and the ground you have lost. And, when thus graciously restored, look upon sin as the bitterest calamity that can befal you: and consider those who would entice you to it, or be your partners in it, as the very worst enemies you have.

Soon shall we arrive where not only sin, but every temptation to it, and every propensity toward it, will cease for ever. As a good man once said on his death-bed, "Hold out, faith and patience! yet a little while, and I shall need you no longer."—When faith and patience have done and suffered their appointed work, the disciples of Christ shall ascend from the wilderness to paradise. With joy and gladness shall they be brought, and shall enter into the king's palace: singing, as they mount, "Lift up your heads, ye celestial gates! and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors, that the heirs of glory may enter in. We are they, some of whom came out of great tribulation: but all of whom have washed our robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. Stirred up by his effectual grace, we went forth to go into the land of Canaan; and, clothed with his righteousness and preserved by his power, into the land of Canaan we are come." Even so. Amen.

A SHORT ESSAY ON ORIGINAL SIN.

By one man's Disobedience many were made sinners.—Rom. v. 19.

Self-knowledge is a science to which most persons pretend; but, like the philosopher's stone, it is a secret which none are masters of in its full extent. The mystic writers suppose that before the fall, man's body was transparent, analogous to a system of animated chrystal. Be this as it may, we are sure that, was the mind now to inhabit a pellucid body, so pellucid as to make manifest all the thoughts and all the evil workings of the holiest heart on earth, the sight would shock and frighten and astonish even the most profligate sinner on this side hell. Every man would be an insupportable burden to himself, and a stalking horror to the rest of his species. For which reasons among others,

> *Heaven's Sovereign saves all beings but himself*
> *That hideous sight, a naked human heart.*

The most enlightened believer in the world knows not the utmost of his natural depravation, nor is able to fathom that inward abyss of iniquity which is perpetually throwing up mire and dirt; and which, like a spring of poison at the bottom of a well, infects and discolours the whole mass Let the light of Scripture and of grace give us ever such humbling views of ourselves, and lead us ever so far into the chambers of imagery within, there still are more and greater abominations beyond: and, somewhat like the ages of eternity, the farther we advance the more there is to come.

The heart of man, says God by the prophet, is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked: who can know it?—In me, said the apostle, that is, in my flesh, abstracted from supernatural grace, dwelleth no good thing.—And, says a greater than both, From within, out of the heart of men, proceed evil thoughts, adulteries, fornications, murders, thefts, covetousness, wickedness, deceit, lasciviousness, an evil eye, blasphemy, pride, foolishness: all these evil things come from within, and defile the man (Mark vii). Is it possible that any who calls himself a Christian can, after considering the above declaration of Christ, dare to term the human mind a sheet of white paper? No: it is naturally a sheet of paper blotted and blurred throughout. So blotted and defiled all over, that nothing but the inestimable blood of God, and the invincible spirit of grace, can make it clean and white.

Neither the temptations of Satan by which we are exercised, nor the bad examples of others which we are so prone to imitate, are the causes of this spiritual and moral leprosy. They are but the occasions of stirring up and of calling forth the latent corruptions within. If (as David speaks) our inward parts were not very wickedness, if we were not shapen in iniquity and conceived in sin, if enmity to God and holiness was not moulded into our very frame and texture; temptation and bad example would bid fair to excite out abhorrence, instead of engaging our compliance, conciliating our

imitation, and operating with such general success. The truth is, we all have an inherent bias to bad, which readily falls in with the instigations that present themselves from without. *Similis similem sibi quærit.* Inward and exterior evil catch at each other by a sort of sympathy, resulting from a sameness of affection, nature and relationship. It is the degenerate tinder in the heart which takes fire from the sparks of temptation. Hold a match to snow, and no inflammation will ensue. But apply the match to gunpowder, and the whole train is in a blaze.

How must such a heart appear if exposed to the intuitive view of an observing angel! And, above all, how black must it appear in the eyes of immense and uncreated purity, of the God who is glorious in holiness, and compared with whom the very heavens are not clean! Judge of the infinite malignity of sin by the price which was paid to redeem us from it, and by the power which is exerted in converting us from the dominion of it. For the former, no less than the incarnation and death of God's own Son could avail. For the latter, no less agency than that of God's own Spirit can suffice.

The hints already premised give us (as far as they go) the true moral picture of a fallen soul: and such would all the descendants of Adam appear in their own eyes, and feel themselves to be, did they, by the light of the Holy Spirit, see themselves in the pure unflattering glass of God's most perfect law.

This likewise is the view in which the Church of England represents the state of man by nature. "Man, of his own nature, is fleshly and carnal, corrupt and naught, sinful and disobedient to God! without any spark of goodness in him, without any virtuous or godly motion, only given to evil thoughts and wicked deeds. As for the marks of the Spirit, the fruits of faith, charitable and godly motions, if he have any at all in him, they proceed only of the Holy Ghost, who is the only worker of our sanctification, and maketh us new men in Christ Jesus (*z*)."

Strong as this painting is, it is no caricature. Not a single feature of our natural corruption is exaggerated or over-charged. You who read, and I who write; yea, every individual of mankind that now lives or shall hereafter be born; may with the Church of old plead guilty to the whole indictment, saying, We are all as an unclean thing, and all our righteousnesses are as filthy rags.

I have read of an English painter who after only once meeting any stranger in the streets, could go home and paint that person's picture to the life. Let us suppose that one whose likeness has been taken in this manner should happen to see unexpectedly his own picture. It would startle him. The exact similitude of shape, air, features, and complexion would convince him that the representation was designed for himself though, his own name be not affixed to it, and he is conscious that he never sat for the piece. In the Scriptures of truth we have a striking delineation of human depravity through original sin. Though we have not sat to the inspired painters, the likeness suits us all. When the Spirit of God holds up the mirror and shews us to ourselves, we see, we feel, we deplore, our apostacy from, and our inability to recover the image of, his rectitude. Experience proves the horrid likeness true; and we need no arguments to convince us that in and of ourselves we are spiritually wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind and naked.

But how came man into a state so different from that in which Adam was created? Few enquiries are so important; and no subject has given occasion to more various and extensive disquisition. Multitudes of conjectures have been advanced, and volumes upon volumes have been written concerning the origin of human ill.

That moral evil, in almost every possible branch of it; and that natural evil, as the consequence of moral; do actualy abound all over the world, are truths too evident to be denied. That the matter of fact is so will not admit of a moment's dispute. But concerning the primary cause and inlet of these evils, men are not so unanimously agreed.

Some of the more considerable and judicious philosophers of heathen antiquity, particularly the oriental ones (from whom the opinion was learned and adopted by Plato), supposed that the spirits which occupy and animate human bodies were a sort of fallen angels who, having been originally spirits of very superior rank, were, for misbehaviour in a nobler state of pre-existence, deposed from their thrones, degraded into human souls, and shut up in mortal bodies. Of course those philosophers considered this earth as a place of banishment, and bodies as a kind of moving dungeon, where souls wander about like prisoners at large, obnoxious to a vast variety of pains and inconveniences; by way of penance for past misdemeanors, and as a means of gradual purification, prelusive to their eventual restitution to the happiness from which they had fallen.

Conformably to this view of things, Plato chose to derive σωμα, the Greek word for body; from σημα, which signifies a tomb or sepulchre: on supposition that the body

(*z*) Homily for Whitsunday, Part 1.

is that to a soul which a grave is to the body; and that souls emerge from the body by death as a bird flies from a broken cage, or as a captive escapes from a place of painful and dishonourable confinement.

Not a few of the eastern sages pursued the idea of the pre-existence of souls to such a length as to suppose that the immaterial principles, which undoubtedly actuate the bodies of animalculæ, of insects, and of brutes, are no other than fallen spirits, reduced to a class of extreme degradation: that, in proportion to the crimes committed in their unembodied state, they were thrust into material vehicles of greater or of less dignity: and that, passing through a successive series of transmigrations from a meaner body to a nobler, they rise, by continual progression, from animalculæ to insects, from insects to birds or beasts, and from these to men; till at last they recover the full grandeur and felicity of their primitive condition. All these supposed changes and removals from a humbler body to a higher were considered, by the philosophers who adopted this hypothesis, as so many stages both of punishment and of purgation; by which, as by steps rising one above another, the imprisoned spirit grew more and more refined, its powers widened into greater expansion, and itself approached nearer to its original and its final perfection.

I must own that this was a train of conjectures extremely ingenious, and not a little plausible, when viewed as formed by persons who had not the light of the Bible to see by. And I believe that, for my own part, I should have fallen in with this system, as the least improbable, and the least embarrassed, of any other, had not the gracious providence of God assigned my birth and residence in a country where the Scriptures of inspiration kindly hold the lamp to benighted reason.

St. Paul, within the compass of two or three lines, comprises more than all the numberless uninspired volumes which have been written on the subject. By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin: and so [*ὥστως*, in this way, or by this chain of mediums] death (*διηλθεν*) went through upon all men; inasmuch as all have sinned. Rom. v. 12.

It is evident, hence, that previously to the first offence of that one man, who was the father of the human race, he was sinless, and, of course, happy and deathless. —Let us for a moment carry back our meditations to the garden of Eden, and endeavour to take a view of Adam prior to his fall.

The sacred oracles acquaint us that the first man was created spiritually and morally upright; nay, that he was made after the image of God; and was (in some respects, and with due allowance for the necessary imperfection inseparable from a creature) the living transcript of him that formed Him.

This phrase, the image of God, is to be understood chiefly in a spiritual, and entirely in a figurative, sense. It does not refer to the beauty and to the erect stature of the body; but to the holy and sublime qualifications of the soul. The grand outlines therefore of that divine resemblance, in which Adam was constructed, were holiness, knowledge, dominion, happiness, and immortality.

But man, being thus made in honour, abode not as he was made. For reasons best known to that unerring Providence which ordains and directs every event, it was the Divine pleasure to permit an apostate spirit (whose creation and fall were prior to the formation of man) to present the poisonous cup of temptation: whereof our first parents tasted, and, in tasting, fell.

Whether any of the dismal effects which instantly ensued were partly owing to some physical quality in the fruit itself; or whether all the effects which followed were simply annexed to that act of disobedience by the immediate will and power of God; were an enquiry more curious perhaps than important.

So also is another question: which relates to the particular kind of fruit borne by the forbidden tree. Whether it was a pomegranate or a cluster of grapes; an apple or a citron, Scripture has not revealed, nor are we concerned to know.

This only we are sure of, from Scripture, reason, observation, and our own experience; that mankind, from that day forward, universally lost the perfection of God's image, that *θεια φυσις*, and *ὁμοιωσις τῳ Θεῳ*, or divine nature, and likeness to God, as Plato calls it: and sunk into, what the same philosopher styles, *το αθεον*, a state ungodlike, and undivine. Our purity vanished. Our knowledge suffered an almost total eclipse. Our dominion was abridged into very narrow bounds: for no sooner did man revolt from his obedience to God than a vast part of the animal creation revolted from its obedience to man. Our happiness was exchanged for a complication of infirmities and miseries. And our immortality was cut short by one-half: a moiety of us (*i. e.* the body) being sentenced to return for a time to the dust whence it sprang. The immortality of the soul seems to be the only feature of the divine likeness which the fall has left entire.

Hence, even from Adam's transgression, proceeds that *αταξια*, or disorder and irregularity, both of being and events, diffused through the whole world. Hence it is that the earth brings forth weeds and poisonous vegetables That the seasons are variable.

That the air is fraught with diseases. And that the very food we eat administers to our future dissolution, even at the time of its contributing to our present sustenance.

Hence, also, proceed the pains and the eventual death of inferior animals. All sublunary nature partakes of that curse which was inflicted for the sin of man. Whether these ranks of innocent beings, which are involved in the consequences of human guilt shall, at the times of the restitution of all things (*a*) be restored to a life of happiness and immortality, (which they seem to have enjoyed in paradise before the fall, and of which they became deprived by a transgression not their own); rests with the wisdom and goodness of that God whose mercy is over all his works. It is my own private opinion (and as such only I advance it), that Scripture seems, in more places than one, to warrant the supposition. Particularly, Rom. viii. 19—21, which I would thus render and thus punctuate: The earnestly wishful expectancy of the creation, *i. e.* of the brute creation; that implicit thirst after happiness, wrought and kneaded into the very being of every creature endued with sensitive life; virtually waits with vehement desire, for that appointed, glorious manifestation of the sons of God which is to take place in the millenniary state: for the creation, the lower animal creation, was subjected to (*b*) uneasiness, not willing it, or through any voluntary transgression committed by themselves; but by reason or on account of (*c*) him who subjected them to pain and death, in hope, and with a view, that this very creation shall likewise be emancipated from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God. What a field of pleasing and exalted speculation does this open to the benevolent and philosophic mind!

But I return to what more immediately concerns ourselves.

When Adam fell, he fell not only as a private individual, but also as a public person: just as the second Adam, Jesus Christ the righteous, did afterward, in the fulness of time, obey and die, as the covenant Surety and representative of all his elect people.

The first Adam acted in our names, and stood in our stead, and represented our persons, in the covenant of works. And, since his posterity would have partaken of all the benefits resulting from his continuance in the state of integrity; I see not the injustice of their bearing a part in the calamities consequent on his apostacy We cannot but observe in the common and daily course of things, that children very frequently inherit the diseases, the defects, the poverty and the losses of their parents. And if this be not unjust in the dispensations of Providence (for if it was unjust, God would certainly order matters otherwise); why should it be deemed inequitable that moral as well as natural evil, that the cause as well as the effects, should be transmitted, by a sad but uninterrupted succession, from father to son?

Many of the truths revealed in Scripture require some intenseness of thought, some labour of investigation to apprehend them clearly, and to understand them rightly. But the natural depravation of mankind is a fact which we have proofs of every hour, and which stares us in the face, let us look which way we will.

Indeed we need not look around us for demonstration that our whole species has lost the image of God. If the Holy Spirit have at all enlightened us into a view of our real state, we need but look within ourselves for abundant proof that our nature must have been morally poisoned in its source; that our first parent sinned; and that we, with the rest of his sons, are sharers in his fall. So that, as good bishop Beveridge observes (in his commentary on the ninth of our Church Articles), "Though there be no such words as original sin to be found in Scripture, yet we have all too sad experience that there is such a thing as original sin to be found in our hearts."

Heathens themselves have felt and acknowledged that they were depraved beings; and depraved, not by imitation only, but by nature; or (as the Church of England well expresses it) by "birth-sin."—Hence that celebrated saying, so usual among the Greek philosophers, *Συμφυτον ανθρωποις το ἁμαρτανειν*, *i. e.* moral evil is implanted in men from the first moment of their existence. Plato goes still farther in his treatise "*De Legibus:*" and directly affirms that man, if not well and carefully cultivated, is *Ζωον αγριωτατον ὁποσα φυει γη*, the wildest and most savage of all animals. Aristotle asserts the same truth, and almost in the same words with Plato. The very poets asserted the doctrine of human corruption. So Propertius: *Unicuique dedit vitiam natura creato; i.e.* "Nature has infused vice into every created being." And Horace observes, "that youth is *cereus in vitium flecti;*" or, "admits the impressions of evil, with all the ease and readiness of yielding wax."—And

(*a*) Acts iii. 21.

(*b*) So the word, *ματαιοτης*, here used by the apostle, may fairly, and without any straining, be rendered. — Ponitor *ματαιος*, substantive "pro אין, molestia. Pro, עף, vastator, vastitas, vastatio. *Ματαιοτης* pro דוד Erumna." Minterti Lexic. in voc.

(*c*) By him who subjected the brutal world to miseries, unprocured by any sin of their own; may be understood Adam himself: or rather, the most high God, whose will it was that the welfare, not only of mankind, but also of every thing that lives should be suspended on Adam's obedience.

why? Let the same poet inform us. *Nemo vitiis sine nascitur:* "The seeds of vice are innate in every man."

Whence proceed errors in judgment and immoralities in practice? Evil tempers, evil desires, and evil words? Why is the real gospel preached by so few ministers, and opposed by so many people? Wherefore is it that the virtues have so generally took their flight? that

> ——— *Fugere pudor, verumque fidesque;*
> *In quorum subiere locum fraudesque, dolique,*
> *Insidiaque, et vis, et amor sceleratus habendi?*

Original sin answers all these questions in a moment. Adam's offence was the *peccatum peccans* (as I think St. Austin nervously calls it), the sin that still goes on sinning in all mankind: or, to use the just and emphatic words of Calvin (Institut. l. iv. c. 15.) *Hæc perversitas nunquam in nobis cessat, sed novos assiduè fructus parit; non secus atque incensa fornax flammam et scintillas perpetuo effiat, aut scaturigo aquam sine fine egerit:* "The corruption of our nature is always operative, and constantly teeming with unholy fruits: like a heated furnace which is perpetually blazing out; or like an inexhaustible spring of water, which is for ever bubbling up and sending forth its rills."

So terrible a calamity as the universal infection of our whole species is and must have been the consequence of some grand and primary transgression. Such a capital punishment would never have been inflicted on the human race, by the God of infinite Justice, but for some adequate preceding offence. It is undeniably certain that we who are now living are in actual possession of an evil nature; which nature we brought with us into the world; it is not of our own acquiring, but was

> "Cast and mingled with our very frame;
> Grew with our growth, and strengthened with our strength."

We were, therefore, in a state of severe moral punishment as soon as we began to be. And yet it was impossible for us to have sinned, in our own persons, antecedently to our actual existence.

This reflection leads up our enquiry to that doctrine which alone can solve the (otherwise insuperable) difficulty now started, *viz.* to that doctrine which asserts the imputation of Adam's disobedience to all his offspring. And which is, I. founded on Scripture evidence; and II. adopted by the Church of England; and III. not contrary to human reason. I will just touch on these three particulars.

I. God's word expressly declares that By the disobedience of one man many were constituted sinners; Rom. v. 19. They are in the divine estimation considered as guilty of Adam's own personal breach of the prohibitory command. Now the judgment of God is always according to truth. He would not deem us guilty unless we were so. And guilty of our first parent's offence we cannot be, but in a way of imputation.

By the offence of one [δι ενος παραπτωματος, by one transgression], judgment came upon all men, unto condemnation; Rom. v. 18. which could not be unless that one transgression was placed to our account.

By one man, sin entered into the world, and death by sin: and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned. Rom. v. 12. Yea, death reigned, and still continues to reign, even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression: v. 14. Infants are here designed by the apostle: who have not sinned actually and in their own persons as Adam did, and yet are liable to temporal death. Wherefore, then, do they die? Is not death the wages of sin? Most certainly. And seeing it is incontestibly clear that not any individual among the numberless millions who have died in infancy was capable of committing actual sin; it follows that they sinned representatively and implicitly in Adam. Else they would not be entitled to that death which is the wages of sin, and to those diseases by which their death is occasioned, and to that pain which most of them experience in dying. A majority of the human race are supposed to die under the age of seven years. A phenomenon, which we should never see, under the administration of a just and gracious God, if the young persons so dying had not been virtually comprehended in the person of Adam when he fell, and if the guilt of his fall was not imputed to them. Nothing but the imputation of that can ever be able to account for the death of infants, any more than for the vitiosity, the manifold sufferings, the imperfections, and the death of men.

II. This is the doctrine of the Church of England. "We were cast into miserable captivity by breaking of God's commandment in our first parent Adam." (Second Homily on the Misery of Man.)

"Original sin is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man." (Article IX.) The corruption, or defilement, is our's by inherency: we ourselves are the seat of it. But original sin can be our fault only by imputation, and in no other possible way.

"Dearly beloved, ye have prayed that our Lord Jesus Christ would vouchsafe to release [this child] of his sins." (Baptismal office). In the estimation, therefore, of our Church, every infant is not only chargeable with sin in the singular number; but with sins in the plural. To wit, with intrinsic defilement as the subject of an unholy nature and with the imputed guilt of the first man's apostacy from God.

III. There is nothing contrary in all this

to human reason, and to the usual practice of men.

There is not a single nobleman, or person of property, who does not act, or who has not acted, as the covenant-head of his posterity; supposing him to have any.

Even a lease of lives signed by a legal freeholder; and sometimes the total alienation of an estate for ever, are binding on (perhaps the unborn) heirs and successors of the person who grants the lease, or signs away the property.

A person of quality commits high treason. For this, he not only forfeits his own life, but also his blood (*i. e.* his family) is tainted in law, and all his titles and possessions are forfeited from his descendants. His children and their children to the end of the chapter lose their peerage and lose their lands, though the father only was (we will suppose) in fault.

Thus the honours and estates of all the heirs in England are suspended on the single loyalty of each present possessor respectively!

Where, then, is the unreasonableness of the imputation of Adam's crime? Why might not the welfare and the rectitude of all his posterity be suspended on the single thread of his integrity? And what becomes of the empty cavils that are let off against those portions of holy writ which assure us that in Adam all die?

But wherein did Adam's primary sin consist? Of what nature was that offence, which

"*Brought death into the world, and all our woe?*"

The scholastic writers, whose distinctions are frequently much too subtle, and sometimes quite insignificant, seem to have hit the mark of this enquiry with singular skill and exactness.

They very properly distinguish original sin, into what they call *peccatum originans*, and *peccatum originatum*.

By *peccatum originans* they mean the *ipsissimum*, or the very act itself, of Adam's offence in tasting the forbidden fruit.

By *peccatum originatum* they mean that act considered as transmitted to us. Which transmission includes its imputation to us, in point of guilt; and that internal hereditary pollution which has vitiated every faculty of man from that moment to this. With regard to the latter, a very slight acquaintance with ourselves must convince us that we have it. And as for the former [*viz.* the article of imputation], it could not have taken place, if Adam had not sustained our persons, and stood or fallen as our legal representative.

Consider original sin as resident in us, and it is very justly defined by our Church to be that corrupt bias, "whereby man is very far gone [*quàm longissimè distet*, is removed to the greatest distance possible] from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil; so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit." (Art. IX). Upon which definition the life of every man is, more or less, a practical comment.

But, *Honos erit huic quoque pomo.* Many, and of the utmost importance, are the consequences deducible from this great Scripture doctrine. I shall briefly point out a few.

1. We learn hence that which the antient heathens in vain attempted to discover; *viz.* the door by which natural evil (as sickness, afflictions, sorrow, pain, death) entered into the world: namely the sin of Adam. Though the reasons why God permitted Adam to sin are as deeply in the dark as ever; what we do know of God entitles him surely to this small tribute at our hands, *viz.* that we repose our faith, with an absolute, an implicit, and an unlimited acquiescence, on his unerring wisdom and will: safely confident that what such a Being ordains and permits, is and must be right; however incapable we may find ourselves, at present, to discern and comprehend the full propriety of his moral government.

2. Hence, too, we learn the infinite freeness, and the unspeakable preciousness, of his electing love. Why were any chosen, when all might justly have been passed by? Because he was resolved, for his own name's sake, to make known the riches of his glory, *i. e.* of his glorious grace, on the vessels of mercy, whom he therefore prepared unto glory.

3. Let this, O believer, humble you under the mighty hand of God: and convince you, with deeper impression than if ten thousand angels were to preach it from heaven, that election is not of works, but of him that calleth. Not your merit, but his unmerited mercy, mercy irrespective of either your good works or your bad ones, induced him to write your name in the Lamb's book of life.

4. So totally are we fallen by nature, that we cannot contribute any thing towards our recovery. Hence it was God's own arm which brought salvation. It is he that makes us his people, and the sheep of his pasture; not we ourselves. The Church says truly, when she declares that "We are by nature the children of God's wrath: but we are not able to make ourselves the children and inheritors of God's glory. We are sheep that run astray, but we cannot of our own power come again to the sheep-fold.—We have neither faith, charity, hope, patience, nor any thing else that good is, but of God. These virtues be the fruits of the Holy Ghost, and not the fruits of man.——We cannot think a good thought of ourselves: much less can we say well, or do well of ourselves." (Hom. on the misery of man). We are, in short, what the Scripture affirms us to be, naturally

dead in trespasses and sins: and no dead man can make himself to differ from another. Conversion is a new birth, a resurrection, a new creation. What infant ever begat himself? What inanimate carcase ever quickened and raised itself? What creature ever created itself?

Boast not then of your freewill: for it is like what the prophet saith of Nineveh, empty, and void, and waste. They that feel not this, resemble delirious persons in a high fever: who imagine that nothing ails them, while in fact they are at the very gates of death. Nay, mankind in their native state are more than at the gates of death. The traveller, in the parable, who went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among robbers, is said to have been left half-dead: but the degenerate sons of Adam are, spiritually speaking, stark-dead to God. An unrenewed man has not one spiritual sense left: no hearing of the promises; no sight of his own misery, nor of God's holiness, nor of the perfect purity of the law, nor of Christ as an absolute Saviour, nor of the blessed Spirit as the revealer of Christ in the heart; no taste of the Father's everlasting love, nor of communion with him through the ministration of the Holy Ghost; no feeling of grace in a way of conviction, comfort, and sanctification; no hungerings and thirstings after spiritual enjoyments and sweet assurances; no motive tendencies, no outgoings of soul after the blood, righteousness, and intercession of Jesus Christ. If we experience these, they are indications of spiritual life: and we may take those reviving words to ourselves, Flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but my Father who is in heaven.

5. Beg the Lord to shew you the depth of your fall. Free grace, finished salvation, imputed righteousness, atoning blood, unchangeable mercy, and the whole chain of evangelical blessings, will then be infinitely precious to your heart.

6. Prize the covenant of redemption, which is a better covenant and founded upon better promises than that which Adam broke. The covenant of works said "Do, and live: sin, and die." The covenant of grace says, "I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins and iniquities will I remember no more." The covenant of works insisted on a perfection of personal obedience: the covenant of grace provided and accepts the perfect atonement and righteousness of Christ as ours.

This shews both the folly and wickedness of depending on our own works for salvation. Which soul-destroying delusion is founded on ignorance that the covenant of works was broken and annulled the very moment Adam fell. I mean annulled, as to any possibility of salvation by it: else it is still in full force as the ministration of condemnation and death to every soul that finally clings to it for pardon and eternal life. Man, unfallen, might have been saved by works. But there is no deliverance for fallen man, except by the free grace of the Father, and the imputed righteousness of a sacrificed Redeemer. —Therefore,

7. Let the sense of our original depravation, of our continued vileness, and the impossibility of our being saved in a legal way, induce us to prize the blood, obedience, and intercession of Jesus, the second Adam, the Lord from heaven. This is the inference drawn by the apostle himself from the doctrine I have been asserting. Therefore, says he, as by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men [even upon all the elect themselves] unto condemnation; so, by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men [upon all the elect, believing world] unto justification of life: for as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners; so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous. Rom. v. 18, 19.—And elsewhere St. Paul reasons in the same manner: All [*i. e.* all God's elect, no less than others] have sinned and come short of the glory of God. What is the consequence? It is immediately added, being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ. Rom. iii. 23, 24.

8. Hence likewise appear the necessity and value of effectual calling. Why does our Lord say, that except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God? Because we are totally sinful and corrupt by nature: as unfit for, and as incapable of, enjoying the glories of the celestial world, as a beetle is of being elevated to the dignity and office of a first minister of state.

9. Since such is the natural condition of man with regard to spiritual things; take heed that you do not look upon election, justification, redemption, and regeneration, as mere technical terms, belonging to divinity as a system, or science. They are infinitely more. These and such-like terms are expressive of the greatest and most important realities: without the experience of which, we are condemned, ruined, lost.

10. The doctrine of original sin is the basis of the millennium. The earth, which is disordered and put out of course through the offence of man, will be restored to its primitive beauty, purity, and regularity, when Jesus shall descend to reign in person with his saints. 2 Pet. iii. 13.

11. Original sin accounts for the remaining imperfections, too visible in them that are born of God. The brightest saints below ever had, and ever will have, their darksides. Abraham, Noah, Job, David, Hezekiah, Jeremiah, Paul, Peter, John, were sanctified but in part. On earth, God's converted

people are each a compound of light and shades. In glory we shall be all light, without any mixture of shade whatever.

12. Since the earth and its inhabiters are degenerated from their original state, let not believers be afraid to die.

"Death has no pang, but what frail life imparts;
Nor life true joy, but what kind death improves."

By quitting its mortal cage, the heaven-born soul is delivered from all its sins and cares and pains; and kindles into perfection of holiness and majesty and joy. At the appointed time the body too will partake of complete redemption; and be delivered, totally and eternally delivered into the glorious liberty and dignity of the children of God.—Accomplish, Lord, the number of thine elect, and hasten thy kingdom!

AN ESSAY ON THE VARIOUS FEARS TO WHICH GOD'S PEOPLE ARE LIABLE.

"Within were fears." 2 Cor. vii. v.

FEAR is, properly speaking, that uneasiness of mind which arises from the apprehension of some impending evil.

Spiritually taken, fear, as it respects God for it's object, is of two kinds; legal and evangelical; *i. e.* law-fear, and gospel-fear.

Legal fear is a horror occasioned by the mere expectation of punishment, without any mixture of love to the punisher. Such is the fear of the apostate angels; and such the fear which agitates reprobate souls, when conscience is let loose, and when the thunderings and lightnings of God's fiery law set themselves in array against the haters of Christ.—On the contrary

Evangelical fear is peculiar to God's regenerate people: and consists in a melting humiliation for sin; accompanied at times, especially in secret prayer, with gracious groanings which cannot be uttered; with a degree of self-abhorrence, and of self-renunciation; with a longing for the favour, the resemblance, and the presence of God in the soul. And all this, not from a mere wish to avoid punishment; but likewise from a concern for having lost the image of God's holiness, for having crucified the Saviour of sinners, and for having grieved and been estranged from the adorable Spirit of grace. It is easy to observe that here is a strong mixture of love toward all the persons of the Trinity: and it is by this love (though perhaps weak as a burning thread, and small as a grain of mustard-seed) that evangelical fear is chiefly distinguished from legal. The latter is the unaffectionate awe of an indignant slave, who is forced to submit against his will, who hates the hand that strikes, who loves nothing but ease, and dreads nothing but the lash. While the sinner who experiences the fear which is evangelical, abhors sin for its own sake, as contrary to the nature and command of the blessed God; and abhors himself for sin's sake, and because he is the subject of that detested principle which sets him at so great distance from the moral likeness of infinite purity and excellence.

Concerning legal fear, we read that there is no fear [*i. e.* no fear of that kind] in love: for perfect love casteth out fear: meaning that the sense of God's love is no sooner shed abroad with full lustre and efficacy in the soul, than legal fear vanishes away, and continues extinct during the shine of God's Spirit on the conscience. Concerning evangelical fear we read, Blessed is the man that feareth always: who is tenderly solicitous to avoid anything and everything which may render him spiritually unlike that holy, glorious, and gracious Being, whom he ardently wishes to resemble and hold communion with.

But beside this filial, salutary fear, which is one grand mark of regeneration, a believer, while he sojourns upon earth, is liable to fears of a mixed heterogeneous kind, which seem to be partly legal and partly evangelical. To this head may be referred anxious doubtings, painful misgivings, and the evil surmisings of remaining unbelief. These are occasioned, directly and immediately, by the imperfection of inherent grace below: and, remotely, by the permissive appointment of God, who has decreed that perfect happiness must be waited for till we get home to heaven. Were our graces complete, our bliss would be complete too: in which case we should no longer be men but angels. For a saint made perfect is an angel of the highest order, and a perfection of grace is glory itself.

In the meanwhile, it is even needful for the Christian traveller to be exercised with a thorn in the flesh; and to be at times in such a state as may convince him that earth is not his rest, or a mount whereon to pitch tabernacles of continuance; that he must carry his cross before he receives his crown: that he must combat before he conquers: and sow in tears, antecedently to his reaping in joy. I believe from Scripture, from observation, and from experience, that all God's people do, occasionally, pass under the cloud, and are baptized unto Christ in the cloud and in the sea of spiritual darkness and distress. Jesus himself, though he had no sin, was thus baptized. All thy waves and storms (said David, in the person of the Messiah, and addressing himself to God the Father) are gone over me. Even from my youth up, thy terrors have I suffered with a troubled mind.

No wonder, then, that the members should be sprinkled with those waters which were poured in torrents on the mystic head.

And let the suffering members of Christ's elect body remember, to their great and endless comfort, that even tormenting fears are perfectly consistent with the reality of grace. This was the Psalmist's state, and the Psalmist's experience: Though I am sometimes afraid, yet put I my trust in thee.

Hence it is evident that faith and fear, though not good friends, are, sometimes, very near neighbours: yea, that they often lodge in one house, *i. e.* in one and the same heart. Indeed, they seldom appear together: for when the one walks abroad, the other usually keeps close within doors. When faith is alert and active, fear hangs its head, and pines. When fear is lively, faith takes to its bed, and languishes. So strong is the antipathy of the two principles, that the sickness of one is the health of the other.

They are perpetually quarrelling and skirmishing. And though fear now and then gives faith a home thrust, faith will most certainly (and sometimes she knows it) get the better at last, and survive her adversary. Yet, though faith will infallibly out-live fear, faith is not immortal. She too must die, and that by God's own hand: for she is so strong, even when weakest, that none can deprive her of existence but he that gave it. Her death will be a willing and a delightful one. When the hour comes, she herself will not wish to live a moment longer. The soul in which she dwells, being severed from its body, and taken up to heaven; faith, gladly and triumphantly expires, under the meridian blaze of sight. In the mean while, there are times when, brightening into full assurance, she longs for her own annihilation, and is even straitened until it be accomplished. At length, having acted as the believer's companion and guide through the wilderness, she sees him safe to the threshold of heaven: and, the very instant he steps over that threshold, and enters within the vail, she takes her leave of him for ever.

As to fear, though she may, in some believers, keep pace with faith, and even outrun faith, during the greater part of the earthly race; yet the waters of death (if she die not before) will kill her effectually and finally. The mere prospect of that stream may perhaps give her fresh vivacity and strength; but no sooner does she begin actually to touch that water than she expires; and the renewed soul, which had been, through her means, all its lifetime subject to bondage, passes the river, with courage, serenity, and joy. Holy desire cuts the cable. Faith hoists the flag. Prayer spreads the sail, and God's spirit breathes the auspicious breeze. All the graces of the heart are in exercise, and ply their oars to the music of hovering angels. The dividing waters present a smooth expanse for the ransomed of the Lord to pass over. All is harmony. All is bliss. And thus does the precious freight, the disembodied soul, land, in triumph, on the golden coast; and, hardly staying to take a view of her dead enemies on the opposite shore, makes directly to the presence of God, and to the throne of him that was slain.

Unwillingly I return to earth, and, withdrawing my mind from a contemplation of the glory that shall be revealed, descend to consider the various fears to which all God's converted people, and myself among the rest, are subject, while imprisoned in a body of clay.

Within are fears. For that sorceress, whose name is Fear, can transform herself into a multiplicity of shapes, though she is, in reality, the same identical hag in all.

Sometimes she assumes the mantle of pretended humility: and whispers that "we must not give absolute credit to God's covenant and promises, nor aspire to the comfort and enjoyment of them, for fear of being presumptuous."

Anon, she wears the mask of caution: "Do not rejoice in God's election, and in Christ's righteousness, for fear of being a self-deceiver." Whereas, in reality, all who can embrace the free favour of God, and all who can lay hold on the righteousness of Christ, have a covenant right to both. And why should not they, who have a right to these, rejoice in the God to whose rich and immutable grace they are indebted for it?

At another time, fear accosts us in the garb of affected holiness: "You must bring," says she, "a price in your hand, to God the Father; or Christ's redemption will profit you nothing. Do not undervalue yourself, by supposing that you can do no good work before you are justified. I tell you, that you must work for life and justification. You must do good works, in order to be accepted; and fulfil a string of terms and conditions, seeing you are to be saved for your works, because of your works, yea, according to the merits of your works." But thou, O believer in Christ, flee these abominable doctrines. Hearken not to them, as you value the glory of God, the freeness of grace, the riches of Christ, the interests of real holiness, and your own happiness. Remember that the conditions of fallen man's salvation are two, and no more: namely, perfect atonement for sin, and perfect obedience to the law. Both these conditions Christ has completely fulfilled, in the stead, and for the infallible salvation, of every soul that comes to his blood for cleansing, and to his righteousness for clothing. "To what end, then, serves faith?" To let thee into the knowledge, possession, and enjoyment of this free and finished redemption.

"And to what end serve good works?" Not to entitle us to God's favour, or even to pave (much less to pay) our way to his kingdom: but to glorify his name, to adorn his gospel, to evidence our adoption, and benefit others on our road to heaven.

Fear very frequently mimics the voice of prudence; and advises us, as a friend, "Not to bring odium and inconveniences upon ourselves, by too strict a moral walk, and by a too resolute assertion of the doctrines of Christ." How bitterly did poor Peter weep for having listened to this syren song! And what rending agonies of heart did he feel for his sham prudence, after the arrow of recovering grace, shot from the eye of Christ, had pierced his inmost soul! O thou almighty Son of God, save thy people from the fear of man. Not only pray for us, as thou didst for Peter, that our faith fail not (and thy prayer was heard: for his faith itself failed not, though his (*d*) profession of it did); but pray also, in our behalf, that our faith may never even seem to fail.

Fear is, sometimes, apt to beset those who, of all persons in the world, should have nothing to do with it, unless to trample it under their feet. I mean, the ministers of God's word. O ye standard-bearers of the Most High, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Good Mrs. Ayscough, who was burned for the Protestant faith, when she was offered her pardon at the stake, on condition she would renounce the truth, cried out, with holy indignation, I did not come hither to deny my Lord and master. I desire to remember her words, every time I ascend the pulpit. A mincing, timid, partial declaration of the gospel is a virtual denial of Christ himself. Rather die, with the gospel standard in your hands, than resign a thread of it to the enemy: like heroic Valasco, the Spanish general, who, when the Havannah was taken by the English scorned to surrender the national flag, and nobly expired with his colours wrapped round his arm. But there are seasons of personal dryness and darkness, when fear, like an armed man, assaults the faith and liveliness of God's ambassadors. They are, perhaps, at a loss even for a subject to preach from. All resources seem to be shut up. They flit in their own minds, from text to text, and for a long time can fix on none. They cry, in secret, Lord, how can we spread the table for the people, except thou bring the venison to our hands? or, with the disciples of old, whence shall we have bread for the multitude here in the wilderness? "The dear people flock to the word as doves to their windows; and we, alas, have little or nothing to feed them with." At such times of doubt and barrenness, cast yourself at large upon God, and distribute the word as you are enabled. In all probability, the fishes and the loaves will increase in your hands, and God will administer bread enough and to spare. It is kind and wise in the Holy Spirit to make us feel that we are nothing, and that the excellency of the power is of him and not of us. The lesson of dependence upon his arm of grace alone is profitable, though not always palatable, to our proud, deceitful hearts. To the glory of the divine faithfulness I say it, that, for my own part, some of my happiest pulpit-opportunities have been when I have gone up the stairs with trembling knees and a dejected spirit: nay (twice or thrice in my life-time) when I have been so far reduced as to be unable to fix on a text, till the psalm or hymn was almost over. These are not desirable trials: but they redound, however, to the praise of Him who has said, Without me ye can do nothing; and whose almighty love can elicit light out of darkness, even out of darkness that may be felt.

On the whole, let all God's people, both ministers and private Christians, come to the Lord by prayer, for deliverance from the fears that do most easily beset them. Bind them up in a bundle, and throw them at the foot of the cross, and implore God's spirit to shine them away. Be humbled on account of them; but not discouraged. Proclaim eternal hostility against unbelieving fear, in all its branches: but know that it is God who must teach your hands to war, and your fingers to fight.

No man appears to have been more subject to fears and cares than David: though he had been enabled to vanquish a lion and to slay a giant. What course did he take for relief, in his hours of distress and tremor? He prayed to him that is mighty to save. And his success was answerable. I sought the Lord, and he heard me: yea, he delivered me out of all my fears.

Several of the fears to which God's people are exposed have already been considered. The enumeration of a few more shall conclude the subject.

1. Weak believers are sometimes apt to be afraid that they are not in the number of God's elect. They can, indeed, say, with David, "Blessed is the man whom thou choosest, and causest to approach unto thee:" but they are not clearly satisfied that this blessedness is theirs.

For my own part, I look upon it as one of the best symptoms of a regenerate state, when a person is ardently desirous to know his election of God. It is an inquiry which the generality of mankind never trouble themselves about; and which none but a

(*d*) Defecit quidem professio in ore, non autem fides in corde.—AUGUSTIN.

true believer is concerned for in earnest. We read of some, in the Acts of the Apostles, who had never heard of such a person as the Holy Ghost: and, I fear, there are too many who have hardly ever heard whether there be such a thing as eternal, gratuitous, personal, and immutable election. Of those who have, too many set themselves to oppose it: and labour (though, blessed be God, they labour in vain) to stop up the very foundation of salvation, and to cut down that tree of life whose leaves and fruits are for the healing of the nations. A fierce free-will-sister in Cornwall was lately heard to say that she dreaded to open the Bible, for fear of meeting with predestination and election. And it has been affirmed of a very noted Arminian clergyman, that he should, one day, address his audience as follows: Brethren, many people talk about an electing God. I, on the contrary, assert that there is no such being. If there is an electing God, why does he not strike me dead before you all? But you see, my brethren, I am not struck dead. Therefore, there is no electing God.

Very different are the ideas of Christ's humbled, awakened servants. When a ray of God's everlasting love shines in upon their hearts they cry out, with the royal and devout predestinarian of ancient Israel, "How dear are thy counsels," *i. e.* thy purposes and decrees, "to me, O God! Oh, how great is the sum," *i. e.* how inestimable is the value "of them! If I should declare them, or speak of them, they are more than I am able to express." The Lord has some, yea, many names, even in our Sardis, who not only profess to believe the Scriptures of truth, but also make good their profession, by believing and by practically adorning the truths of the Scriptures. Such enlightened persons will ever be desirous not barely to admit those truths, in a mere doctrinal way alone, but to experience the efficacy of them, and to be feelingly interested in the blessings themselves.

Granting, however, that thousands of converted people have not attained to those heights of exalted consolation as to be able to say, with an unfaultering tongue, "Thou hast chosen me, and not cast me away:" yet is there some secret comfort even in waiting upon God for the joy of his salvation, in seeking the light of his countenance, and in crediting the truths and promises of the gospel at large. To those who are, by grace, led thus far, I would beg leave to propose the following questions, without presuming to wade more deeply into the sacred profound of those decrees which lie hid in God than his written word permits. By way, then, of combating your fears, let me ask:

Art thou desirous of choosing God in Christ to be thy Father, thy portion, and thy covenant God, here and ever? If you are, it is one happy proof that God has chosen thee to salvation, through sanctification of the spirit and belief of the truth. You could not choose him, if he had not first chosen you.

Is love to God, in any measure, kindled in thy heart? Or, if you are in any doubt as to this, do you wish to love him? Would you be glad to receive him, to embrace him, and to hold him fast, as your chief and only good? Take courage. Wishing is a degree of love. No man ever wished for the thing which he altogether hated. A wisher for Christ is a lover of Christ. And you could not love him if he had not first loved you. Wishing is a fruit of the Father's drawings.

Is the law of God written on thy mind? That is, can you say with the apostle, that "to will is present with you," and that you "delight in the law of God, after the inner man?" Would it make you easy and happy, and would you have the supreme desire of your heart, were you to be holy as God is holy, and pure as Christ is pure? Then you may add, as the apostle does, "I thank God, through Jesus Christ." The Lord would not thus have written his law (however imperfectly at present) upon thy heart, if the pen of his own free grace had not first written thy name in the book of life.

This is a blessed consideration: and as sure as it is blessed. Yet, stop not here: but pray for the witness of the Holy Spirit to bear unclouded testimony to thy spirit, that thou art a child of God. Say, as the Psalmist did, "Remember me, O Lord, with the favour that thou bearest to thy own people! O visit me with thy salvation, that I may see the good of thy chosen, that I may rejoice with the gladness of thy nation, and give thanks with thine inheritance." Wait the appointed time: and God will set that promise, as a seal, upon thy heart; "Fear not, for I have redeemed thee: I have called thee by thy name: thou art mine."

2. Saints are subject to another fear: *viz.* that they are not truly converted, and that their spot is not the spot of God's children. Nor do I wonder that, when grace is not in lively exercise, they are liable to apprehensions of this kind: when I consider man's absolute unworthiness, even in his best estate; and that astonishing mixture of good and evil which is more or less visible in saints below.

Though I am by no means an advocate for doubting; I yet am of opinion that, through the alchymy of divine wisdom, even doubts and fears, though not desirable in themselves, are ultimately subservient to the advantage of God's chosen: just as, in the material world, not a thorn is with-

out its use, and every bramble has its value.

Spiritual distresses and misgivings have a tendency, though grace, to keep us sensible of our sinfulness and helplessness (as Paul's temptations clipt the wings of his pride, and restrained him from being exalted above measure). They conduce to make us watchful and circumspect: to make us feel the pluse of our souls by frequent and severe self-examination: to kindle longing aspirations after God and communion with him: to lay us low at the footstool of Jehovah's sovereignty: to endear Christ's blood, righteousness, and intercession: and put us upon looking up to the Holy Spirit in prayer, for the support of his presence, and for the unction of his comforts, which alone are able to enlighten and to chase away the darkness of our minds.

There is likewise another particular which ought to encourage the mourners in Zion; namely, that it is impossible for any who have not been spiritually quickened from above, to pant for God as a thirsty land; to grieve, evangelically, from an heart-felt sense of sin; and to be pained after a godly sort. A good man of the last century somewhere observes, that "He who cries out I am dead; proves himself, by that very cry, to be alive." Can a dead person feel? Can a dead man complain? A believer may lament his deadness; but he cannot lament his death, without his lips refuting themselves. There must be spiritual life, or there could be no spiritual sensibility, no spiritual motion, no spiritual breathings. The pregnant woman that longs must be alive. If the Lord had not drawn you, you would not follow hard after him. Nor could you say, "The desire of my soul is to thy name and to the remembrance of thee;" unless God's Spirit had awakened that desire in your heart. If you was not truly converted, you would not be so anxious about the truth of your conversion. It is not the untamed bird of prey that pours the plaintive strain. No: it is the dove that mourns; it is the nightingale that sings with her breast against a thorn.

However, though a weeping state is a safe one, and not without its advantages; yet there is a still more excellent way. The diffident should be encouraged, but diffidence itself should not. Covet earnestly the best gifts. Aspire to the choicest attainments. Pray for unclouded manifestations. Cultivate spiritual fellowship with God in all the means of grace, both private and public. Endeavour to drink deep into holiness, and to be fruitful in every good word and work. Conversation with experienced Christians operates frequently as a step to gracious improvements. God's people are sometimes blessed to the rubbing off the rust of unbelief, and to the mutual elision of light and heat from each other.—Lay hold on Christ as well as you can, for wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption: committing yourself for better, for worse, to his grace, which worketh all in all. Thus it would be evident that you are indeed planted in the Lord's house, and belong to that invisible Church which he purchased with his own blood. Nay, you will gradually flourish in the courts of God, grow as the lily, and cast forth the root as Lebanon. Your conversion will be made clear to you. You will see your tokens. You will no longer have reason to doubt whether the good work of grace is begun in you: but your path, like a burning light, will shine more and more (in general) to the perfect day.

3. Believers are sometimes prone to fear that they have no real covenant-interest in Christ; or, that they are not in a state of pardon and justification. "Oh," says the doubting Christian, "if I could but know that I have redemption through the blood of Christ, even the forgiveness of my sins; that Christ undertook for me in the eternal covenant of grace, and that he is the Lord my righteousness; I should be happy indeed: but, alas! such knowledge is too wonderful and excellent for me; I cannot attain unto it." Be it so, that you cannot attain to it: God is not the less able to give it. He can, as the apostle expresses it, not only grant you, but even fill you with "the Spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of him." Therefore if you want assurance of salvation, ask it at the throne. But ask it with submission, and with a reserve to the will of God. Do not let your ultimate desires terminate in any thing short of God himself; nor so hang upon comforts as to overlook the Comforter. Assurances are the brightest bridal jewels of a soul that is married to Christ: but the Bridegroom himself is better than the jewels he gives; nor does he in general allow his bride to shine in them every day. He keeps them under his own key, and lets her wear them when he pleases. At worst, remember that he is your husband still, and the God who changes not. Venture yourself, therefore, on board his blood and righteousness, as a mariner trusts himself to the vessel in which he embarks. Do this, and you shall be carried safe to the haven where you would be. You may be shaken on your passage, but not forsaken; tost, but not lost. The mediation of Christ, the faithfulness of your Covenant-Father, and the never failing love of the Holy Ghost, will bear you up, and bear you home. No man ever suffered final shipwreck who ventured his soul, his salvation, his all, on that bottom. If you cannot wrap yourself up in the mantle of Christ's righteousness with an assured faith, yet if you touch but

the hem of his garment, with a weak faith, with a faith of longing and desire, or even (if I may so speak) with the very tip of faith's little finger; you have a capital evidence of interest in him. "As an infirm hand," says an excellent person, "can tie the marriage-knot: so a weak faith can lay hold on a strong Christ."

4. The Lord's people are frequently harrassed with a fear that the work of sanctification in their souls is either not begun, or at a dead stand: that they do not increase with the increase of God, nor resemble him in holiness more and more.

If any fear may be called a good fear, this may: supposing it do not flow from a principle of legality, and be not carried too far. It is a blessed sign when we mourn under a sense of our short-comings, and burn with intense desire to rise higher into the likeness of God. For this also seek unto him. He is able to accomplish in you all the good pleasure of his will, and the work of faith with power. If he give you grace to put yourself as a blank into his hand; his Spirit will delineate his sacred image upon your soul, and, in the article of death, heighten the outlines, and finish the sketch into his own perfect likeness. Be diligent to use all the appointed means of sanctification which Providence favours you with. Be careful to shun all evil, and the very appearance of it. Walk in the path of duty marked out by the written word. Nor need you fear God's making good his covenant of promise, by making you such as he would have you to be. Be not discouraged, but rather excited to hope, to pray, and to believe, by the sense of your remaining corruptions. "The field," as one says, "that has millions of weeds in it may be a cornfield. One rose upon a bush, though but a little one, and though not yet blown, proves that which bears it to be a true rose tree." Despise not, then, the day of small things; but pray God to enlarge them.—Bless him even for the grain of mustard-seed: but at the same time beg his Spirit to water and increase it.

5. The fear of temptation keeps many of God's people in bondage. And happy are we if we so fly from it as to shut our eyes and ears and hearts against it. We know not what we are, nor what we are capable of, if left to ourselves. Yet do not let the fear of what may be cast a damp upon your present comforts, nor abate your confidence in the Lord. Prudent fear is wisdom; but much fear is unbelief. A believer cannot trust in himself too little; and blessed be God, he cannot trust too much in the all-sufficiency of divine grace. If therefore you are cast down by a sense of your liableness to temptations, and of your proneness to fall by them; bring your temptations and your weakness together to God the Holy Spirit; and beseech him to get himself the victory in you, over you, and for you. Let watchfulness and prayer thus set a guard upon the outworks; and Jesus will throw in the succours of grace, and preserve the citadel from being taken by the enemy. He is faithful, and will not suffer you to be tempted above what you are able to bear. He will either hide you in his pavilion, and keep you from the fiery trial; or if he bring you into the field, he will save you from being overpowered. The archers may sorely grieve you, and shoot at you; yet shall your bow abide in strength, and the arms of your hands be made strong by the mighty God of Jacob.

But, should the enemy of souls be even permitted to gain some advantage over you for a season; yet, cast not away your confidence, but look to the hills of covenant love, whence cometh your help. Christ will deliver you as at the first; and restore you as at the beginning. What was prophesied concerning Gad (Gen. xlix. 19.) shall be spiritually fulfilled in you: a troop shall overcome him, but he shall overcome at the last.

6. A sixth fear occasions no small uneasiness to weak believers; namely, a fear lest they should not be faithful unto death, nor hold on in grace to the end. But if God has given thee good evidences of thy being truly regenerated, and of thy being his child through faith in Christ Jesus, thou mayest, upon the strength of thy adoption, be as certain of thy final perseverance as if thy warfare was actually accomplished, and the crown of glory set upon thy head.

The invisible, or elect church, consists of only one and the same innumerable family; part of which is in heaven, and part on earth. (Eph. iii. 15.) Every individual member of this family, whether militant below, or triumphant above, is equally safe in the hands of Christ. Saints in glory are, indeed, happier than saints on earth; but saints on earth are no less eventually secure of salvation than saints in glory. The spirits of just men made perfect might as soon fall from their state of heavenly blessedness as a sanctified person here fall from a state of grace. The names of both are in the book of life. They are alike interested in God's everlasting and unalterable covenant. What the Father's love has given to the glorified will be also given to them that are yet behind; for to this end Christ died and rose again, that he might gather together in one the children of God that are scattered abroad; (John ii. 52.) and by the single offering of himself, he has perfected for ever them that are sanctified. Saints are not their own keepers; and it is well for them that they are not; they would be sorrily kept, if they were. Adam was his own keeper, and what did he get by it? The

fallen angels were their own keepers. Peter kept himself, but how long? God's chosen are not thus finally left in the hand of their own counsel, nor trusted to their own management: All his saints are in thy hand, *i. e.* in the hand of Christ, Deut. xxxiii. 3. whence none can pluck them, John x. Which general promise of the perseverance of God's elect, taken as a collective body, ascertains and ensures the perseverance of each believer in particular. For the whole necessarily includes every part, and where any individual part is absent, it destroys the entireness of the whole; just as the human body is not complete if only one limb, or even a single finger, or so much as a piece of a finger be wanting. The philosophic integrity vanishes from that instant: for *posito toto, ponuntur partes*; and *sublata parte, tollitur totum.* So that what is affirmed concerning the aggregate is equally affirmed concerning the constituent members respectively, of which that aggregate consists: otherwise the affirmation would be essentially untrue; which, to charge Christ with, were blasphemy.

Let the follower of Christ, therefore, dismiss all slavish fear, as to his continuance in grace and in well doing; leave the care of that to God. They who belong to him are kept, and will be kept, by his power through faith unto salvation itself; and may sing with him that was caught up into the third heavens, Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Neither life nor death, nor things present, nor things to come, shall ever be able to do it. There is no being disinherited of the blessings entailed by God's covenant, and bequeathed in Christ's last will and testament, signed with his own blood, and sealed by his own Spirit. Saving grace is the good part which shall not be taken away. Whatever you lose, it is impossible for you to lose that. It is bound up in the bundle of life with the Lord thy God, and hid with Christ in him. And when Christ who is your life shall appear, then shall ye also, who have believed, appear with him in glory

7. I shall mention one other fear, common to many of God's redeemed; *viz.* the fear of death. Some true believers are apt to cry out (as the human nature of Christ himself did) Father, save me from this hour.

But why are you so dismayed at the prospect of getting home? Are you afraid of dying, or of what you may suffer in your last conflict? Turn again to your rest, for the Lord will deal bountifully with you, and be better to you than your fears:

"Who can take
Death's portrait true?
Fear shakes the pencil: Fancy loves excess:
Dark ignorance is lavish of her shades;
And these the formidable picture draw.
Man forms a death that nature never made,
Then on the point of his own fancy falls,
And feels a thousands deaths in fearing one."

None returns from the grave to tell us what it is to die. Some happy believers have, indeed, sung in their last moments, "O death, where is thy once imagined sting? Can this be termed dying?" And very probably the passage is both sweeter and smoother than living imagination is apt to suppose: I lost an excellent parishioner in the year 1765 Though he had not the least doubt of his salvation, but as far as spiritual and eternal things were concerned, lay for many weeks triumphing in the full assurance of faith; he still dreaded the separation of soul and body, from an apprehension of what nature must endure in the parting stroke. Some little time before the knot was actually untied, God was pleased to indulge him with a foretaste of death. He was, for near an hour, quite gone in appearance; and his family began to conclude that the final struggle was over. By degrees, however, he came to himself; and on my asking him how he did, he answered that God had given him a specimen of death, and he found it not so terrible as he apprehended. From that period all his dread of dying vanished away; and he continued without any shadow of fear, filled with the peace which passeth all understanding, until his disimprisoned spirit flew to the bosom of God. Oh! then, whoever thou art that art troubled in like manner, cast thy burden on the Lord. You have found him faithful in other things; and you may safely trust him for this. He has delivered you in six troubles, and in the seventh he will be nigh unto you. The water floods shall not overflow thee, neither shall the deep swallow thee up. The rock of ages lies at the bottom of the brook; and God will give you firm footing all the way through.

Or, are you afraid of the consequences of death, and what will come after? Throw yourself upon God, in Christ, and you are safe. "Christ's righteousness is law-proof, death-proof, and judgment-proof."

Are you fearful what may become of your family when God calls you away? Make your family over to him. Nominate Jehovah for their guardian and trustee. Cast anchor upon that comfortable promise: Leave thy fatherless children, I will preserve them alive; and let thy widows trust in me.

Do you dread the buffetings of Satan? God will not let him take advantage of your weakness. You shall overcome; yea, you shall be more than conquerors, through the blood of the Lamb, and the word of his testimony.

Are you apprehensive lest your faith be small, and your sanctification imperfect? Christ will be praying for you, that your faith fail not; and the Holy Ghost will take care not to leave his work of grace upon thy soul unfinished.

You tremble perhaps, at the thought of laying aside your weak, sinful, mortal body. But you will receive it again; not such as it now is, frail, defiled, and perishable; but bright with the glory, and perfect in the image, of God. The body is that to the soul which a garment is to the body. When you betake yourself to repose at night, you lay aside your clothes, until morning, and resume them when you rise. What is the grave but the believer's wardrobe, of which God is the door-keeper? In the resurrection morning the door will be thrown open, and the glorified soul shall descend from heaven to put on a glorified robe, which was indeed folded up, and laid away in dishonour: but shall be taken out from the repository enriched and beautified with all the ornaments of nature and of grace.

Are you loth to bid a long adieu to your Christian friends? The adieu will not be a long one. They will soon follow to the place of rest. And in the mean time you will be with Christ, and with all the saints who have been gathered home before you, which is far better.

Should I be asked, What is the grand remedy against undue fear of every possible kind? I answer, in one word: Communion with God. "He," says good Dr. Owen, "who would be little in temptation, must be much in prayer." Ply the mercy seat. Eye the blood of Christ. Cry mightily to the Spirit of God. To which I add: Wait at the footstool in holy stillness of soul. Sink into nothing before the uncreated Majesty. If he shine within, you will fear nothing from without. What made the martyrs fearless? Their souls were filled with Christ. Jesus lifted up the beams of his love upon their minds, and they smiled at all the fires which man could kindle.

To enjoy communion with God, you must be found in the way of duty. If you play the truant, no wonder you are afraid of being whipped.——"Those trees," says the excellent Mr. Gurnall, "bear the sweetest fruit which stand most in the sun." Take heed to the thing which is right: for that shall bring a man peace at the last. The meaning of which text is, that by virtue of the wise connection which infinite wisdom hath established between antecedents and consequents, holy walking is the high road to holy comforts.

Your walk, perhaps, is strict and conscientious; and yet, it may be, you complain of doubts and darkness notwithstanding. Here, examine yourself: 1. Whether you do not work from legal principles and to legal ends? If so, no wonder, that like a slave with the lash at his shoulders, you toil all day and take nothing. Christ alone is the righteousness of them that believe. God will never set the seal of his gracious presence to the broken Sinai covenant. Whoever enjoys, or thinks he enjoys comfort and peace from the works of his own hands, and from the duties he performs, is blinded, and deluded into a fool's paradise, by the god of this world. The Lord meets his people in the way of duty, but not for it: as a father, who meets his son on a journey, at some appointed house, meets him in that house, but not for the sake of the house. Live upon what Christ is made to you of God, and you will find comfort. But if you seek happiness and establishment from yourself, or from any thing wrought by yourself, you will receive no solid nourishment from the breast of that sham consolation.

Or, 2. Christ may be all your hope, and yet your fears may continue to run high. Look narrowly into your own heart. See that there be no Achan in the camp, no beloved lust in the tent. I dare not say that the sense of God's love is always connected with the actings of faith, and with the concomitant exercise of holiness. But, I suppose that faith and sanctification are the usual correlatives of joy in the Holy Ghost. Art thou melted by grace into a filial fear of God? Go on to fear, to love, and to obey, whether the Lord gild thy path with sunshine, or darken it with gloom. He is the sovereign Dispenser of his own comforts; and may withhold or confer them as seemeth good in his sight. But it is thy indispensable duty to follow the Lamb, and to do his will, whether he cheers you with his consolations or not. Certain it is, from the infallible word of his grace, that to you who look unto Jesus all the sweet privileges of the gospel belong: and joy is one of them. Though it tarry, wait for it; for it will not deceive thy expectation; it will surely arrive at the appointed season, and will not linger a moment beyond. O ye of fearful hearts, be strong! Your God will come with a recompense, he will come and save you. Your prayers may not be answered immediately, but they are all strung on the file of his rememberance, and shall be answered after many days. Your fears are in his file. Your groans are noted in his book. Delight thou in the Lord, and he will give thee thy heart's desire: hold thee still in the Lord, and abide patiently for him. Commit thy way to the Lord; put thy trust in him, and he shall bring it to pass.

I knew a most valuable Christian, who died in the year 1760; and in her last illness was greatly exercised with darkness of soul; which, however, did not finally continue. While God was leading her through the wilderness of mental distress, she still anchored on the promises, though she had lost sight of the Promiser: and, as a proof of her absolute dependance on the faithful-

ness of a withdrawing God, she directed that (instead of the usual inscription of name and age) the following text should be engraven (and engraven it was) on the plate of her coffin :—"Deal with me, O God, according to thy name, for sweet is thy mercy." Thus, as the great Dr. Manton long ago expressed it, "Faith accepts God's bond, and patience waits for payment."

CHRISTMAS MEDITATIONS

ON GEN. XLIX. 10.

The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come: and unto him shall the gathering of the people be.

THIS remarkable passage is a link of that grand chain of prophecy which was delivered by the patriarch Jacob on his dying bed. Such are the faithfulness and the condescending grace of God, that he frequently brightens the last hours of his people with the richest displays of his power and presence; nor does any thing short of heaven itself afford a nobler sight than that of a believer standing on the verge of eternity, filled with the faith which casts out fear, happy in the assured possession of grace, and longing for the completion of that grace in glory.

Hence, I have often wondered how any considerate person can be an enemy to the doctrine of assurance. There is but one thing which can render death terrible: namely, our being at an uncertainty as to the reception we shall meet with at the hands of God. Certainly, then, the knowledge of salvation, by the forgiveness of sin, through the tender mercy of our God (Luke i. 77.), is a privilege which well deserves to be wished and prayed for. To have the Spirit of God bearing witness to our spirits that we are children of God (Rom. viii. 16.), is, at least, a very desirable blessing. And, were our hearts thoroughly awakened to a sense of divine things, it would be impossible for us to sit down easy and contented without some degree of this exceeding great and precious gift. Surely, it behoves us to cultivate that in life which is the only infallible antidote against the terrors of death! I do not say that assurance of my own personal interest in Jesus is essential to my faith as a real believer in him; but I am positively clear that it is essential to my fulness of comfort. Assurance adds nothing to the *esse justificationis*, or to the being of justification; but it adds much to the *bene esse justificati*, or to the well-being of a justified person.

Holy Jacob was fully satisfied as to the safety of his soul. He knew that his name was written in the book of life; and that his salvation was settled in the eternal covenant of grace and redemption. He, had a blessed conviction that the Son of God whose human nature was to descend from his loins in the tribe of Judah, had undertaken to atone for his sins; and to clothe him, by imputation, with a perfect righteousness. In consequence of this faith, when the time drew near that Israel must die (chap. lxvii. 29.) Jacob drew near to the time with as much joy as the time drew near to him with speed. For we find him (chap. lxviii. 21.) speaking of his own approaching death, with as much ease and complacency as if he was only setting out on a journey of pleasure: "Israel said unto Joseph, Behold, I die." He perceived the symptoms of advancing dissolution; and the prospect conduced, not to alarm his fears, nor to rivet him closer to the world; but operated like the shining of the sun, or the breathings of zephyr on a flower. It expanded his hope; enlarged his desire for heaven; and diffused the fragrance of his faith on all within the sphere of his conversation.

As greatly as this eminent saint longed to be dissolved and to be with Christ; he would not die until he had first taken a solemn leave of his family, by blessing them in the name of the Lord, and by predicting the fate of their posterities. At present I shall only consider his last address to Judah, his fourth son. Judah, thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise: *i. e.* thy tribe shall be the most conspicuous and distinguished on various accounts. In that portion of Canaan which shall fall to thy descendants and to those of Benjamin, the city of Jerusalem shall be built, and the temple of God shall stand. But chiefly shalt thou be celebrated as the progenitor of that spotless mother from whom the Son of God shall derive his inferior nature; and within the near neighbourhood of thy territory shall he suffer and expire for the salvation of his people.

Thy hand shall be in the neck of thy enemies, and thy father's children shall bow down before thee; referring to that valour and success in war, for which this tribe became so eminent, and so respected by its neighbours. This is expressed with still greater sublimity at the ninth verse. Judah is a lion's whelp; though young, yet strong, courageous, formidable, and magnanimous. From the prey, my son, thou art gone up; victorious as that king of beasts, when he ascends with majestic pace from the plains to the mountains; flushed with the conquest, and red with the slaughter of inferior animals. He stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as an old lion: who shall rouse him up? Implying, that this branch of the Israelitish nation should enjoy (as in fact they did) a long series of rest, honour, and prosperity; and that the tribe of Judah could no more be insulted with safety than a sheep or a deer can rouse and irritate a

lion with impunity.——What grandeur and vivacity of genius must Jacob retain, even in that hour when strength and genius usually fail, to be able to convey his ideas in such august terms, and in a flow of such highly poetic imagery! Who that reads this chapter would imagine that elevated strains like these, strains which would have done honour to the muse of Homer, warbled from the lips of a dying man, of a man too labouring under the utmost bodily decays of age, and over whose head no fewer than one hundred and forty-seven years had past!

But the most valuable part of the prophecy is that which relates to the incarnation of Jesus Christ: The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and to him shall the gathering of the people be.

Of all regal ornaments the sceptre is believed to be the most ancient. And probably its origin was extremely simple. It seems to have taken its rise from the crook, wielded in earliest times by the harmless hand of a shepherd. Agreeably to which idea, the Hebrew verb רעה signifies, he fed, he exercised the office of a shepherd; and likewise he ruled, he governed as a magistrate. So the Greek word, ποιμην, a shepherd, is derived from the verb ποιμαινω, which imports, both to feed and to govern. A staff, primarily the instrument and the emblem of pastoral superintendency, appears to have been thence transferred to the hand of royalty. So that whenever kings look upon their sceptre, that significant ensign of authority should remind them of the tender affection they owe to their people; and of that fine lesson addressed to each of our English bishops at the time of their consecration (a lesson equally proper for princes as for prelates); "Be to the flock of Christ a shepherd, not a wolf. Feed them: devour them not. Hold up the weak. Heal the sick. Bind up the broken. Bring again the outcasts. Seek the lost. Be so merciful that you be not too remiss; so minister discipline that you neglect not mercy."(e) Some ancient sceptres (particularly of the earlier kings of France,) are affirmed to have been considerably longer than a modern walking-stick, and to have been curved at the higher end, exactly like a shepherd's rod. The Greek word σκηπτρον (from whence the Latin *sceptrum*, and the English *sceptre*,) properly denotes a staff, or wand, of sufficient length for a person to lean upon: and the Hebrew שבט is, in strictness, a staff, made of a shoot, or straight bough of a tree. Such as were the staves of the primitive shepherds and herdsmen.

By that sceptre which, for a given time, was not to depart from Judah, is undoubtedly meant the administration of temporal power. Hence the Septuagint render the passage by Ουκ εκλειψει αρχων εξ Ιωδα, A supreme governor shall not fail out of Judah; *i. e.* the supreme government in that tribe shall be Jewish, until the Messiah's advent. The words sceptre, and lawgiver, are here explicatory of each other, and mutually denote a series of native governors who should rule the Jewish nation according to its own law. And the sense of the whole is, that Judah should continue a distinct tribe by itself: and that its civil jurisdiction should, under some form or other, and with a greater or less degree of authority, remain in Jewish hands, until the incarnation of God the Son; but that he being come, the Jews should soon after lose their intrinsic power and authority as a nation; cease to be governed by rulers of their own; be ultimately dispossessed of the land in which they had so long dwelt, and subjected to the dominion of the Gentiles, among whom they should be dispersed, and sifted as in a sieve over the whole earth. Every tittle of which came accordingly to pass.

On this illustrious prophecy, uttered almost eighteen hundred years before the birth of Christ, profane history may be considered as the best commentary. We there find, that the sceptre did (not actually depart, but) began to depart from Judah, or verge towards a departure, within little more than half a century prior to our Lord's Nativity, when Jerusalem was besieged and taken by Pompey; and Aristobulus II., then king of Judea, was sent prisoner to Rome.

As the manifestation of God in human flesh drew nearer, the symptoms of the departing sceptre grew still more visible. The successive expeditions of Gabinius, of Crassus, and of Cassius, against this devoted people, contributed to prepare the way for the fulfilment of Jacob's prediction; and in fact proclaimed that Shiloh would soon appear.

The sceptre, however, was not, hitherto, departed from Judah; their civil power and independency, though checked, were not extinguished. They were still governed by magistrates of their own; and were even treated on various occasions, not as dependents, but as friends and allies of the Roman state.

A few years lower, when Herod (flatteringly surnamed the Great,) a native of Edom, was appointed Tetrarch, and soon after king, of Judea, chiefly by his interest with Mark Antony, the prophecy drew nearer to its accomplishment. But though the throne was now, for the first time, filled by a foreigner, still that foreigner was a professor of Judaism. Herod revered, or at least affected to revere, the Mosaic institutions; and even rebuilt the temple at a vast expense. The subordinate magistracy also

(e) Office for Consecration of Bishops.

consisted of Jews, as did the sanhedrim, which was their highest court of judicature. The sceptre, therefore, though departing fast, was not entirely gone from Judah, ere Shiloh came. Christ was born towards the close of this Herod's reign: *i. e.* while the political and ecclesiastical constitution of Judea were subsisting. Herod, indeed, was in some sense tributary to the Roman empire; but the Jews themselves were for the most part in full possession of their civil and religious rights.

When our blessed Saviour was about twelve years of age the sceptre totally departed from Judah. For, Herod (who died while our Lord was yet an infant) was succeeded by his son Archelaüs, which Archelaüs, after reigning about ten years, was deposed and banished by the emperor Augustus.——From thenceforward, the tribe of Judah, which had so long been distinguished by its dignity and pre-eminence, was reduced to a Roman province, and became an appendage to the empire. Quirinius, prefect of Syria, was commissioned to take possession of the country in the emperor's name; and Coponius, a Roman knight, was sent to preside over it, as lieutenant governor.

Thus did the sceptre, at length, depart from Judah, and a lawgiver from between his feet. Augustus drove the nail to the head; and Titus clinched it, within forty years after our Lord's crucifixion; when the city and temple were utterly destroyed, and those of the Jews who escaped immediate death were sold for slaves into every part of the known world.

In this manner does divine Providence give completion to its eternal and immutable purposes. All the predicted events that ever came to pass, and this among the rest, are so many standing proofs of God's predestination and foreknowledge. Necessity is but another name for certainty of event; without which there could be no such thing as infallible foreknowledge, and without infallible foreknowledge, there could be no such thing as infallible prophecy.

Such exact and wonderful accomplishments prove also the divine original of the Scriptures. Most of the leading incidents, whether civil or sacred, of general importance either to the church or to the world, were foretold in the Bible. The four universal monarchies, for instance; the advent, the sufferings, the resurrection, and the ascension, of the Messiah; the miraculous descent of the Holy Ghost; the abolition of the Levitical economy; the ruin and dispersion of the Jews; the calling of the gentiles; the ten general persecutions; the vast spread of Christianity through the Roman empire; the rise, progress, and continuance of Popery, and of Mahometism; with a multitude of great events beside, were circumstantially foretold in the sacred writings of the Old and New Testament. From hence results such an invincible demonstration of the truth of Christianity as all the infidels in the world will never be able to surmount, while the sun and moon endure. We ourselves know and see that many of the Scripture-prophecies have been completely fulfilled; and that others of them are now fulfilling, even at this very time. Thus, with regard to the Jews, we have all the evidence it is possible to have, that the prophet Hosea wrote by divine inspiration, when he affirmed (chap. iii. 4.) that the children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without sacrifice, and without an ephod, and without teraphim. This has actually and literally been the case with them for rather more than 1700 years past; and continues to be so at this present moment. Every Jew we meet is a living proof that the sceptre is indeed departed from Judah, and a lawgiver from between his feet.

It is certain, therefore, that the promised Shiloh is come; and Jesus Christ the righteous, in whose childhood the sceptre departed, is both the Son of the most High God, and likewise the true Messiah, of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, did write.

ש י ל ה, Shiloh, may be rendered the Son; also the Saviour; likewise, the peaceable, and the prosperous one. The Septuagint translates, or rather paraphrases it, by ῳ τα αποκειμενα, *i. e.* he for whom [all] things are laid up, or kept in store. In this adorable person and most wonderful offices and transactions, Jesus exhausts every one of those significations. He is, 1. The everlasting Son of the Father, as God; and the Son of Mary, as man.—2. He is the effectual, the only, and the certain, Saviour, *i. e.* deliverer and preserver, of his elect body, the Church.—3. He is the alone peace-maker between God and men, by the infinitely precious blood of his cross.—4. He prospered and prevailed, to the uttermost, in the whole and in every branch of his mediatorial undertaking. No part of his success as a Saviour is uncertain, or suspended on a peradventure. The reward of his humiliation lies in the absolute and infallible salvation of every individual sinner for whom he died. And, as his work was perfect, his reward is sure.—5. For him all things are reserved. He is the appointed heir of all things; the Omega, or central end, no less than the Alpha, or author, of the worlds. All beings are by him, and for him. The elect, both angels and men, stoop to the sceptre of his grace; and the reprobate, both diabolic and human, must submit to the rod of his power.

To him shall the gathering of the people be. It is plain, from this clause of the text before us, that redemption by Christ is not

that random and precarious thing which the Arminian scheme pretends. The salvation he wrought does not lie at sixes and sevens. It is by no means unsettled, uncertain, or undetermined. The dignity of his divine person, the infinite value of his obedience and sacrifice, together with the justice of his Almighty Father, to whom the inestimable price was paid, render it impossible that any single soul should perish, for whom such a Redeemer died. It is neither at the option, nor in the power, of thy corrupt free-will to render his mediation effectual or ineffectual. All is firmly fixed by the unalterable will, the immoveable decree, and the everlasting covenant, of the uncreated Three. Christ did not come into the world at hap-hazard, nor live and die for a may-be He was born, and shed his blood, for a peculiar people, whom his own sanctifying grace was to make zealous of good works; (Titus ii. 14.) and that he might gather together into one glorified company all the children of God that were scattered abroad. (John xi. 52.)

The elect world are the great all for whom he lived and bled: even the whole world of his predestinated people. And every one of these his people shall be gathered to him: to him shall the gathering of the people be. As surely as they were created by his power, so surely shall they, in conversion, be gathered to him by the efficacious grace of his Holy Spirit. As surely as Christ was born for them at Bethlehem, so surely shall he be formed in them, their hope of glory, by the washing of regeneration and the renewal of the Holy Ghost.

And, indeed, were not this the case, the whole of Jacob's prophecy would not be true. The text positively avers that the people (*i. e.* the elect people of God) shall be gathered to Christ. And, if free grace say, Ay; it is in vain for free-will to say, No. God hath said, The people shall be gathered: and faith echoes back the promise, with, "Then gathered the people shall be; for thy counsel must stand, and thou wilt do all thy pleasure." Happy it is for us that God hath taken upon himself to gather and convert us to his Son. Unless he was the gatherer, not one of us would ever be gathered. Free-will never yet led a sinner to Christ; and never will, while the world remains. We are free enough to depart from God and holiness; but we are not free and desirous to return to him, and forsake our sins, and be conformed to him in righteousness, until his grace make us free in the day of his power upon our hearts. Free-will has led millions and millions of souls to the place of torment, but it never lifted a single soul to heaven. All the sins that ever were committed were committed by free-will; but it is only the transforming grace of God that inspires and adorns us with the mind that was in Christ.

You, therefore, who profess to believe in Jesus, as the Shiloh that was conceived of the Holy Ghost, and born of the virgin Mary, beg of God that he may not permit you to rest satisfied with a mere speculative assent to the gospel history. If we are saved in the next life, we must be gathered to Christ in this. Nothing short of the inward, effectual call, can stamp us Christians in deed and in truth. Nothing will make us lead holy lives on earth but an experience of the life and power of grace in our souls. Nor will any thing short of Jacob's faith make us face death with Jacob's comfort.

And what is death to those that are born of God? It is but another gathering of them unto Christ. The soul of a saint is gathered from the body as a flower from the stalk; to adorn the court of heaven, and to bloom for ever in the bosom of God. They who are gathered to him by grace are, at death, only gathered into glory.

Their bodies too shall be gathered from the grave and rescued from the dominion of death; when Shiloh comes, the second time, to renew the face of the earth, and to begin his millennial reign. He, whose voice is as the sound of many waters, will say to his angels, when he appears in the clouds of heaven,—Gather my saints together unto me, who have made a covenant with me by sacrifice: who died, trusting in my righteousness, and depending on the merit of my blood, which I shed for the remission of their sins, when I offered myself up in sacrifice on the cross.

To him, in some sense, shall all flesh come. Before him shall be gathered all nations, and at his tribunal shall every knee bow. Thus, in every signification of the term, To him shall the gathering of the people be; and he will sever them, one from another, as a shepherd divideth the sheep from the goats; and set the sheep on his right hand, and the goats on his left.

Eternal Spirit of grace, gather us here to him by the energy of thy renewing power! so, at death, shall our souls be gathered into heaven; and our mortal bodies shall be sown in the grave, only to be ripened and refined, until the resurrection of the just

A MEDITATION FOR A NEW-YEAR'S DAY.

Suggested by some remarkable passages in the twenty-first Chapter of Revelation; particularly by that which immediately follows.

He that sat upon the throne said, Behold, I make all things new.

As the opening of the present year has recalled a train of reflections, which have not been wholly useless to myself, I transmit the substance of them

to the press;* at the same time breathing up any earnest wishes to the great Sovereign of eternity, and Author of time, in behalf of my readers, and of myself, that, together with a new year, he would be graciously pleased to give us new hearts, and enable us to lead new lives; renew and brighten our experiences and our evidences; give us new hold on the everlasting covenant; and write the law of faith and obedience, by the finger of his Spirit, on our inmost souls, more deeply, more feelingly, more comfortably, and more visibly, than ever. So shall we rise into an increasing meetness for that state of glory where the distributions of duration are not measured and regulated by a created sun; but Jesus, the uncreated and eternal Sun of righteousness, shines, and will for ever shine, on the whole choir of his glorifying and glorified people.—*Phosphore, redde diem!*

A considerable part of the following meditation refers to the doctrine of the millennium: a doctrine, which many excellent persons are inclined to disapprove. It may be proper to assure these that as much as relates to that article is inserted, not with a view to offend, or to perplex the mind of any man; much less with an intention to obtrude my own private opinion upon other people, or even to proselyte a single reader to the belief of it: least of all, with a desire to raise any controversy about it. But, as the question is naturally connected with the present occasion, I could not have done justice to the subject, without touching on that string: and I have endeavoured to touch it as concisely, as tenderly, and as inoffensively, as I was able. If I have erred, I hope I shall not displease: for which I throw myself on the public candour.

* Originally inserted in a periodical publication.—Editor.

Jan. 1, 1775.

Lord's-day Evening.

GREAT, unspeakably great, are the Mediator's power and glory. He will eminently display them both at that blessed, that most desirable period, when he shall be manifested a second time, at the end of the world; and appear not as at first, to suffer and die, but to reign on earth, with his saints, prelusive to their final glorification in heaven.

Every thing below is changeable. The expiration of one year, and the birth of another; the successions of the several seasons, and the regular vicissitudes of day and night; all conspire to remind us, how transitory, how various, and how uncertain, our time is; and unite in calling upon us to look beyond the present valley, through which we travel, to the mount of God, the habitation of angels, and the saints' eternal home.

As the things of this world are thus liable to perpetual mutation, so are its best blessings mingled, even for the time being, with their respective inconveniences. Imperfection is written, not only on all we are, and on all we do; but likewise, on all we enjoy. This has been invariably the case, ever since man fell in paradise. With perfect innocence, perfect happiness took her flight: nor will either of them be seen on earth again, until that distinguished time arrive, when He that sitteth upon the throne shall say, Behold, I make all things new.

The whole frame, even of material nature, deviated into disorder from the moment Adam sinned. The elements acquired a propensity to hurt, unknown before. The earth teemed with thorns, and refused to supply its fallen master with food convenient for him, but on condition of labour and toil. Water and fire, though in themselves two of the most important sublunary gifts, received, nevertheless, a power to injure and destroy. The very air we breathe is frequently the region of disease, and the vehicle of death.

If such be the present state of the material world, how much less pleasing is the visible state of the moral world! But I willingly draw the curtain before a scene which, on a superficial view of things, seems rather calculated to excite our concern than joy. Both Scripture, philosophy, and reason, concur in assuring us, that the all wise God, by whose permission every event comes to pass, must have the justest causes, both for the good he does, and for the evil he permits.

It is enough for us to know that a day will dawn when a period shall be put to every disorder under which nature at present labours; and that the earth will become just what it was (perhaps considerably better than it was) ere sin destroyed the harmony, and broke the balance of the well-according system. The stupendous accomplishment of this predestined (*f*) restoration is largely and explicitly foretold, Rev. xx. where we read, that the apostate angels shall be restrained by the coercive power of God, and confined to their own place for 1000 years. That those of mankind who belong to Christ; and especially such of them as have been, or are yet to be, slain for his name's sake shall reign with him upon earth, during that given period. And that the bodies of the reprobate dead shall not be raised, until that period is fully expired.

The next chapter opens with acquainting us that, prior to the actual commencement of the millennium, a new heaven, *i. e.* a new body of surrounding air, and a new earth, shall be prepared for the residence of Christ and the elect. I saw a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea. Intimating, that this terraqueous globe, and its circumambient atmosphere, will be so purified by the preceding general conflagration, as to be totally changed in their qualities, and entirely divested of every thing noxious, or that can cause disgust and pain. And I John saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down from God

(*f*) For farther satisfaction on this subject, if the reader is disposed to consider it, he may consult the third Volume of the present Bishop of Bristol's Dissertation on the Prophecies; wherein the Scripture doctrine of the Millennium is judiciously cleared, rationally stated, solidly proved, and ably vindicated.

out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. By the holy city, I understand the departed souls of the elect, which had all been received into glory, from the moment of their dismission from the body. These are termed holy, because of their separation unto God, by the decree of election: and because of their complete sanctification by the Spirit of grace. They are a city, because of their multitude, dignity, splendour, and unity with each other. These, when Christ appears, shall come down with him from God out of heaven; in order to be reunited to their respective bodies, which will then be raised by the voice of the archangel, and by the trump of God. Their beatified souls thus descending, will be prepared, as a bride, adorned for her husband; clothed with perfection of grace, and radiant in the robes of immortality and glory; suitable to the state of those who are to reign with Christ, as kings and priests to the Father. Those of the elect who shall be found alive on earth at Christ's appearing will be changed, in the twinkling of an eye (1 Cor. xv.) *i. e.* their souls will be instantaneously perfected in grace, and their bodies immortalized; and thus will they render the Church of the first born complete, and be caught up to meet the Lord, and their glorified brethren in the air. (1 Thess. iv.)

And I heard a great voice out of heaven, saying, Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God. Thus will angels and saints shout in concert. And let me observe, by the way, that it is impossible for the utmost power of language to express the Deity of Christ, in terms more strong, explicit, and decisive. The tabernacle of God is with men, and God himself, [*i. e.* Christ, in his own proper and individual person] shall be with them, and be their God. With what eyes does an Arian, or a Socinian, read the Scriptures?

The felicity of the Millenniary state is next described.—First, God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes. The world as it now is, is a valley of tears; and even God's own people have their weeping days below. But in the renewed world, wherein righteousness shall dwell (2 Pet. iii.) no sigh shall heave the breast, no pang shall rend the heart, no tear shall stain the cheek:—Second, And there shall be no more death. Each saint will possess personal immortality We shall never die ourselves: nor be robbed by death of our Christian friends. Third: Neither sorrow nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain of body or mind.—For fourthly, the former things are passed away; all possible occasions of distress and uneasiness being for ever and totally removed; the blessed inhabitants of the new earth will be crowned with unmixed honour, holiness, and joy.

The sacred penman assigns a cause adequate to these great effects. And He that sat upon the throne said, Behold, I make all things new. It will be a new formation indeed. Dr. Watts paraphrases the passage, with great beauty and justness, in those admired lines:—

> Attend, while God's Eternal Son
> Doth his own glory shew!
> Behold, I sit upon my throne,
> Creating all things new.
> Nature and sin are pass away,
> And the old Adam dies;
> My hands a new foundation lay
> See a new world arise!

On what throne does the adored Immanuel sit?—On the throne of nature: for without him was not any thing made that is made. On the throne of providence: for all things are upheld by the word of his power, and governed by the counsel of his will.—On the throne of grace, as Mediator of the covenant: and as the Saviour of all who recline on his blood and righteousness. On the throne of his converted people's hearts: inspiring them with good, and restraining them from evil; sanctifying them by his presence, and cheering them with the smiles of his love: He will occupy the Millennial throne: as head of all principality and power.—He will also sit on the throne of universal judgment: assigning the heavenly inheritance to the saints on his right hand; and denouncing the sentence of condemnation against the unholy on his left. He will for ever and for ever sit on the throne of glory: encompassed by the angels he created, and by the people he redeemed. A cross was once his humble throne: and his crown was a diadem of thorns. A reed, once served him for a mock sceptre; and insulting ridicule was the homage he received. But his humiliation ended when he rose from the dead. He is set down at the Father's right hand; and, though a lamb (for he still wears the human nature in which he was sacrificed for our salvation), is in the midst of the throne, and the immortal inheritor of endless honour, and glory, and blessing.

Reader, dost thou say within thyself "Happy the people who are washed in the blood of Him that sitteth upon the throne; and are arrayed in the righteousness of him that maketh all things new?" I can give you one sign, whereby to know, whether this happiness is evidently yours. Has Christ, by the power of his spirit, made thy soul anew? Has he begun to introduce his new creation there? God forbid that we should enter upon a new year, without seriously inquiring, Whether he, who maketh all things new, has given us a new nature and a new name? You may read the character of those, who shall be excluded from the

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inspiration, that love to God (which can only result from a sense of his prior love to us, (*t*) is the operative, producing principle of acceptable obedience. It is also the producing principle of acceptable sufferings for his sake. "God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power and of love, and of a sound mind;" on which remark the apostle rests the following exhortation: "be not thou therefore ashamed of the testimony of our Lord, but be partaker of the afflictions of the gospel according to the power of God." (*u*) Now, the graces of faith and love being inseparable, it follows that every true believer is also a lover of Christ. Where this love exists, it is crowned and evidenced by the assemblage both of active and of passive virtues.

Even Dr. Young could sing,

Talk they of morals?" &c.

and an infinitely superior authority has expressly decided that "love to God and man is the fulfilling of the law," (*x*) *i. e.* love when real will put us on the vigorous and persevering discharge of every moral duty: consequently, as before, no true believer can be a practical Antinomian.

A multitude of additional arguments might be alleged to the same effect, but I shall at present confine myself to the following, *viz.* That a true believer cannot be a practical Antinomian, because he prizes and wishes to cultivate communion with God, as the sublimest privilege and enjoyment which it is possible to inherit below. But all wilful and allowed deviations from virtue have an innate tendency to interrupt that enjoyment, and to intercept the light of God's countenance; nay, to spread a screen of separation between us and our views of Christ, to darken our evidences, to deaden our joys, and to render the soul a counterpart to Ezekiel's roll, which was "written within and without, with lamentation and mourning and woe."

Finally, That person must know little indeed of experimental religion, who can suppose that any pleasures or profits of sin, or all of them together, can compensate for one moment's loss of intercourse with God, as reconciled to us in his dear Son

THOUGHTS ON REV. VII. 14, 15,

"These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb; therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple."

THE Scripture particularly sets forth these three things, *viz.* 1. What we are by nature. 2. What we must be made of grace: and, 3. What those who are possessed by grace shall be in glory.

St. John had a blessed vision of the latter; of the glory of the saints in light; and of the delightful employ, in which the spirits of just men, made perfect, are engaged. Their number exceeded the utmost arithmetic of angels and men,—yet are they all minutely numbered by that omniscient Being who wrote their names in his book; and whose praise they celebrate in ceaseless songs of adoration, harmony, and love. They stand before the throne, and before the Lamb; clothed with white robes, and palms of immortal victory in their hands.

Do we ask, "Who are these, that are arrayed in white robes? and whence came they?" A heavenly intelligencer will inform us. Pause then, my soul, a moment. Fix thy meditation on the solemnly delightful subject; and may it have a happy tendency to raise thy affections to things above!

I. They came out of great tribulation: εκ της θλιψεως της μεγαλης. The words signify, very grievous oppression, affliction, and trouble, of every kind. The distresses of God's people are various, and flow from a vast multiplicity of sources. They are tried by the world, outwardly; and, inwardly, by their own corruptions. A believing man's greatest foes are often those of his own house; and, especially, the many evils that are in his own heart. How pathetically did St. Paul complain of the body of sin and death which he carried about with him; and and how deeply did he groan, being burdened! The Christian is frequently, like Gideon's men, faint, yet pursuing. God is pleased, sometimes, to hide his face; then are the souls of his people cast down, and disquieted within them. But a great (perhaps the greater) part of their trouble and distress, arises from a consciousness of their own barrenness, ingratitude, and want of fervour in their Redeemer's service; although

II. They are enabled to wash their robes, and make them white in the blood of the Lamb.

By their robes, I presume, we are not here to understand the robe of imputed righteousness, in which they are justified, and stand perfect before God: for that robe does not need washing, being no less than the complete obedience of God incarnate. Their own best duties, services, and religious performances, of any and of every kind, were the robes in which they visibly appeared before men, and by which their faith was made manifest to the world. For though good works do not procure (so far from it, they have no share in procuring) a believer's justification in the sight of God, yet they follow after the grace of Christ, and are pleasing to God and profitable to men. So just is that remark of St. Austin,—*Bona opera non faciunt iustum, sed iustificatus*

(*t*) 1 John iii. 1; and iv. 10. 19.

(*u*) 2 Tim. i. 7, 8. (*x*) Rom. xiii. 10.

facit bona opera. This is also agreeable to St. Peter's strain of arguing.(*y*) Moreover, the blood of the Lamb, in which the righteous wash their robes, is and must be a very different thing from the robes themselves. May not this be the simple meaning? True believers, after all they do and suffer, trust not in their doings and sufferings, either in whole or in part, but in the atonement made by Immanuel's blood; and in that work of vicarious righteousness which Immanuel accomplished by his obedience unto death."

3. Their bliss and exaltation are described in these charming words: Therefore are they before the throne of God. Not because they came out of great tribulation, but because they and their robes were washed and made white in the blood of the Lamb. Being freely interested in Jesus, they are saved by grace; and the God of grace has all the glory.

CONSIDERATIONS ON HEB. VI. 4—6.

"For it is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good Word of God, and the powers of the world to come; if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance, seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame."

I HAVE been solicited to give an elucidation of the above-mentioned text: and the rather, because that awful passage may seem, at first view, and in the eyes of a mere English reader to carry a dubious aspect, as though the faith of God's elect might ultimately fail: and as though God himself might break his covenant and alter the thing that is gone out of his lips.

It is impossible for those who were [1.] once enlightened, and [2.] have tasted of the heavenly gift, and [3.] were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and [4.] have tasted the good word of God, and [5.] the powers of the world to come; if they fall away, to renew them again to repentance: seeing they [1] crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and [2.] put him to an open shame.

1. It is said concerning these possible apostates from the Christian profession,

[1] That "they were once enlightened;" *απαξ φωτισθεντας*, once (*z*) baptized into the visible church of Christ. Every person, who is at all acquainted with ecclesiastical antiquity, knows that *βαπτισμος* and *φωτισμος* were, very frequently, put for each other, and used as reciprocal terms. Nor need we observe that amongst the classical distinctions, which obtained in the primitive Churches, were the following distributions of professors into these different ranks of Church-membership. 1. The *κατηχουμενοι*, or *Catechumens*; i. e. those adults who were not deemed sufficiently instructed and matured in the things of God to be yet admitted to baptism.—2. The *πεφωτισμενοι*, i. e. enlightened or baptized; those who had actually been initiated by their susception of that ordinance. And 3. the *αρτιοι*, or *τετελεσμενοι*, i. e. the perfect; viz. such as had not only been baptized, but who were likewise partakers of all the privileges of God's house, and who were considered as stablished, strengthened, settled in the faith of Christ, and fully entitled to unlimited citizenship in the Church below. It follows that "they who were once enlightened," or "baptized," might indeed make total and final shipwreck of their profession; and many of them actually did so. They were (as another apostle expresses it) twice dead: i. e. naturally dead, or unregenerate; and professionally dead. According to those words of our Lord, From him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he seemeth to have. (*a*)

[2.] They are described, as having "tasted of the heavenly gift:" or, as having been admitted to a participation of the Lord's Supper.

[3.] They were "partakers of the Holy Ghost:" i. e. of gifts, qualifying them for temporary usefulness in the Church, and enabling some of them even to preach the gospel with success. There is, I apprehend, no part of scripture which forbids us to suppose that Judas himself might have been, in this sense, a "partaker of the Holy Ghost;" i. e. furnished with ministerial talents, for the benefit of others. And yet it is certain that Judas never was a regenerated man: (*b*)

[4.] They have "tasted the good word of God:" or had some acquaintance with the Scripture, and some relish for its doctrines. To this class, Herod and Simon Magus may be referred: (*c*)

[5.] They shared in "the powers of the world to come." By that phrase, the world to come, *αιων ὁ μελλων* (which may be better rendered, the future age, or dispensation,) the ancient Jews universally meant the times of the Messiah. And St. Paul, in other parts of this very Epistle (the whole of which he particularly designed for the instruction of the Hebrew proselytes), makes use of this same term, and evidently in their own sense of it. Consequently, by the *δυναμεις* i. e. "powers or miracles of the Messiah's dispensation;" is meant the ability of working miracles in proof of the gospel.—This ability a man might have without a grain of saving grace in his heart.

(*y*) 1 Pet. iii. 3, 4.

(*z*) Eos qui baptismum descenderunt: versio Syriac. Ηανατιῳ προσελμλυθοτας βαπτισματι. Theodoret. Vide Milii N. T.

(*a*) Luke viii. 18.

(*b*) John vi. 64, and xiii 10, 11.

(*c*) Mark vi. 20. Acts viii. 13.

St. Paul, elsewhere, supposes it possible for a person to be endued with what is commonly called "the faith of miracles;" and yet to be totally void of charity, or real love to God. (*d*)

On those parts of this passage which we have hitherto considered, the following words of our Lord may stand as the best explanation that can possibly be given. Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name? and in thy name have cast out devils? and in thy name done many wonderful works? And then will I profess unto them I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity. (*e*) With all their retinue of useful gifts, these possessors of them were never themselves in a state of grace. Christ never knew them, i. e. never loved and never acknowledged them, as true members of that mystic body which he died to save. And, in answer to every possible instance of professional apostacy that ever was and ever can be alleged, the following remark of St. John will always hold true; They went out from us, i. e. they passed, during a time, for true believers, but they were not of us; for, if they had been of us, they would, no doubt, have continued with us. (*f*)

II. The nature of their defection is pointed out. 1. They crucify ἑαυτοις, (*g*) within themselves, the Son of God afresh: i. e. they, as it were, act the crucifixion of Christ over again, in their own minds, and by word of mouth; forasmuch as they inwardly approve and outwardly justify and applaud the treatment which Jesus met with. They blasphemously style the Lord of glory an impostor; and make his murder in some sense their own act and deed, by horridly thinking and declaring that he was deservedly put to death. In so doing, they,

(2.) Put him, so far as in them lies, to open shame.——No wonder that it should be pronounced humanly impossible to renew or to restore again to Church-communion, and to repentance, such worse than infernal wretches; to whom in all probability is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever.

REMARKS ON ECCLES. VII. 16

"Be not righteous over-much, neither make thyself over-wise; why shouldest thou destroy thyself?"

THE carnal Jews, being ignorant of God's righteousness, went about to establish their own: and, from a supposition that they must appear before God in their legal garments, they fasted, prayed, and even scourged themselves, to make their imaginary righteousness more complete. The above austerities being carried on with such rigour, as threatened ultimate injury to the health of the self-righteous ascetics; and Solomon, knowing that bodily exercise, legally performed, would profit them nothing; advised them not to carry their misguided zeal too far, to so little purpose: Be not righteous over-much.

Moreover, as their wisdom (being from beneath, and contrary to the wisdom of God, which reveals the glorious righteousness of our adorable Saviour) had a strong tendency to make them lose sight of salvation by the Messiah alone, to swell them with self-conceit, and fire their imagination with undue opinion of their own excellence; the sacred writer, thoroughly aware of the tremendous consequences which must follow on a final persistence in delusion like this, adds, Neither make thyself over-wise. As if he had said: By carnal wisdom ye can never know God. It only makes you more fit for hell. And, whatever others may do, my son, be thou better instructed; for why shouldst thou destroy thyself, by setting up thy own righteousness in opposition to the merits of Christ; and thy own fancies, in opposition to the way of justification planned and revealed by God?"

I doubt not it will be readily allowed that there is no danger of our being too righteous in a gospel sense; nor of our having too much of that wisdom which maketh wise unto salvation.

OBSERVATIONS ON 1 COR. XV. 28.

"And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him; that God may be all in all."

THOSE words are of unspeakable importance. Much, very much indeed, depends on a right understanding of them. Here let it be observed,

1. That the Son of God, as such, is and must be God, or a person in the divine nature. "Unto the Son he saith, Thy throne, O God," &c. (*h*)—"The Son of God was manifested;" is the same with "God was manifested in the flesh:" (*i*)—Certain it is, that the eternal Deity of the second person in the Trinity results necessarily and solely from his eternal Sonship, or from his having been everlastingly begotten of the Father in the same infinite and undivided essence.

2. The Son of God, as such, cannot possibly be inferior to the Father. There can be no difference, and consequently no inequality of nature, between them. Even among men, a son is as much a human being as his father: and, surely, the uncreated and eternally begotten Son of the Father Almighty is and must be as truly a divine being as the Father who begat him.

3. We are expressly assured that the throne of God the Son is for ever and ever. (*k*) And that, even considering him,

(*d*) 1 Cor. xiii. 2. (*e*) Matt. vii. 22, 23.
(*f*) 1 John ii. 9.
(*g*) Vide Millium. (*h*) Heb. i. 8.
(*i*) 1 John iii. 8., and 1 Tim. iii. 16. (*k*) Heb. i. 8.

nct in his divine and essential character, as Son or the Father, but viewing him in his numan, œconomical, and assumed character, as man and Mediator, he shall reign over the house of Jacob [or the elect Church of God] for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end: Isa. ix. 7. Luke i. 33.

It follows, from the above premises, that, when we read of a future period, in which the Son also himself shall be subject [ὑποταγησεται, shall be subordinate, or shall act in subserviency] to the Father, it cannot be understood of him as man and Mediator: for, in those capacities he did from the first, and to this moment does, act "subjectively, subordinately, and subserviently," to the Father's will and designs. John iv. 30, and vi. 38.

5. Consequently the future subordination, or subserviency, spoken of in this text, must be some voluntary act of surrender and acknowledgment which (not the man Christ Jesus, but which) the co-eternal and co-equal Son of God will make to the Father, when the whole number of the elect shall be gathered in.

6. What act of subserviency, or of acknowledgement and surrender, will the Son then make? The apostle tells us: "He shall deliver up the kingdom to God, even to the Father." What kingdom? Not his essential royalty, as God with God: for that is inseparable from each of the three divine persons. Nor his presidency over the church as her Head and Mediator: for that relation is indissoluble, and he will ever shine as the first-born among many brethren. But I take the kingdom to consist of that innumerable company whose names were written in heaven; and which, when their numerical fulness is completed, the Son of God, who graciously consented to become the Son of man for their sakes, will present in one entire and glorified body to the Father. Thus God will then be all in all: i. e. the Son will say to the Father, and to the Holy Spirit, "Our covenant-designs are now completely fulfilled. I undertook to redeem the elect, and redeem them I did. Thy predestination, O Sovereign Father of mercies, has now its full accomplishment. Thy gracious operations, likewise, O Spirit of holiness, have had their entire effect: who didst engage to renew, sanctify, and preserve the people of my Father's choice, and of my redemption. Here they all stand, washed and clothed by me, and sealed and purified by thee. Not one of them is absent, and not one of our purposes has miscarried in a single instance. Grace reigns, through my righteousness, unto eternal life: and we, the triune God, are all in all!"——Amen. Amen.

EXPLICATION OF ROM. VIII. 4.

"That the Righteousness of the Law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the Flesh, but after the Spirit."

THE works of the law, and the righteousness of the law, are synonymous terms. By the former we are expressly told no flesh can be justified: nor, consequently, by the latter, as performed by us. Why? Because every man is a fallen creature; and to the corruption of his nature is hourly adding the accumulated iniquity of actual transgressions. Therefore, by such a partial, imperfect, and polluted conformity to the moral law, no person can possibly be accepted unto life. And yet, without justification, man must be lost for ever. He must, therefore, either give up all hope of salvation, or seek for a justifying righteousness at the hand of Christ. Now Christ came for this very end, to fulfil all righteousness; not for himself, who was and is the source and centre of all holiness; but for us, who had lost our original rectitude, and are become the degenerate plants of a strange vine. The Son of God left his glory, that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled for us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit. This must certainly be the genuine import of the text under consideration. Ινα το δικαιωμα τȣ νομε πληρωθη εν ημιν, the exact sense of which, according to the genius of the original, stands thus: "That the righteousness required by the law might be fulfilled for us," i. e. in our stead, or on our account. Thus Theophylact on the place: ὁ γαρ ὁ νομος εβωλετο μεν, ηθθηνει δε, τȣτο ὁ Χριτος ετοιησε δι ημας. What the law was desirous of [viz. perfect obedience, in order to justification], but through weakness could not obtain, that did Christ perform for us. Now to render the preposition εν, by for, instead of in, does not put the least violence upon the words of the apostle. The same preposition signifies for in many other parts of the sacred writings. For instance, Mat. vi. 7. They think to be heard, εν τη πολυλογια αυτων, for their much speaking.—Gal. i. 24. εδοξαζον εν εμοι τον Θεον, they glorify God for me, i. e. in my behalf, on my account.—Eph. iv. 1. I a prisoner εν Κυριῳ, for the Lord, i. e. on Christ's account, and for the sake of his gospel. And ver. 32. Even as God, εν Κριτῳ, for Christ's sake, hath forgiven you. —Phil. i. 26. That your rejoicing in Christ Jesus may abound, εν εμοι, for me.—1. Pet. iv. 14. If ye are reproached, εν ονοματι Χριτȣ for the name of Christ. More examples might be easily produced, but these may suffice.

Admit this translation of the preposition εν to be just in this place (and I think it is self-evidently so) and there is not, in the

whole book of God, a passage wherein the glorious Suretyship obedience of the Lord Jesus Christ is more clearly and solidly asserted.

AN EXPLICATION OF THAT REMARKABLE PASSAGE,

(Rom. ix. 3.)

"I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ, for my Brethren, my kinsmen according to the Flesh."

This seemingly difficult text is rendered perfectly easy and clear, 1. by inclosing part of it in a parenthesis; and, 2, by attending to the tense of the verb ηυχομην, mistakenly translated, I could wish.

I have great heaviness and continual sorrow in my heart (for I myself, ηυχομην, did wish to be in a state of separation from Christ), on account of my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh. That is to say, "I am deeply concerned for my unbelieving countrymen: and I the more pity and lament their enmity against Jesus, because I myself was, once, exactly in their situation; and know, by my own past experience, the bitterness and danger of their infidel state." Something like the speech of Dido, in Virgil:

Haud ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco.

AN ILLUSTRATION CONCERNING

1 Cor. xv. 29.

"Else what shall they do, who are baptized for the Dead."

It may be remarked on this portion of sacred writ, that superstition, and a too great stress on the mere *opus operatum* of ordinances, began, very early, to encroach on the simplicity and spirituality of the gospel. Hence, by degrees, the sacrament of baptism was considered as inseparably connected with the absolute and plenary forgiveness of sins, from this mistaken idea, many weak believers were for postponing their own baptism until their last moments. The consequence of which was that some (through sudden death, or other unforeseen exigences) actually died without having been baptized at all. Their surviving relatives, equally superstitious with the deceased, imagined that, in order to remedy, so far as could be done, the loss of that rite, it would be a deed of charity for one of them to be baptized in the deceased person's name and stead; begging of God at the same time to accept the baptism of the proxy as though it had been administered to the principal.

If this corrupt practice obtained in some of the first churches so early as the days of St. Paul (which, however, we will not venture to affirm), the solution of the text in question will be very easy. The apostle, not from any approbation of this superstitious custom, but merely with a view to convince the Corinthians of the certainty of a resurrection, by an argument *ad hominem*, *i. e.* by an argument founded on their own principle and practice; reasons thus: "What shall they do who are baptized [ὑπερ των νεκρων] for, or "instead of, the dead?" *i. e.* What can be the design of them, who act in this manner, but to benefit (as they fondly suppose) the persons who died unbaptized? But, if these persons so died, as not to live again, your imaginary labour of love can answer no valuable end whatever. Ye are, therefore, O Corinthians, self-convicted of the grossest absurdity, as many of you as are baptized for your departed friends, and yet doubt the future resurrection of your friends departed.

EXPLANATION ON THAT DECLARATION OF THE APOSTLE,

1 Cor. xv. 5,

Where it is said that our Lord, after his resurrection, was seen of Cephas, and then of the twelve, it is inquired, "How is this explained? Seeing Judas had put an end to his own existence long before, could he then be called one of the twelve?"

Certainly not. The late Dr. Guyse, in his most valuable paraphrase and notes on the New Testament, has given this matter a very satisfactory explication. "It is no uncommon thing for a society, body, or college of men, to retain their original name, when one or more of them be absent, or dead. Jacob's sons called themselves twelve brethren, after they supposed that Joseph was lost or dead; Gen. xlii. 13. 32. The *triumviri*, *septemviri*, and *decemviri*, among the Romans, were respectively so called, whether they were all living, or were present in their assemblies, or not. And we commonly speak of points of law being referred to the twelve judges, though several of them may be absent, and some of them dead. In like manner, Christ having originally appointed twelve apostles, to be in a peculiar manner his witnesses; they were called by that name, after Judas was dead, and before Matthias was chosen in his place to make up the number again; John xx. 24. Yea, and they continued to be spoken of as twelve, after Paul and Barnabas were added to their number, Rev. xxi. 14.—Thus far, the excellent Dr. Guyse: correspondently with whose just remarks, it may be further observed, that, if only forty members of parliament assemble they are termed the House of Commons; though the entire number, if all were present, amounts to 558.

A SACRAMENTAL MEDITATION.

ON CANT. VIII. 14.

"Make haste, my Beloved; and be thou like to a Roe, or to a young Hart on the Mountains of Spices."

EVERY serious and sensible Christian considers the book of Canticles as a storehouse of inward religion, and a treasury of holy experiences. In no part of the Scriptures is the work of the blessed Spirit, on the souls of men, more strikingly and more exactly delineated. If some unhappy persons consider this sacred poem in any other view, it is because they are unacquainted with the power of godliness, and have not experienced that renewal in the spirit of their minds which can alone qualify lost sinners to contemplate, with advantage, the mysteries of the kingdom of Heaven.

The Church addresses the passage quoted above to the Saviour, who has redeemed her by his blood. She styles him her Beloved; the object of her supreme affection, and the meritorious procurer of all her happiness. She prays for the manifestations of his spiritual presence; and that those manifestations may be speedy: "Make haste, my Beloved! and be thou, in the swiftness of thy approach, "like to a roe, or to a young hart, on the mountains of spices!" Rapidly as those lively, expeditious animals spring from hill to hill; nimbly as they bound, instantaneously as they leap, on the fragrant mountains of the East; so swiftly do thou lift up the light of thy countenance on thy waiting people, and cheer them with such tokens of thy grace and favour as are more reviving to the soul than all the odours of the spicy mountains are to the fainting traveller. On the other hand, a formal professor does not look upon ordinances as means of inward religion, and as steps to communion with God, through the Spirit: but having skimmed the surface of outward duties, he sits down satisfied with externals, and aims at nothing higher.

Not so are the conduct and views of one, whose heart God hath touched. The truly awakened soul considers all the exterior means of grace but as channels through which grace itself, and the comforts of it, are (in a way of sovereignty and freeness) communicated to them that hunger and thirst after the righteousness of Jesus Christ. And as it is not the mere channel of conveyance, but the water conveyed, which can satisfy thirst; so the Christian is sensible that, not a bare attendance on outward duties, but the presence of God enjoyed under those duties, is that which nourishes the believing soul, and renews the believer's strength. Hence his heart's desire and prayer are similar to the verse immediately preceding the text. "Thou that dwellest in the gardens," thou who condescendest to be constantly present in the hearts and assemblies of thy people, "the companions hearken to thy voice; the Church above, and the Church below, with whom thou hast vouchsafed to contract a gracious intimacy, are delighted with hearkening to thy voice of love: O, cause me to hear it! make me also glad with the joy of thy salvation! give me to see the felicity of thy chosen, and to drink deep of that river, to experience much of that unspeakable fellowship with thyself, which makes glad the city of God both in earth and heaven." Then follows the supplication, "Make haste, my Beloved," &c. with which we began; from all which it appears that Jesus is the object of his people's love.

And whom should we love, if not him who loved us, and gave himself for us? If the bliss even of angels and glorified souls, consists greatly in seeing and praising the Son of God; surely, to love, to trust, and to celebrate the friend of sinners, must be a principal ingredient in the happiness of saints not yet made perfect. Solomon, whose experience of grace was lively and triumphant when he wrote this Song of Songs, declares, in the fifth chapter, "that Christ is altogether lovely." Other objects may be overrated, and too highly esteemed; but so transcendent, so infinite, is the excellency of Christ, that he is, and will be to all eternity, more lovely than beloved. Yet, though all the love possible for saints and angels to shew falls, and will always fall, infinitely short of the Saviour's due: still it is a blessed privilege to love him at all, though in ever so faint a manner, and in ever so low a degree. They that love him at all, wish to love him more: and more and more they shall love him, through the ages of endless duration in heaven, where they shall be like him, and see him as he is.

MEDITATIONS ON THE COLLECT FOR THE FIRST SUNDAY IN ADVENT.

"ALMIGHTY God," &c.—Advent signifies the act of approaching or of coming. The members of Christ's mystic body, the Church, however they may differ in external and non-essential points; yet, are they all firmly united in this faith, that Jesus Christ is the Son of God; and consequently very God of very God: that he came to visit us in great humility; that he will come again in the last day to judge both the quick and the dead; and that life immortal is obtained for us, and shall be enjoyed by us, through him only.

These are the doctrines upon which this collect is founded, and which are confessed in it. In the firm belief of these, looking

back to Christ's first coming, and forward to his second advent, every believing soul is and will be concerned to cast away the works of darkness; i. e. the evil actings of his corrupt nature; a nature compounded of the pride of the devil and the lust of the beast. And 2, to put on the whole armour of God, brought to light and presented to him by the gospel; even the girdle of truth, the breast-plate of Christ's righteousness, the preparation of the gospel, the shield of faith, the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit (Eph. v. 14, &c.) And seeing the absolute necessity of casting away the former, and of putting on the latter, believers use all prayer to the God of all grace, for his Spirit to enable them to do both; knowing that without God's effectual grace they can do neither.

Hence observe that this collect breathes a spirit quite contrary both to Antinomian licentiousness, and to Arminian pride.—These are of the works of darkness, enemies to the Church of Christ, and are alike therefore to be detested and cast off. The former brings a reproach on the purity of the gospel, the latter perverts the gracious glad tidings of it. That we may avoid the one, and cast off the other, let us ever remember that all good works are necessary to adorn our holy profession; but that as the Church of England elsewhere speaks, we have no power to do good works, pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God, by Christ preventing us (or being beforehand with us), that we may have a good will; and working with us, when we have that good will. Article X.

CONCISE HISTORY OF THE APOSTLE'S CREED, THE NICENE CREED, THE ATHANASIAN CREED, AND THE TE DEUM.

I. That excellent and ancient formulary, commonly called, the Apostle's Creed, was so named, not as if it were written by those illustrious disciples of Christ, but because it contains a general summary or outline of the apostolic doctrines.

Some weak and superstitious people, however, have aimed at reducing it to twelve articles (though it really consists of twenty), in order to have it believed that this creed was drawn up by the twelve apostles, and that each apostle clubbed an article. But let it be observed, (1.) that this tradition was never heard of, so far as appears, for almost four hundred years after Christ. (2.) Rufinus, one of the first assertors of it, is on all hands acknowledged to be an author whose integrity was none of the best. (3.) Neither St. Luke, in the Acts of the Apostles; (4.) nor any of the primitive councils or synods; nor, (5.) any of the more ancient fathers, say one word about the matter; St. Ambrose being the first writer who ascribed this creed to the apostles, as their composition.

Nevertheless, it is a valuable compendium of the Christian faith, and truly apostolical, though not framed by the apostles. It is quite uncertain who were the penmen of it, and when it was penned: but this is no impeachment of its worth, respectability, or usefulness. It seems to have obtained in the Church, about A.D. 300.

II. The Nicene Creed is a most admirable form of sound words, drawn up by the first general council, convened at Nice, A.D. 325.

This celebrated council, which assembled in the great hall of the emperor Constantine's palace at Nice in Bythinia, consisted at a medium of about three hundred bishops, and a vast multitude of inferior clergymen. Its grand object was to counteract the progress of the Arian heresy, then growing rampant; in opposition to which, the creed here framed asserts the eternal generation of the Son of God, and (which are the necessary consequences of that) his coessentiality and co-equality with the Father. Arius himself, from motives of worldly prudence, subscribed this famous creed; but with most wicked and treacherous mental reservations; just as too many who enter into orders in the Church of England at this very day subscribe this very creed, without believing the eternal generation and the absolute divinity of God the Son, any more than they believe the doctrine of absolute predestination, to which they likewise most solemnly set their hands.

III. The Athanasian Creed chiefly respects the doctrine of the Trinity; the eternal generation and the miraculous incarnation of the second person in the Godhead. It is called St. Athanasius's Creed; not because it was syllabically composed by him, but because it so perfectly accords with the system which that great and good man drew from the Scriptures, and which (at a time when the Arian faction were endeavouring to persecute truth out of the world) he underwent so many dangers, difficulties, and sufferings to defend.

Dr. Waterland, who has professedly written a learned and masterly history of the Athanasian Creed supposes, with the utmost probability, that it was drawn up by Hilary, bishop of Arles, about A.D. 430.

Archbishop Tillotson expressed an impious wish, "That the Church of England was fairly rid of the Athanasian Creed." And why not by the same rule wish her to be fairly rid of a certain troublesome volume (no less galling to Arians and Arminians than the Athanasian Creed and the Thirty-nine Articles can be), *viz.*, that two-edged

sword of the Spirit commonly called the Old and New Testaments?

IV. The seraphic hymn, entitled Te Deum, seems to have been collected from some devotional passages in the writings of St. Ambrose and of St. Austin. Dr. Cave, however, thinks it probable that St. Ambrose alone had the honour of composing this divine and almost unequalled song, by way of general antidote against the Arian poison. St. Ambrose died, A. D. 397. St. Austin not until 430.

QUERY, CONCERNING A PASSAGE IN THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY STATED AND RESOLVED.

In what sense are we to understand that declaration of the husband to his bride, "With my body I thee worship?"

The word worship, in ancient English, signifies neither more nor less than that honour, attention, and respect, which are due to worth-ship, *i. e.* to distinguished excellence. The Church of England, taking it for granted that a man has a very high opinion of the woman he marries, enjoins him to testify that good opinion; and in such terms as are equivalent to a solemn promise of treating her tenderly and respectfully: or, as the apostle Peter expresses it, of giving honour to the wife, as to *ασθενεστερῳ σκευει*, the less robust vessel of the two. 1 Pet. iii. 7.

A late very sensible writer (*k*) supposes, agreeably to the venerable Hooker's comment on the phrase, that the design of the above stipulation is, "To express that the woman, by virtue of this marriage, has a share in all the titles and honours which are due or belong to the person of her husband. (*l*)" He also observes that Martin Bucer, who lived at the very time when our Liturgy was composed, translated the passage in question, by *cum corpore meo te honoro, i. e.* "with my body I thee honour:" and that the learned Mr. Selden renders it *corpore meo te dignor.*—"It is true," adds Mr. Wheatly, "the modern sense of the word is (or, rather seems,) somewhat different; for which reason, at the review of our Liturgy, after the restoration of king Charles II., the word worship was promised to be changed for that of honour. How the alteration came to be omitted, I cannot discover. But, so long as the old word is explained in the sense here given, one would think no objection could be urged against the using of it."

(*k*) *Viz.* Mr. Wheatly in his Rationale of the Book of Common Prayer, p. 440. Edit. 1722, Octavo.

(*l*) See Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, Book v. Sect. 73.

A CURSORY REVIEW OF VALOUR, PATRIOTISM AND FRIENDSHIP, OCCASIONED BY A LATE CELEBRATED AUTHOR (*m*) EXCLUDING THEM FROM THE LIST OF VIRTUES.

VALOUR.

Let what will become of prowess, considered merely in a military view, there certainly is a species of it by no means incompatible either with the letter or spirit of the gospel, but warranted by both. Valour properly understood, does not consist in cutting throats with insensibility, nor yet in plundering the weak, trampling on the humble, oppressing the innocent, or doing mischief only because it may be in our power. This is a very unjust definition of the quality in question: true valour is but another word for strength of mind, and is not always constitutional, but sometimes the gift of divine grace, and sometimes the acquired result of reason and reflection. Rash, unjust, and wanton exertions of power differ as much from valour as insolence and pride differ from real dignity, or as lawless lust differs from virtuous love. Valour or firmness of soul may be distinguished in active and passive. The former meets just and necessary dangers with decent intrepidity, as David encountered the Philistine of Gath. The latter sustains incumbent evils with fortitude and composure, and its language is that of St. Paul and of the whole army of martyrs. None of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself; I am ready not only to be bound, but also to die at Jerusalem, for the name of the Lord Jesus. Acts xx. 24, and xxi. 13.

"Be strong, and of a good courage," said the Deity to Joshua, "be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed," Josh. i. 9. The promise to obedient Israel was, five of you shall chase a hundred; and a hundred of you shall put ten thousand to flight, and your enemies shall fall before you by the sword, Levit. xxvi. 8. It even seems probable that something analogous to war was carried on literally for a short time in heaven itself, antecedently to the expulsion of the apostate angels, who can hardly be supposed to have quitted the seats of blessedness without force on one part, and unavailing resistance on theirs. It moreover deserves remembrance, that it was among our Lord's last directions to his disciples, He that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one. Luke xxii. 36. Now a sword is both an offensive and defensive weapon. The evident purport,

(*m*) Soame Jenyns, Esq.

therefore, of the injunction is, that emergency may arise wherein it is lawful for Christians to defend themselves by a resolute resistance, and to annoy their enemies by a vigorous assault.

PATRIOTISM.

The prophet Jeremiah was a patriot or most ardent lover of his country, else he would hardly have deplored its calamities in strains so pathetic as these: For the hurt of the daughters of my people am I hurt; I am black, astonishment hath taken hold upon me. Jer. viii. 21. A very considerable part of his prophecy, and almost the whole of his book of Lamentations, are the sympathetic complaints of a religious patriot weeping over the sins and the distresses of his country. Read the 137th Psalm. What is it but the warmest effusions of a patriotic muse (glowing and under the influence of divine inspiration too, glowing I say) with the most exalted and uneradicable love of its country. If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her skill in music: if I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth. If I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy, that is, as dearly as I love to join in the public and private worship of God, may my hand never be able to touch the harp to his praise, nor my tongue to sing hymns to the glory of his name; if Judea and her capital are not dearer to me than any other country and than any other temporal consideration whatever. But what must set the point beyond all further dispute is the example of Christ himself. If he was a patriot, patriotism must be a virtue. And that he was such appears from his weeping over the approaching calamities of his country; the tears which, as man, he shed on that occasion were tears of patriotism.

FRIENDSHIP.

A most tender and peculiar friendship subsisted between Jonathan and David, that Timothy and Philemon were amongst the most intimate and confidential friends of St. Paul, and (what must decisively turn the scale is) that our Lord himself honoured Lazarus and his two sisters, and also the evangelist John, with such a share of his adorable intimacy and friendship as the rest of his disciples, much less the world at large, were by no means admitted to. And that the tears he poured at the tomb of Lazarus were tears of friendship: we should distinguish sufficiently between friendship and benevolence. The latter, according to the amiable genius of Christianity, should extend to all mankind. The former may, without any wrong to others, be lawfully and reasonably restrained to a few.

ON SACRED POETRY.

God is the God of truth, of holiness, and of elegance. Whoever, therefore, has the honour to compose or to compile any thing that may constitute a part of his worship should keep those three particulars constantly in view.

As we cannot pray without the exciting and enabling grace of the Holy Ghost (Rom. viii. 26. Jude 20), so neither can we sing spiritually, acceptably, and profitably without the presence and inspiration of the same condescending and most adorable person (1 Cor. xiv. 15. Eph. v. 18, 19). The reason is evident. For what is a psalm or hymn strictly taken but prayer or praise in verse?

The original difference (if any specific difference there originally was) between psalms and hymns, seems to have lain in this; that anciently a psalm was actually set to instrumental music, and usually accompanied by it at the time of singing. (Psalm lxxxi. 2.) A similar or even the self-same composition simply sung without the aid of musical instruments was, perhaps, the primitive definition of an hymn. (Matth. xvi. 30.) By degrees the word psalm became appropriated for respectful distinction's sake to the inspired songs of David and others recorded in Scripture; while succeeding pieces formed on those elevated models, but written from time to time as occasion served by inferior believers, obtained the appellation of hymns.

St. Paul (in Eph. v. 19. and Col. iii. 16.) mentions a species of sacred poetry which he terms ὠδαι πνευματικαι, *i. e.* "spiritual odes." These, likewise, I take to have been what are usually called human compositions; as much so as the hymns of Prudentius, Beza, Grotius, Witsius, Vida, Dr. Watts, Miss Steele, or Mr. Hart. Such devout productions may be denominated odes or songs at large, because (like many of the Psalms themselves) they admit of much latitude and variety; being not strictly limited to absolute prayer and praise, but occasionally fraught with doctrine, exhortation, and instruction in righteousness; tending, as the apostle expresses it in the passage last cited, to "teach," to "admonish," and to build up one another on our most holy faith. The "odes" which St. Paul recommends "are termed spiritual" ones, because they relate to spiritual things; are written by spiritual persons under the impressions of spiritual influence; and if the good Spirit of God shine upon us at the time, are a most spiritual branch of divine worship; conducing to spiritualize the heart, wing the affections to heaven, and give us a blessed foretaste of the employment and the felicity of elect angels, and of elect souls delivered from the prison of the flesh.

Some worthy persons have been of opinion (and what absurdity is there for which some well-meaning people have not contended?) that it is "unlawful to sing human human compositions in the house of God." But, by the same rule, it must be equally unlawful to preach or publicly to pray, except in the very words of Scripture. Not to observe that many of the best and greatest men that ever lived have both in ancient and modern times been hymn-writers; and that there is the strongest reason to believe that the best Christians in all ages have been hymn-singers. Moreover, the singing of hymns is an ordinance to which God has repeatedly set the seal of his own presence and power; and which he deigns eminently to bless at this very day. It has proved a converting ordinance to some of his people; a recovering ordinance to others; a comforting ordinance to them all; and one of the divinest mediums of communion with God which his gracious benignity has vouchsafed to his Church below.

But, remember, reader, that "none can" truly and savingly "learn the Song of the Lamb" who are not "redeemed from the earth" by his most precious blood: (Rev xiv. 3.) Pray, therefore, for the effectual operation of the Holy Ghost on thy heart, to apply and make known to thee thy personal interest in the Father's election and in the Son's redemption. So wilt thou not only sing with understanding, but with the Spirit also beaming upon thy soul, and be able experimentally to say,

> As from the lute soft music flows,
> Obedient to the skilful hand;
> So, tuned by thee, my spirit owes
> Her harmony to thy command.
> Touched by the finger of the love
> Sweet melody of praise I bring
> Join the rapturous choirs above,
> And fe'l the bliss that makes them sing.

REFLECTIONS FOR THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR 1776

1. Our highest acknowledgments are due to him whose mercy endureth for ever. To him who crowns each revolving year with the blessings of his goodness, who holds our souls in life, and suffers not our feet to be moved. He alone is worthy to receive the love of our hearts, the tribute of our lips, and the obedience of our hands, even to him be praise and dominion for ever. For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things.

2. If we ought to kindle into gratitude, under the sense of his increasing mercies, it is no less our duty and our desire to acknowledge and deplore the accumulating sinfulness which augments with every moment that swells our aggregate of time; who can tell how oft he offendeth?

3. But if we are great debtors, we have also a still greater pay-master. His infinite atonement has discharged the whole. While therefore we remember and feel our unworthiness, let it answer every purpose of humiliation, but not cherish the poisonous root of unbelief. Be the free grace of the Father, the redeeming merit of Jesus, and the sanctifying omnipotence of the Holy Ghost, our sovereign preservatives from distrust, the subjects of our song, and the strength of our joy, all through the allotted paths of our earthly pilgrimage!

4. Through the good hand of God upon us, another year dawns on the present generation. Time is now 5779 years old, and hastens to that grand period when, like a drop that has been severed from the ocean, it shall again be absorbed in that eternity out of which it was taken. Amidst the *omnium rerum vicissitudines*, or the incessant changes, incident to men and things, previous to the final death of time, we rejoice that the Saviour of sinners and the blessings of his cross, continue immutably the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever. Not less than 800 years before his incarnation, he thus addressed his believing people by the mouth of his sublimest prophet: Lift up your eyes to the heavens, and look upon the earth beneath! For the heavens shall vanish away like smoke; and the earth shall wax old like a garment; and they that dwell therein shall die in like manner, but my salvation shall be for ever, and my righteousness shall not abolished. Isa. li. 6. A sheet anchor in every possible storm!

5. What numbers were transmitted to their eternal homes in the course of the year now closed!

> "How many sleep, who kept the world awake
> With lustre and with noise! Has death proclaim'd
> A truce, and bung his sated lance on high?
> 'Tis brandish'd still, nor shall the present year
> Be more tenacious of her human leaves,
> Or spend of feeble life a thinner fall."

Many a lofty head will be laid low before the expiration of 1776. The sad ravages of civil war will too probably, people the regions of the grave with additional thousands, over and above the myriads who never fail to swell the ordinary bills of mortality.—But Providence, unerring Providence, governs all events. Dan. iv. 35. And grace, unchangeable grace, is faithful to its purpose. Rom. viii 28. May we live by faith on both!

THOUGHTS ON THE ASSURANCE OF FAITH.

The deep things which relate to personal experience of the Holy Spirit's dealing with the soul ought to be matters of prayer, not of disputation.

It has long been a settled point with me, that the Scriptures make a wide distinction

between faith, the assurance of faith, and the full assurance of faith.

1. Faith is the hand by which we embrace, or touch, or reach toward, the garment of Christ's righteousness, for our own justification.—Such a soul is undoubtedly safe.

2. Assurance I consider as the ring which God puts upon faith's finger.—Such a soul is not only safe, but also comfortable and happy.

Nevertheless, as a finger may exist without wearing a ring, so faith may be real without the superadded gift of assurance. We must either admit this, or set down the late excellent Mr. Hervey (among a multitude of others) for an unbeliever. No man, perhaps, ever contended more earnestly for the doctrine of assurance than he, and yet I find him expressly declaring as follows: "What I wrote, concerning a firm faith in God's most precious promises, and a humble trust that we are the objects of his tender love, is what I desire to feel, rather than what I actually experience." The truth is, as another good man expresses it, "A weak hand may tie the marriage-knot; and a feeble faith may lay hold on a strong Christ.

Moreover, assurance after it has been vouchsafed to the soul may be lost. Peter no doubt lost his assurance, and sinned it away, when he denied Christ. He did not, however, lose the principle of faith; for Christ had before-hand prayed, concerning him, that his faith itself might not fail: and Christ could not possibly pray in vain.—A wife may lose her wedding-ring. But that does not dissolve her marriage-relation. She continues a lawful wife still. And yet she is not easy until she find her ring again.

3. Full assurance I consider as the brilliant, or cluster of brilliants, which adorns the ring, and renders it incomparably more beautiful and valuable. Where the diamond of full assurance is thus set in the gold of faith, it diffuses its rays of love, joy, peace, and holiness, with a lustre which leaves no room for doubt or darkness.—While these high and unclouded consolations remain, the believer's felicity is only inferior to that of angels, or of saints made perfect above.

4. After all, I apprehend that the very essence of assurance lies in communion with God. While we feel the sweetness of his inward presence, we cannot doubt of our interest in his tender mercies. So long as the Lord speaks comfortably to our hearts, our affections are on fire, our views are clear, and our faces shine. It is when we come down from the mount, and when we mix with the world again, that we are in danger of losing that precious sense of his love, which is the strength of saints militant, and the joy of souls triumphant.

But let not trembling believers forget that faith, strictly so called, is neither more nor less than a receiving of Christ, for ourselves in particular, as our only possible propitiation, righteousness, and Saviour: John i. 12.—Hast thou so received Christ? Thou art a believer, to all the purposes of safety.—And it deserves special notice that our Lord calls the centurion's faith "great faith;" though it rose no higher than to make him say "Speak the word only, and my servant shall be healed." Matt. viii. 8. 10.

The case likewise of the Canaanitish woman is full to the present point. Her cry was, "Have mercy on me, O Lord, thou Son of David!" And, a little after, "Lord, help me!" Jesus at first gave her a seeming repulse: but her importunity continued, and she requested only the privilege of a dog, *viz.*, to eat of the crumbs which fell from the master's table. What were our Saviour's answer and our Saviour's remark? An answer and a remark which ought to make every broken sinner take down his harp from the willows:—"O woman, great is thy faith." Matt. x. 22—28.

5. The graces which the blessed Spirit implants in our hearts (and the grace of faith among the rest) resemble a sun-dial; which is of little service except when the sun shines upon it. The Holy Ghost must shine upon the graces he has given, or they will leave us at a loss (in point of spiritual comfort), and be unable to tell us whereabouts we are. May he, day by day, rise upon our souls with healing in his beams! Then shall we be filled with all joy and peace in believing, and abound in hope, through the power of the Holy Ghost. Rom. xv. 13.

6. Are there any weak in faith who come under the denomination of bruised reeds and smoking flax? Let them know that God will take care of them. The former will not be broken: the latter shall not be quenched. Bless God for any degree of faith; even though it be as the smallest of all seeds, sooner or later it will surely expand into a large and fruitful tree.—However, stop not here; but, as the apostle advises, covet earnestly the best gifts: and the gift of assurance, yea, of fullest assurance among the rest. The stronger you are in faith, the more glory you will give to God, both in lip and life. Lord, increase our faith! Amen.

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE QUEEN'S ARMS, NEWGATE STREET,

ON THE FOLLOWING QUESTION:

"Whether the World is to be destroyed? and what are the approaching Symptoms of its Dissolution?"

MR. PRESIDENT,

WHEN this question was debated at a former meeting, an ingenious gentleman then present observed, very truly, that the decision of it in this assembly depends entirely on the principles of the respective speakers. Every person here either believes revelation or not. Those who unhappily reject that divine light cannot possibly come to any degree of certainty as to the enquiry now depending: to them there is a wide field left open of conjecture *ad infinitum:* they may to their lives' end blunder on in the dark, and debate how the world is to be destroyed, whether by water, a universal earthquake, &c., or even whether it will ever be destroyed at all. But to them who believe the Scriptures the point is quite plain and clear. The Bible cuts short the matter at once, and leaves no room for doubt. We are there positively told, that the terraqueous globe will be destroyed, and destroyed by fire. "The earth, and all the works that are therein, shall be burnt up:" and again, "the heavens and the earth which now are, are kept in store and reserved unto fire:" meaning the globe on which we live, and the atmosphere that surrounds it equally every way. These, the same inestimable book informs us, will not be so destroyed as to be either annihilated or rendered unfit for subsequent habitation: but so destroyed as to rise (like the fabled phœnix) from its ashes, and become eventually such as it was at its first creation, before moral evil entered and ever natural evil took place. As to the manner in which this great event is to be effected, revelation, so far as I can perceive, has not discovered. Whether it will be by God's omnipotently counteracting the centrifugal power of the earth, by which it is at present kept at a due distance from the sun; or by the fall of one or more of the heavenly bodies, which may kindle the earth in their passage; or by the approximation of a comet; or, which seems most probable to me, by the bursting forth of the subterraneous fire, which is justly believed to be imprisoned within the cavities of the earth, near the centre, and which is supposed to act in concert with the sunbeams in temperating the coldness of the air, and occasioning the fruitfulness of the earth; but which probably continues insensibly to increase with time, and will at the destined season burst the womb in which it is confined, and render the whole earth and sea one undistinguished mass of fluid fire.

I come now to the other branch of the question, respecting the approaching symptoms which will precede this general dissolution. As to those recorded in the 24th of St. Matthew, and in the 21st of St. Luke, the signs prelusive to the destruction of Jerusalem are so blended and interwoven with those that shall introduce Christ's second coming, and it requires so large an induction of historical particulars, as well as so much caution and critical exactness to assign each circumstance to its respective period of accomplishment, that I shall not (as a very worthy gentleman has ventured to do) repeat any of the symptoms predicted in those two chapters; but confine myself to one or two plain and express signals, mentioned in other parts of holy writ. 1. The utter abolition and destruction of both the eastern and western antichrist, will prepare the way for Christ's appearance and the world's dissolution. This yet remains to be effected, but will most surely be brought about in God's appointed time. And the people of God, who shall be alive at that period, may, when they see the total extermination of Mahometanism and Popery, lift up their heads with joy, knowing that the Judge is at the door, and that their redemption draweth nigh. 2. The calling in of the Jews, when a nation shall be born in a day, and they shall unanimously believe in Him whom their fathers have pierced, will be another event preparatory to the consummation of all things. So will, 3. the universal conversion of the whole Gentile world, when Christ will take all the heathen as the right of his inheritance.

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE QUEEN'S ARMS, NEWGATE STREET,

ON THE FOLLOWING QUESTION:

"Whether unnecessary Cruelty to the Brute Creation is not criminal?"

MR. PRESIDENT,

THE humane tendency of the question reflects great honour on the benevolence of the gentleman who proposed it; and the manner in which it has been discussed, since I came into the room, does equal credit to the gentlemen who have spoken to it. However, I must own my dissent, in some particulars, from the worthy gentleman who gave his sentiments last: and as he thought proper to make very free with the gentleman who spoke before him, I hope he will excuse me if I make modestly free with him. And though the observation I intend to animadvert upon was rather a deviation

from the question, yet I shall follow him in the deviation for a while; and the more willingly, as it may conduce indirectly to throw some light on the subject now under debate.

That gentleman asserted peremptorily and absolutely, that "All things whatever, in and upon the terraqueous globe, were created purely and solely for the service of man." Such an opinion may serve to gratify our vanity and sooth our pride: but how far it is founded on reality, will appear from examining into matter of fact.

We will suppose that a ship on a foreign voyage drops anchor on a foreign coast. A poor sailor takes the opportunity of bathing in the sea. A hungry shark either scents or descries him; darts forward to the unhappy victim; snaps him in two, and swallows him at a couple of mouthfuls. I would ask, was the shark made for the use of that man? or was that man made for the use of the shark? So long, therefore, as there are not only useless creatures in the world (useless as to us, though they doubtless answer some valuable purpose in the great scheme of creation), but creatures apparently noxious, and fatal sometimes to our very lives; so long, I think, if demonstration carries any conviction, we must grant that there are some creatures not made for the service of men. But to omit sharks, rattlesnakes, and crocodiles, let us descend to creatures of much lower class. Will that gentleman seriously say, for instance, that London bugs, fleas, and some other reptiles I could mention, are made for human benefit? Ask any mendicant in the streets what he thinks; he will tell you, that they seem rather made to tire our patience and to mortify our pride. I allow indeed that man is the centre, in which the generality of created good may be said to terminate; for which we ought to be thankful to the most wise and gracious Creator of all things. But then it is to me equally evident that the same adorable being consulted and does consult, the happiness of every individual creature to which he has given life; else why such various and so admirably adapted accommodations for their respective provision and welfare.

I now come directly to the question; and without hesitation or limitation deliver it as my steadfast belief that all wanton exercise of power over, and all unnecessary cruelty to, the brute creation, is truly and properly criminal. Several good reasons have been urged in proof of this, by some gentlemen who spoke before me; but I own there is one argument which has more weight with me than all that have been yet offered, and which I wonder no gentleman has hitherto mentioned. I firmly believe that beasts have souls; souls, truly and properly so called: which, if true, entitles them not only to all due tenderness, but even to a higher degree of respect than is usually shewn them.

I lay down two things, Mr. President, as *data:* 1, That mere matter is incapable of thinking; and 2, That there is no medium between matter and spirit.

That brutes think can hardly, I imagine, be questioned by any thinking man. Their not being able to carry their speculations so high as we do is no objection to their cogitability. Even among men some are more able reasoners than others. And we might perhaps reason no better than the meanest animal that breathes, if our souls were shut up in bodies no better organized than theirs. Nay, brutes not only think when they are awake and their senses are in full exercise; but they frequently think, even in their sleep. A dog, as he lies extended by the fire side, will sometimes shew by the whining noise he makes, and by the catching motion of his feet, that he is enjoying an imaginary chace in a dream. A cat, dissolved in sleep, will often, by various starts and agitation, convince any unprejudiced observer that she fancies her prey full in view and is preparing to seize it. I remember a cat of my own, who one evening enjoyed for five or eight minutes this pleasing illusion; until at last her eagerness, agitation of spirits, and a spring she endeavoured to make, awoke her from her golden dream; upon which she shewed as much concern and disappointment as she could discover by disconsolate mewing. Now there can be no imagination without thought: nay, these two are perhaps, in fact, things synonymous: nor can there be thought without some degree of reason: and that which reasons must be something superior to matter, however modified, and essentially different from it. I have not time to enter deeply into the subject. I cannot, however, help giving it as my judgment that, before a man can coolly and deliberately deny rationality to brutes, he must have renounced his own. And why that noble faculty which, *pro gradu*, produces similar effects in us and them, should be called by a different name in them and us, I own myself quite at a loss to determine. If I can at all account for it, the pride of man is the only reason I am able to assign. We are, right or wrong, for monopolizing every excellence to ourselves; and for allowing little or none to other animals is forgetting that inferior animals are not only our fellow-creatures, but (if it may be said without offence) our elder brethren, for their creation was previous to our's.—If then brutes reason, that in them which does reason must be spirit,

or an immaterial principle, which principle, being immaterial, must be perfectly simple and uncompounded; if perfectly simple it must be, in its own nature, incorruptible; and if incorruptible, immortal. And I will honestly confess that I never yet heard one single argument urged against the immortality of brutes, which, if admitted, would not, *mutatis mutandis*, be equally conclusive against the immortality of man.

What I have offered may seem strange and surprising to those who have not viewed the subject on both sides of it. It would have seemed strange to myself a few years ago.

I accounted for all the internal and external operations of brutes upon the principles of mechanism. But I was soon driven from this absurdity by dint of evidence. Was a cat a meer machine, she could not distinguish a mouse from a kitten, but would be equally indifferent to both. Was a dog a mere machine, he would not distinguish his master from a rabbit, much less would he pursue the latter, and caress the former; any more than a clock can know its owner, or one statue can hunt another.—I next had recourse to instinct. But I soon found, upon careful examination, that this is a mere term without an idea: a name for we know not what; and he that would distinguish between instinct and reason (for if instinct has any meaning at all it must signify reason) must first find a medium between matter and spirit. But I am rather for expunging the word quite, as a term which, in its present application at least, signifies just nothing; and, like all such unmeaning terms, either conduces to no end, or at least, to a very bad one, as only tending to confuse and embarrass, and "darken counsel by words without knowledge." By the way, this is not the only word which, was I to unite an expurgatory index to our language, I would utterly proscribe. But whatever I retain, chance, fortune, luck, and instinct, should have no quarter; because they are wells without water; terms without ideas; and words are only so far valuable as they are the vehicles of meaning.

I cannot wholly dismiss the subject, without observing another particular in favour of the spirituality of brutes; namely, what is commonly the *facultas locomotiva*, or power of voluntary motion from place to place. Motion itself, simply considered, is not always an indication of an intelligent agent within; but voluntary motion is, and must be such in the very nature of things. An inanimate body set in motion by some exterior cause would, as is universally allowed, go on in a straight line, *ad infinitum*, if not obstructed in its course by the air or some other intervening body. All involuntary motion, therefore, being necessarily and in its own nature, rectilinear, and the motions of beasts not being necessarily rectilinear, but in all directions and in any direction, as occasion requires (for they in their way act as much *pro re natâ* as we can do), it follows that every beast has something within which judges, consults, and directs; which, as it cannot possibly be material must be spiritual. If a dog was running from this end of the room to the other, and one of the gentlemen by the opposite chimney-piece was to stand up in a menacing posture, the animal would immediately cease to proceed in a right line, because he would know that would be the wrong one for his safety, he would turn back and, if possible, escape at the door. What is this but practical reason? an excellence, by the bye, in which many of those creatures surpass the generality of mankind. The language of such conduct is apparently this, "If I go forward, danger is before me; if I return, or go another way, I may probably escape this danger; *ergo*, I will do the latter." Could we ourselves in similar circumstances argue more justly, or act more wisely? From which I conclude that, as there is evidently something in every living creature which discerns what is good, and puts him upon pursuing it; which likewise points out what is pernicious and puts him upon avoiding; this discerning, reasoning, inclining principle, must be essentially different from the mechanic system it actuates, and can be no other, in plain English, than an intelligent soul. Should it be objected, that "this intelligent principle does not always produce these beneficial effects, witness the case of a dog who swallows poison under the apprehension of a dainty;" I answer, man himself is liable to deceptions of a similar kind. Yet he would be a disgrace to the name of man who should, upon this account, question either the immateriality or immortality of his own soul.

I pay, likewise, great attention to another consideration. That beasts are possessed of the five senses we value ourselves upon (though perhaps, after all, every one of those senses may in reality be reducible to one, *viz.*, feeling), in as great, and sometimes much greater perfection than we, is a principle which I look upon as incontestible. Brutes are, if experience (which is practical demonstration) carries any authority, as sensible of pain and pleasure as man. Rub a cat's head and she will purr; pinch her tail and she will spit. Now I would ask, what is it that feels? The body, the flesh, the blood, the nerves? No: for a dead animal has all these and yet feels not. It is the soul, Mr. President, that feels and per-

ceives through the medium of the senses; for what are the senses but channels of conveyance, and a sort of mediators between outward objects and the mind? In what way matter acts upon spirit is unknown, but that it does so every day's experience proves.

Memory likewise belongs to brutes. Memory is the power of recalling past ideas, and of recollecting past events. The person who denies that beasts remember must either be a man of no observation, or have a very bad memory himself. Now there can be no memory without ideas: no ideas without thinking (for the forming, the comparison, and the combination, of ideas are thought): no thinking without some degree of reasoning: and no reasoning without a reasonable soul. There may be thought without memory, but memory there can be none without thought. And the passions likewise are as strong in them as in us.

On the whole, needless cruelty to beasts is highly criminal. Especially if we take in these two additional observations; 1. That the same Deity who has made them what they are might have made us what they are; *i. e.* he might have imprisoned our spirits in their bodies had it been his pleasure. And, though I look upon the Pythagorean doctrine of transmigration to be in itself both groundless and absurd, yet its tendency was certainly a very good one, as it necessarily induced men to be tender of the lives and happiness, the being and the well-being, of the animal creation. 2. As another very cogent motive to this benevolence of disposition and behaviour, let us never forget that all the miseries and hardships under which the brute creation labour, together with mortality itself, to which they are liable, are primarily owing to the sin of man; which reflection must influence every considerate and truly ingenuous mind to treat them with the greatest lenity upon that very account. Nor can I omit just mentioning an argument which may be deduced from the care of Providence. If God hath respect to the meanest of his creatures, and despises not the workmanship of his own hands, let us, whose supreme glory it is to resemble Deity, imitate him in these amiable and gracious views. As Dr. Young truly and nobly observes, "There is not a fly, but infinite wisdom is concerned both in its structure and its destination." How dare we then be destroyers of their ease which we ought to promote, or wantonly deprive them of that life which we cannot restore?

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE QUEEN'S ARMS, NEWGATE STREET

ON THE FOLLOWING QUESTION:

"Whether our good works will add to our degree of future glory?"

MR. PRESIDENT,

FROM what I have the pleasure to know of the worthy gentleman who is the father of the question, I have too great an opinion of his good sense, and of the deference he pays to divine revelation, to suppose he believes there is any sort of merit in human works. I dare say no person here need be acquainted that to merit properly signifies to earn, and originally the word was applied to soldiers and other military persons, who, by their labours in the field, and by the various hardships they frequently underwent during the course of a campaign, as also by other services they might occasionally render to the commonwealth, were said *merere stipendia*, to merit, or earn their pay: which they might properly be said to do, because they yielded in real service an equivalent to the state for the stipend they received, which was therefore due to them in justice. Hence, I apprehend, we come at the true meaning of the word merit; from this view of the point I think it is very clear in the very nature of things, exclusive of Scripture, that there can be no such thing as merit in our best obedience. One man may merit of another, but all mankind together cannot merit from the hand of God. If we advert to revelation, nothing can be clearer than this important truth. Salvation in all its various branches is expressly declared to be "not of works," and elsewhere "not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy, he saved us:" for which one of the reasons assigned is, "lest any man should boast:" which he would surely, and might justly do, if his works were meritorious of divine acceptance, could justify him in the sight of God, and entitle him to heaven. The law will admit of no righteousness as a sufficient ground of justification, but such and such a righteousness only, as in every respect whatever, and from first to last, comes up to the standard of that law, which no human righteousness since the primitive transgression of Adam ever did come up to or ever will. Hence it follows that all men being sinners, and of consequence not having a perfect righteousness to bring, either the whole human race must be condemned, or those who are saved must be saved by a righteousness out of themselves and to be had

from another. Who this other is, in virtue of whose complete obedience the Church of his elect are justified from all things, the Scripture plainly declares when it tells us that "Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believes:" that the same blessed Person "who knew no sin was made sin," that is, a sin-bearer and a sin-offering, "for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him:" and, to mention no more passages, that "as by the disobedience of one many were made, or constituted, sinners; so by the obedience of one shall many be made and constituted righteous." If then we are justified by the alone imputation of Christ's righteousness, it more evidently follows that good works on our part are in no sense meritorious of heaven, neither as causes nor conditions, for, however plausible and innocent the word condition may sound, a condition is no more than a softer name for cause, as being something on account of which something else is given or done. And that works can be neither causes nor (which amounts to the same thing) conditions of justification is clear, because the performance of a condition necessarily precedes the reception of a benefit suspended on that condition; whereas, good works (and works are then only evangelically good which proceed from the united principles of faith in Christ and love to God, which faith and love are the fruits of grace previously bestowed) do not go before, but follow after justification, which is the express doctrine both of Scripture and of the Church of England, in her 12th and 13th Articles, and throughout the whole book of Homilies. Therefore to put good works before justification is making the effect prior to the cause, and representing the fountain as flowing from the stream, instead of deducing the stream from the fountain. I shall only add one observation more on the head of merit. Whoever believes the Scriptures must admit that, whatever good is either wrought in man, or done by him, is the fruit of God's effectual grace. Was it otherwise it would follow that God is not the source of all good, but that men may be good independently of the Creator, and of consequence that there are some good and perfect gifts which do not descend from the Father of lights. How rational this is in itself, and how honourable to the Deity, must be left to the judgment of those gentlemen who think fit to depart from the doctrines of the Reformation by espousing the system of Arminius. If, therefore, the good we are enabled to do is done in the strength of divine grace, it follows, not that the Deity is indebted to us, but that we are unspeakably indebted to him, for working in us both to will and to do the things that are well-pleasing in his sight. "Are good works, then, and moral obedience, unnecessary?" Quite the reverse. They are of indispensible necessity. They must and will be wrought by all who are born from above. They are the evidences of faith, and the necessary consequences of justification.—Believe in Christ for justification, and lead a bad life if you can. It is impossible. They that are of God will do the works of God.

I have been perhaps tedious, but what is said has a close connection with the question before us; which is, "Whether our good works, &c." Here, I think, is room for a distinction. I am of opinion that good works, extensive usefulness, and eminent sufferings for Christ, will in one respect be followed by a proportionable degree of glory, and in another, not. I am one of those old-fashioned people, Mr. President, who believe the doctrine of the Millennium, and that there will be two distinct resurrections of the dead: 1st of the just, and 2ndly of the unjust; which last resurrection, of the reprobate, will not commence till a thousand years after the resurrection of the elect. In this glorious interval of one thousand years, Christ, I apprehend, will reign in person over the kingdom of the just; and that during this dispensation different degrees of glory will obtain, and "every man shall receive his own reward, according to his own labour." This reward, though temporary, will surely be more than equivalent to anything we can be enabled to do or suffer for God, during the short span of our present life. And yet, though the reward will vastly transcend the work, still between temporal obedience and this temporal recompense there is some little proportion, whereas, between temporal obedience and the eternal weight of glory there is no proportion at all. And to me it seems very clear that, whatever difference of bliss and honorary distinctions may obtain during the Millennary state, I am inclined to think, both by Scripture and reason, that in the heavenly glory which will immediately succeed the other, all the saints will be exalted to an equality of happiness and crowned alike. In the course of the present argument, I have been forced to take the doctrine of the Millennium for granted, time not allowing me to even intimate a hundreth part of the proof by which it is supported. I would only observe to those who have not considered that subject that it would be prudent in them to suspend their judgment about it, and not be too quick in determining against it, merely because it seems to lie out of the common road. As doctrines of this kind should not be admitted hastily, so they should not be

rejected prematurely. Upon the whole, I give it as my opinion that the reward of the saints, during the personal reign of Christ upon earth, will be greater or less in proportion to their respective labours, sufferings, and attainments; but that, seeing they are loved alike, with one and the same everlasting love of God the Father; that their names are in one and the same book of life; that they are all justified by the same perfect righteousness of Christ, redeemed and washed from all their sins in the blood of the same Saviour, regenerated by the same Spirit, made partakers of like precious faith, and will in the article of death be perfectly (and of course equally) sanctified by divine grace; for these and other reasons that might be mentioned, I am clearly of opinion that, in the state of ultimate glory, they will be on a perfectly equal footing with regard to final blessedness, both as to its nature and degree; and, as the parable expresses it, "receive every man his penny."

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS RELATIVE TO THE NATIONAL DEBT.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1775.*

Qu. 1. Supposing this debt to be only 130 millions of pounds sterling at present (although it is much more), and that it was all to be counted in shillings: that a man could count at the rate of 100 shillings per minute, for twelve hours each day till he had counted the whole; how much time would he take in doing it?

Ans. 98 years, 316 days, 14 hours, and 40 minutes.

Qu. 2. The whole of this sum being 2600 millions of shillings, and the coinage standard being 62 shillings in the Troy pound, what is the whole weight?

Ans. 41 million, 935 thousand, 484 Troy pounds.

Qu. 3. How many carts would carry this weight, supposing a ton in each?

Ans. 20,968 carts.

Qu. 4. Supposing a man could carry 100 pound weight from London to York; how many men would it require to carry the whole?

Ans. 419 thousand, 355 men.

Qu. 5. If all these men were to walk in a line at two yards distance from each other, what length of road would they all require?

Ans. 476 miles, half a mile, and 70 yards.

Qu. 6. The breadth of a shilling being one inch, if all these shillings were laid in a straight line close to one another's edges, how long would the line be that would contain them?

Ans. 41,035 miles; which is 16,035 miles more than the whole circumference of the earth.

Qu. 7. Supposing the interest of this debt to be only 3½ *per cent. per annum*, what does the whole annual interest amount to?

Ans. Four million 550 thousand pounds sterling.

Qu. 8. How doth the government raise this interest yearly?

Ans. By taxing those who lent the principal, and others.

Qu. 9. When will the government be able to pay the principal?

Ans. When there is more money in England's treasury alone than there is at present in all Europe.

Qu. 10. And when will that be?

Ans. Never.

SPIRITUAL IMPROVEMENT OF THE FOREGOING

Qu. What is the moral law of God?

Ans. The transcript of his own most holy nature, and the standard of human purity and obedience.

Qu. Will this law make any allowance for human infirmity, or admit any abatement of the perfect conformity which it demands?

Ans. It makes no allowance for the former, nor will it dispense with a single grain of the latter.

Qu. How does that appear?

Ans. It appears from the undeniable current of Scripture: where the language of the law is, Be ye perfect, as your Father in heaven is perfect. (Matt. v. 48.) Cursed is every one who continueth not in all things that are written in the book of the law, to do them. Gal. iii. 10. The indispensable requisition is, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself. Luke x. 27. Hence, in the eye of the law and the estimation of the law-giver, the risings of wrath are tantamount to murder; the calling any man a fool exposes us to the penalty of hell-fire; an impure thought brings us under the condemnation of actual adultery. Matt. v. 22. 28.

Qu. What is the grand inference from these alarming premises?

Ans. That inference which the apostle terms an evident one, and evident indeed it is, *viz.* that no man is justified by the law in the sight of God. Gal. iii. 11. For a single breach of the law renders us guilty of the whole: James ii. 10. And one idle word lays us open to the vengeance of God, according to the tenor of the covenant of works. Matt. xii. 36.

Qu. Supposing a person was to break the

* This remarkable calculation is introduced here for the sake of the spiritual improvement subjoined by the author.

law but once in 24 hours; to how many would his sins amount in a life often, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, or eighty years?

Ans. If he was to fail in moral duty but once a day his sins at ten years of age would amount to 3 thousand 6 hundred and 50. At twenty years' end, the catalogue would rise to 7 thousand 3 hundred. At thirty, to 10 thousand nine hundred and 50. At forty, to 14 thousand 6 hundred. At fifty, to 18 thousand 2 hundred and 50. At sixty, to 21 thousand 9 hundred. At seventy, to 25 thousand 5 hundred and fifty. At eighty, to 29 thousand 2 hundred.

Qu. What if a person's sins are supposed to bear a double proportion to the foregoing estimate? That is, let us imagine him to sin twice a day, or once every twelve hours.

Ans. In that case his sins at the age of ten years will be multiplied to 7 thousand 3 hundred. At twenty, to 14 thousand 6 hundred. At thirty, to 21 thousand 9 hundred. At forty, to 29 thousand, 2 hundred. At fifty, to 36 thousand 5 hundred. At sixty to 43 thousand 8 hundred. At seventy, to 51 thousand 1 hundred. At eighty, to 58 thousand 4 hundred.

Qu. We must go farther still. What if a man's sins keep exact pace with every hour of his life? *i. e.* we will suppose him to sin 24 times a day.

Ans. His sins will then amount, in a life of ten years, to 87 thousand 6 hundred. At twenty years of age they will accumulate to 175 thousand 2 hundred. At thirty, to 262 thousand 8 hundred. At forty, to 350 thousand 4 hundred. At fifty, to 438 thousand. At sixty, to 525 thousand 6 hundred. At seventy, to 613 thousand 2 hundred. At eighty, to 700 thousand and eight hundred.

Qu. Is there a single minute from the first of our existence to the very article of death, wherein we come up to the whole of that inward and outward holiness which God's all perfect law requires?

Ans. Most certainly not.

Qu. Of how many sins then is each of the human race guilty, reckoning only at the rate of one sin for every minute?

Ans. At ten years old we (according to that method of calculation) are guilty of no fewer than 5 millions 256 thousand sins At twenty, of 10 millions and 512 thousand. At thirty, of 15 millions 568 thousand. At forty, of 21 millions and 24 thousand. At fifty, of 26 millions and 280 thousand. At sixty, of 31 millions and 536 thousand. At seventy, of 36 millions and 792 thousand. At eighty, of 42 millions and 48 thousand.

Qu. May we not proceed abundantly farther yet? Sixty seconds go to a minute. Now, as we never in the present life rise to the mark of legal sanctity, is it not fairly inferrible that our sins multiply with every second of our sublunary duration?

Ans. It is too true. And, in this view of the matter, our dreadful account stands as follows.—At ten years old each of us is chargeable with 315 millions, and 36 thousand sins.—At twenty, with 630 millions, and 720 thousand.—At thirty, with 946 millions, and 80 thousand.—At forty, with 1261 millions, 440 thousand.—At fifty, 1576 millions, and 800 thousand.—At sixty, 1892 millions, and 160 thousand —At seventy, with 2207 millions, and 520 thousand.—At eighty, with 2522 millions, 880 thousand.

Qu. When shall we be able to pay off this immense debt?

Ans. Never. Eternity itself, so far from clearing us of the dreadful arrear, would only add to the score by plunging us deeper and deeper even to infinity. Hence the damned will never be able to satisfy the justice of the Almighty Creditor.

Qu. Will not divine goodness compound for the debt by accepting less than we owe?

Ans. Impossible. Justice, holiness, and truth, will and must have their own, even to the very uttermost farthing. God himself (with profoundest veneration be it spoken) must become an Antinomian, and renounce himself, ere he can forego his essential attributes, and repeal his inviolable law, by offering violence to those, and by making void the claims and the threatenings of this.

Qu. Who then can do us any good in this respect?

Ans. Not all the angels in heaven, nor all the men that ever did or ever shall exist. Others cannot help us, nor can we help our own selves.

Qu. If so, are we not lost, without remedy and without end?

Ans. In ourselves we are. But (sing, O heavens!) God's own arm brought salvation.

Qu. How so? What is there wherewith to counterbalance such an exceeding and astonishing weight of guilt?

Ans. "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law; being made a curse for us." Gal. iii. 13.—This, this will not only counter-balance, but infinitely over-balance, all the sins of the whole believing world.

Qu. If the personal short-comings and misdoings of each sinner in particular amount to so vast a multitude, who can calculate the extent of the whole national debt, the entire aggregated sum, which (abstracted from her union with Christ) lies on the Church at large, that elect nation whom he has redeemed from among men?

Ans. The arithmetic of angels would be unable to ascertain the full amount.

O thou covenanting, thou incarnate, thou obeying, thou bleeding, thou dying, thou risen, thou ascended, thou interceding Son of God! not all the seraphs thou hast created, not all the innumerable saints thy

love hath ransomed, will be able to comprehend, much less to display, along the endless line of eternity itself, the length, the breadth, the depth, the height, of a sinner's obligations to thee.

Qu. If, on one hand, we are each constrained to cry out with the believers of old, Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord, for in thy sight shall no flesh living be justified by works of human performance;—Who can tell how oft he offendeth?—How shall man be just with God? If thou contend with him for his transgressions, he cannot answer thee for one of a thousand;—My sins are more in number than the hairs of my head;—Forgive us our debts, and cast all our sins into the depths of the sea; what has faith to say?

Ans. Faith, on the other hand, can reply in the very words which the Holy Ghost teacheth, the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin; and there is now no condemnation [*μὴν κατακριμα*, not one condemnation] to them that are in Christ Jesus. So that we may sing, with Dr. Watts,

"Believing sinners free are set,
For Christ hath paid their dreadful debt."

We may add, in the words of another sweet singer in Israel,

"Who now shall urge a second claim?
The law no longer can condemn;
Faith a release can show:
Justice itself a friend appears;
The prison-house a whisper hears,
Loose him, and let him go!"

Qu. What return can believers render, to the glorious and gracious Trinity, for mercy and plenteous redemption like this?

Ans. We can only admire and bless the Father, for electing us in Christ, and for laying on him the iniquity of us all:—the Son, for taking our nature and our debts upon himself, and for that complete righteousness and sacrifice whereby he redeemed his mystic Israel from all their sins;—and the co-equal Spirit, for causing us (in conversion) to feel our need of Christ, for inspiring us with faith to embrace him, for visiting us with his sweet consolations by shedding abroad his love in our hearts, for sealing us to the day of Christ, and for making us to walk in the path of his commandments.

THE MANNER OF STONING A CRIMINAL TO DEATH, AMONG THE ANCIENT JEWS.

STONING was one of the four capital punishments among the Jews, inflicted for the greater and more enormous crimes, especially for blasphemy and idolatry.

The malefactor was led out of the consistory (where he had received sentence), at the door whereof a person stood, with a napkin in his hand, and a man on horseback at some distance from him: that if any one came and said he had something to offer for the deliverance of the criminal, the horseman (on the other's waving the napkin) might give notice, and cause the offender to be brought back to a farther hearing.

He had two grave persons to go along with him to the place of execution, and to exhort him to confession by the way. A crier went before him proclaiming who he was, what his crime, and who his witnesses. When arrived at the fatal spot, which was raised two cubits from the ground, he was first stript, then stoned, and afterwards hanged. He was to continue hanging until sun-set, and then, being taken down, he and his gibbet were buried together. [See Cave's Life of St. Stephen, Sect. 19]

MANNER OF WHIPPING AMONG THE ANCIENT JEWS.

THIS punishment was not to exceed 40 stripes: and therefore the whip with which it was to be inflicted being made of three thongs, and each blow giving three stripes, they never laid on any criminal more than 13 blows; because 13 of those blows made 39 stripes, and to add another blow would have been a transgression of the law, by adding two stripes over and above 40. [See Prideaux's Connect. Part ii. Book 5.]

REMARKABLE DESCRIPTION OF ST. PAUL'S PERSON.

How little stress is to be laid on external appearance! This prince of apostles seems to hint, concerning himself, that his bodily presence was not calculated to command respect at first sight: 2 Cor. x. 10. St. Chrysostom terms him *homuncionem tricubitalem*, "a little man, about three cubits [or four feet and a half] in height."

Lucian, or whoever is the author of the Philopatris, is supposed to have had St. Paul in view where he introduces "A Galilean" (for so the Christians were contemptuously styled), "rather bald-headed, with an acquiline nose, who travelled through the air into the third heaven."

But, of all other writers, Nicephorus Callistus has given us the most circumstantial account of St. Paul's person [Lib. ii. cap. 37].—"St. Paul was small of stature, stooping, and rather inclinable to crookedness, pale-faced, of an elderly look, bald on the head. His eyes, lively, keen, and cheerful, shaded in part by his eyebrows, which hung a little over. His nose, rather long and not ungracefully bent. His beard, pretty thick of hair, and of a sufficient length; and, like his locks interspersed with grey."

BIOGRAPHY.

SOME ACCOUNT OF MR. JOHN KNOX.

TRANSLATED, CHIEFLY FROM THE LATIN OF MELCHIOR ADAMUS.

SCOTLAND had the honour of producing this great and eminent luminary, who became the principal instrument, in God's hand, of effecting the reformation in that kingdom, at a time when Papal darkness, ignorance, and superstition, had involved the whole nation in shades of deeper than Egyptian night. He was born at Gaffard, near Haddington, in the county of East Lothian, A.D. 1505; and received his academical education in the university of St. Andrew's, under the tutorage of the celebrated John Mair, or Major: and soon gave proof of the astonishing genius with which Providence had endued him, by his swift and profound advances in all the walks of scholastic science. Having mastered these, he studied, with great diligence, the writings of Austin, and of Jerom: which, running in a more simple and easy channel, moved him to forego the needless intricacies of the philosophic theology he had formerly imbibed; and to embrace that simplicity with which both Christ and his apostles were content, and which they commended to their disciples. He soon perceived that these scholastic niceties, when pushed to excess, are directly opposite to the genius of the gospel; and open the way, not to Christian knowledge, but to the endless mazes of sophistry and strife of words.

Coming acquainted with the famous Mr. George Wishart (afterwards martyred for the Protestant faith), it pleased God so to bless the conversation of that holy man to Mr. Knox that it issued in the effectual conversion of the latter: who, being very honest and very courageous, published a confession of his faith, at Edinburgh, in which he boldly and clearly avowed the blessed principles of the Reformation. The Romish bishops and clergy, alarmed at the open defection of so eminent a man, and who had taken priest's orders in their Church but a few years before, endeavoured, first to suppress his book, and then to seize the author himself. He was accordingly apprehended, and condemned to suffer death: but, by the good providence of God, being set at liberty, he left his native country, and retired to Berwick, whence he proceeded to Newcastle, and then to Warwick; in all which places he preached the gospel in its purity, with great zeal and unremitting labour, and with success equal to both: so that his name now became more public and diffused than ever

Edward VI. was then king of England. The fame of Mr. Knox soon reached the ears of that excellent prince, who shewed him no small favour and encouragement. His majesty first made him his own chaplain, and then licensed him as one of the six itinerant ministers, who were empowered to preach the gospel in all places throughout the kingdom. In process of time Edward offered him a bishoprick, which, however, Mr. Knox declined to accept.

That hopeful and pious king dying, A.D. 1553, his sister Mary succeeded to the crown, whereby the reformation, here, bade fair for being extinguished, almost as soon as lighted: many great and learned men, as well as others, being put to death; and those who could, securing their lives by voluntary banishment. Among the latter, Knox was one; who fled, first, to Frankfort; and thence to Geneva, the common asylum of distressed Christians. There he enjoyed the intimacy of Calvin, and spent his time chiefly in preaching, and comforting the afflicted exiles.

A. D. 1559, he returned into his own country; where he again preached the truth, with incredible power and success. Although the French faction was at that time very powerful in Scotland, and the Devil's emissaries strove hard to ruin the Protestant interest in that kingdom; yet Knox continued resolute, laborious and undaunted as ever; solidly and unanswerably, both by his writings and from the pulpit, asserting that Christ alone is the foundation of our acceptance with God, and his obedience the only meritorious cause of our justification. But as our Lord himself and his apostles underwent hatred, banishment, and persecution; so was Knox obliged to leave Edinburgh, and repair to St. Andrew's; whither, when he came, he met with many adversaries.

About this time, viz. in the year 1572, in the month of August, such a scene opened in France as scarce any history can parallel: I mean the massacre at Paris; where, beginning with admiral Coligni, it so raged against all who held the truth, without regard to age, sex, or quality, that it was truly said there was more blood than wine spilt at that Thyestæan marriage.

This dreadful slaughter gave the deepest concern to Mr. Knox, as it did every where to all lovers of the gospel; and added fresh weight to his former sorrows. But, shortly

after, matters taking a more favourable turn in Edinburgh, many, who had been banished thence, returned: and, among the rest, Knox was invited back, by letters from the Parliament. Thither, therefore, he came, accompanied by a great number of godly and learned men; and had not been there long before he entered on his ministerial office, and preached publicly to the people. But, as his voice was rather low and weak, he could not be well heard by the prodigious multitudes that attended. On which he besought the Parliament to furnish him with a place more commodious: which being granted, he preached some sermons to the people on the sufferings of Christ, from the the 26th of Matthew; often beseeching God to take him home while he was in that exercise.

Still continuing unable to supply the cure of so large a church, especially as his body was much weakened and emaciated by study and fatigue, and the hardships he had formerly undergone; leave was given to the people of Edinburgh to choose him such an assistant as Knox and they should deem most capable and worthy, and to present him, when chosen, to the ecclesiastical synod, for their approbation and license. By common consent, Mr. James Luson, of the university of Aberdeen, was the person pitched upon; and he was accordingly invited by letters from the city, and from Mr. Knox: who, perceiving in himself that the time of his departure was at hand, among many arguments he made use of to quicken Luson's pace, said, in the postscript of one of his letters; "Make haste, my brother: else you will come too late to see me alive."

The good man being arrived at Edinburgh, and having preached several times in public, was, on the 5th of November, 1572, declared by Knox to be pastor of that church. In that assembly, Knox took occasion of preaching his last sermon, and of telling the people how many and great things God had done for him, and what deliverances he had wrought in his behalf; and likewise reminded them with how much diligence and faithfulness he had preached the gospel to them; and congratulated the Church of Edinburgh on the favour God shewed them by deputing so able a minister to succeed him; adding, at the same time, most fervent prayers for the temporal and spiritual prosperity both of him and them; wishing them an abundant increase of grace, and a continual supply of the Holy Ghost. In conclusion, he blessed the people with greater liveliness than he had ever done before, *i. e.* with a more cheerful mind, though with a very feeble body.—Then he walked home, leaning on his stick, and accompanied by the greater part of the congregation. Thus he returned to his house, out of which he never after came alive.

The next day he was seized with a violent cough; breathing continually with more and more difficulty, until he breathed his last. When his friends advised him to send for some physician, he smilingly consented, saying, "I would not either despise or neglect ordinary means; but of this I am certain, that God will shortly put an end to my warfare below."

The day after, he ordered his servants to be paid their wages: whom, at the same time, he earnestly exhorted "to walk in the fear of the Lord; and to live so as became Christians educated in that family." His disorder growing worse and worse, he was forced to pretermit his ordinary method of reading; which used to be every day some chapters of the New Testament, and in the Old, particularly the Psalms; and some useful portions of ecclesiastical history. In the mean while, he requested his wife (Margaret Stewart, a devout woman, and a most affectionate partner of his faith and cares), and Richard Ballantine, his servant, who was always very dear to him for his remarkable piety, that they would take care to read to him, every day while he lived, the 17th chapter of St. John's Gospel, one or other of the chapters of the Epistle to the Ephesians, and the 53rd chapter of Isaiah: which injunction they never once omitted.

He was always peculiarly fond of the book of Psalms, God having greatly blessed them to his soul. With some select portions of those admirable compositions he was much comforted in life, and strengthened in death.

The day following, he rose from his bed by seven o'clock; and being asked, "Why, when he was so weak and sick, he would not rather choose to rest himself?" He answered, "I have been this whole night taken up with the meditation of the resurrection of Jesus Christ, my Lord; and would with joy get into the pulpit, that I might communicate to others the comfort I have inwardly enjoyed from reflecting on that blessed subject." So intent was he on the work of the Lord, even to his last breath; and when, for want of strength, he could scarce be lifted out of bed by the assistance of two servants.

A few days after, he sent for all the ministers of the several churches in Edinburgh, to whom, being assembled round his bed, he thus addressed himself; "That day is now at hand which I have so often and intensely longed for: in which, having finished my labours, and gone through my various sorrows, I shall be dissolved, and be with Christ. And I appeal to God, whom I have served in the Spirit in the gospel of his Son, that I have taught nothing but the true and

solid doctrines of his word: having made this my main view, through the whole course of my ministry, to instruct the ignorant; to edify and comfort believers; lift up and confirm with the promises of grace those who were weak, fearful, and doubting, through the fear of wrath and consciousness of sin; and to beat down haughty rebellious sinners with the threatenings and terrors of the Lord. And although many have frequently complained of my harshness in preaching, yet, God knows, that I did not thus deal out thunders and severity from hatred to the persons of any; though this I will acknowledge, that the sins in which they indulge themselves were the objects of my keenest hatred and resentment; and in my whole ministry this was my single aim, if I might by any means gain over their souls to the Lord. My motive for speaking freely and plainly whatever the Lord gave me to say, without respect of persons, was nothing but reverence to that God who called me by his grace, and made me the dispenser of his divine mysteries; before whose tribunal I knew I must one day stand, to give account for my discharge of that embassy and commission wherewith he had invested me. Wherefore I profess, before God and his holy angels, that I have never knowingly adulterated his sacred word, held back any of his counsel from my people, studied to please men, or given way to my own or other's corrupt affections or secular interest; but have faithfully expended the talents committed to me for the good of the Church over whom I was in the Lord. To the truth of this my conscience beareth testimony, which is a comfort to me, notwithstanding the various slanders which some have made it their business to cast upon me. And do ye, my dearest brethren in the faith and labour of Jesus, persist in the everlasting truths of his gospel; look diligently to the flocks with whose oversight God hath intrusted you; and which he hath redeemed to himself by the blood of his Son. And do you, my brother Lusón, fight the good fight, and finish the work of God, to which you are called, with alacrity and faithfulness. May God shower down his blessing from on high upon you and your several charges in this city! which, so long as they continue to hold fast those doctrines of truth which they have heard of me, the gates of hell shall never be able to prevail against. And beware of those who have not only opposed the royal government, but even forsaken the truth which they once professed; against whom I denounce that, unless they sincerely repent and return to the good way which they have left, they shall one day miserably perish in soul and body. I would say more, but cannot, as I am scarce able to draw my breath." With these words he dismissed them: and afterwards spoke in private to those who attended him, to admonish one Grange, on whom that judgment afterwards fell which Knox had predicted. He was then visited by the chief nobility of the town, among whom was Lord Morton, afterwards Viceroy of the kingdom, as also by some godly ladies of the first quality; none of whom he suffered to depart without a word of comfort or exhortation, as their separate cases required.

Perceiving death to approach nearer and nearer, he gave orders for his coffin to be made, after which he burst forth to this effect: "Lord Jesus, sweetest Saviour, into thy hands I commend my spirit. Look, I beseech thee, with favour, upon this Church which thou hast redeemed, and restore peace to this afflicted commonwealth. Raise up pastors after thine own heart, who may take care of thy Church; and grant that we may learn, as well from the blessings as from the chastisements of thy providence, to abhor sin, and love thee with full purpose of heart." Then, turning to those about him, he said, "O wait on the Lord with fear, and death will not be terrible: yea, blessed and holy will their death be who are interested in the death of the Son of God." Being asked by an intimate friend, "whether he felt much pain?" he replied, "I cannot look upon that as pain which brings on the end of mortality and trouble, and is the beginning of life." Having then ordered those passages of Scripture, above mentioned, to be distinctly read to him, he repeated the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed; enlarging as he went on, most sweetly and spiritually, upon each of the separate petitions and articles, to the great comfort and edification of them that were by. Afterwards, lifting up his hands towards heaven, he cried out, "To thee, Lord, do I commit myself. Thou knowest how intense my pains are, but I do not complain. yea, Lord, if such be thy will concerning me, I could be content to bear these pains for many years together: only do thou continue to enlighten my mind through Christ Jesus." He passed that night with more ease and complacency than usual; the 15th chapter of 1 Cor. being frequently read to him at his own desire: which being done, he would cry out, "O what sweet and heavenly consolations does my Lord afford me from this blessed chapter!" But when one of his eyes grew blind, and his speech began to fail, he cried faintly, "Turn to the 17th of St. John, and read it carefully, for there I have cast my anchor." When that was read he rested a little, but soon began to utter very heavy groans and deep sighs; so that the bye-standers plainly perceived he was grappling

with some very great temptation. There were at this time present in the room, one John Johnson, a holy man, and Robert Campbell, a great friend to the gospel, Mrs. Knox, and others, who, observing his agonies, thought him to be in the pains of death. At length, however, contrary to their expectation, he recovered like one awaked from sleep; and, being asked how he did, answered, "Many have been my conflicts with Satan in the course of my frail life, and many the assaults which I have sustained; but that roaring lion never beset me so furiously and forcibly as now. Often has he set my sins in array before me; often has he tempted me to despair; and often strove to ensnare me with the enticements of the world; but, I being enabled to hew his snares in pieces with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, he was not able to prevail against me. But now he has found out a new way. That crafty serpent has endeavoured to persuade me that, because I have faithfully and successfully discharged my ministerial office I am on that account deserving of eternal life and an happy immortality. But God was pleased to make me triumphant over this temptation also, by powerfully suggesting to my memory those texts, What hast thou that thou didst not receive! And, by the grace of God, I am what I am: and, Not I, but the grace of God which was with me; and others, with which I foiled the enemy, and quenched his fiery darts. I thank my God, therefore, through Christ, who has vouchsafed me the victory; and I have a certain persuasion in my own breast that Satan shall not be permitted to return, or molest me any more, in my passage to glory: but that I shall without any pain of body, or agony of soul, sweetly and peacefully exchange this wretched life for that blessed and immortal one, which is through Christ Jesus." Then evening prayers were said; and, being asked whether he could hear them distinctly? he answered, "Would to God you all heard with such ears, and perceived with the same mind, as I am enabled to do! And now, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." Whereupon certain symptoms of immediate death appearing, he was desired to give some sign whereby they might know that he died in the stedfast belief and enjoyment of those gospel-truths which he had taught when living, and likewise of his comfortable assurance of a blissful immortality through Christ. On which, as if he had received fresh strength, he triumphantly lifted up his hand toward heaven and continued waving it, for a considerable time, and then quietly departed to the rest which remaineth for the people of God, on Nov. 24, 1572, about eleven o'clock at night.

LIFE OF MR. FOX THE MARTYROLOGIST. (a)

Mr. John Fox was born at Boston, in Lincolnshire, A. D. 1517; the very year when Luther began the Reformation in Germany.

His father died when he was very young; and his mother marrying again, he came under the tutelage of a father-in-law, with whom he dwelt until the age of sixteen, at which time he was entered of Brasen-Nose College, Oxford, and was chamber-fellow with the celebrated Dr. Alexander Nowel, afterwards dean of St. Paul's. Mr. Fox plied his academical studies with equal assiduity, improvement, and applause. In 1538, he took the degree of Bachelor in Arts, and that of Master, in 1543. The same year he was elected Fellow of Magdalen College.

When he first removed to the University, and for some time after, he was strongly attached to the heresies and superstitions of Popery. To his zeal for these, he added a life strictly regular and moral: and, laughing at the idea of justification by faith in the imputed righteousness of Christ, thought himself sufficiently safe in the imaginary merit of his own self-denial, penances, alms-deeds, and compliances with the rites of the Church.

But he was a chosen vessel, and therefore divine grace would not let him remain a pharisee. Through the effectual breathings of God's holy Spirit, his studies were over-ruled, not only to the abundant advantage of posterity at large, but also to the endless benefit of his own soul in particular. His indefatigable and profound researches into ecclesiastical history, and the writings of the primitive fathers; and, above all, his thorough acquaintance with the Holy Scripture in its original languages; became the means of convincing him to what an immense distance the Romish Church has departed from the faith, practice, and spirit of Christianity.

In order to make himself a yet more competent judge of the controversies then in debate between Protestants and Papists, he searched with indefatigable assiduity into the ancient and modern history of the Church. Here he learnt at what periods and by what means the religion of Christ flourished, and by what errors it began to decline. He considered the causes, and weighed the importance, of those various dissentions which had, from time to time, obtained in the professing world; and quickly perceived that, in every age, the mistakes, follies, and vices of mankind are more similar in their nature, operations, and effects, than is generally imagined. What

(a) Biogr. Brittanica.

is the far greater part of civil and ecclesiastical history but a register of the weakness and wickedness which divide almost the whole human race between them?

With such zeal and industry did Mr. Fox apply himself to these inquiries, that, before he was thirty years of age, he had read over all the Greek and all the Latin fathers, all the scholastic writers, together with the acts of all the councils; and moreover, made himself master of the Hebrew language. But, from this strict and severe application, by night, as well as by day; from forsaking his old Popish friends, and courting the most sequestered retirement; from the dubious and hesitating manner in which, when he could not avoid being in company, he spoke of religious subjects; and, above all, from his sparing attendance on the public worship of the Church, which he had before been remarkable for strictly and constantly frequenting; arose the first surmises of his being alienated from the reigning superstitions, and infected with (what the bigoted Romanists had either the ignorance, or the insolence, to term) the "new heresies."

Thus, even the humble and benevolent Mr. Fox was not without his enemies, who narrowly watched his conduct, and waited for an opportunity to injure him. His singular openness and sincerity did not long leave them at a loss for ways or means. Snares were laid for him, and his generous honesty betrayed him into them. A moderate portion of dissimulation (commonly called prudence and circumspection) would, perhaps, have secured him a while from the machinations of his adversaries. But he chose rather to suffer affliction with the people, and for the cause, of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; mindful of that decisive and alarming declaration, Whoever is ashamed of me, and of my words, in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father, with his holy angels. Through grace, our author determined to venture the loss of all things for Christ's sake; in consequence of which he openly professed the gospel, and was publicly accused of heresy. His college passed judgment on him, as a heretic convicted, and presently after he saw himself expelled from the University. His enemies maintained that he was favourably dealt with by that sentence, and might think himself happily off to incur expulsion instead of death.

Mr. Fox's troubles sat the heavier on him, as they lost him the countenance and good offices of his friends, who were afraid to assist and protect a person condemned for a capital offence. His father-in-law, particularly, seized this opportunity to withhold from Mr. Fox the estate which his own father had left him; thinking that he who stood in danger of the law himself would with difficulty find relief by legal methods.

Being thus forsaken and oppressed, he was reduced to great straits, when God raised him up an unexpected patron in Sir Thomas Lucy, of Warwickshire, who received him into his house, and made him tutor to his children. Here he married a citizen's daughter of Coventry; and continued in Sir Thomas's family until his pupils were grown up: after which, he, with some difficulty, procured entertainment with his wife's father, at Coventry; whence, a few years before the death of Henry VIII., he removed to London.

For a considerable time after his arrival in the capital, being without employment or preferment, he was again reduced to extreme want. But the Lord's good providence relieved him, at length, in the following extraordinary manner. As he was sitting one day in St. Paul's church, his eyes hollow, his countenance wan and pale, and his whole body emaciated (or rather, within a little of being literally starved to death); a person, whom he never remembered to have seen before, came and sat down by him, and, accosting him familiarly, put a respectable sum of money into his hand, saying, Be of good comfort, Mr. Fox; take care of yourself, and use all means to preserve your life; for, depend upon it, God will in a few days, give you a better prospect, and more certain means of subsistence. He afterwards used his utmost endeavours to find out the person by whose bounty he had been so seasonably relieved; but he was never able to gain any discovery. However, the prediction was fulfilled; for within three days from that memorable incident, he was taken into the duchess of Richmond's family, to be tutor to her nephew the earl of Surrey's children, who (on the imprisonment of the earl, and of his father the duke of Norfolk, in the tower) were committed to the care of the duchess for education.

Mr. Fox lived with this family at Ryegate, in Surrey, during the latter part of Henry VIII.'s reign, the five year's reign of king Edward VI., and part of queen Mary's. Gardiner, the bloody bishop of Winchester, in whose diocese this good man so long lived, would have soon brought him to the shambles, had he not been protected by one of his noble pupils, then duke of Norfolk. Gardiner always hated Mr. Fox (who, it is said, was the first person that ventured to preach the gospel at Ryegate); and saw, with deep concern, the heir of one of the noblest families in the kingdom trained up in attachment to Protestantism under Mr.

Fox's influence. The prelate, therefore, formed various designs against the safety of the latter; and sought, by many artifices and stratagems, to work his ruin. The holy man, who was no less suspicious of the bishop than the bishop was of him, found himself obliged in prudence (though much against the duke's inclination, who loved and revered him as a father), to quit his native land, and seek shelter abroad. His grace of Norfolk, perceiving that no arguments or intreaties could induce his honoured tutor to remain in England, took care to provide him with every accommodation requisite for his voyage. Mr. Fox accordingly set sail from Ipswich haven, accompanied by his wife, who was then pregnant, and by several other persons, who were leaving their country on a religious account. The vessel had not been very long at sea ere a storm arose, which, the next day, drove them back into the port whence they had set out. Having with great difficulty and danger reached the land, Mr. Fox was saluted with indubitable information that bishop Gardiner had issued a warrant for apprehending him, and was causing the most diligent search to be made after him. On this he made interest with the master of the ship to put to sea again without delay, though at evident hazard of their lives, as the tempest had not yet subsided. Through God's goodness, however, they all arrived in two days at Nieuport in Flanders; whence Mr. Fox and his company travelled to Antwerp and Francfort, and so to Basil, in Switzerland, whither great numbers of the English resorted in those times of domestic persecution.

The city of Basil was then one of the most famous in Europe for printing; and many of the learned refugees who retired thither got their subsistence by revising and correcting the press. To this employment Mr. Fox betook himself; and it was here that he laid the first plan of his inestimable history and martyrology, intitled, Acts and Monuments of the Church.

Queen Mary the bloody died in the month of November, 1558. And, the day before she died in England, Mr. Fox, in a sermon then preached by him at Basil, publicly and positively predicted that the day then next ensuing would be the last of her life. An event so circumstantially foretold, by one at such a distance from the place of Mary's residence, and so punctually accomplished by the hand of divine Providence, could only be made known to the predictor by revelation from God.

Elizabeth's accession encouraged Mr. Fox to return home, where, on his arrival, he still found a faithful and serviceable friend in his late pupil, the duke of Norfolk; who hospitably and nobly entertained him at his manor of Christ-Church, in London, until his [*i. e.* until the duke's] death; from which latter period Mr. Fox inherited a pension, bequeathed to him by his deceased benefactor, and ratified by his son the earl of Suffolk.

Nor did the good man's successes stop here. On being recommended to the queen, by her secretary of state, the great Cecil, her majesty gave him the prebendary of Shipton, in the cathedral of Salisbury; which was, in a manner, forced upon him, for he brought himself with difficulty to accept of it. The truth is that, wise and holy and learned as Mr. Fox unquestionably was, he entertained some needless doubts concerning the lawfulness of subscribing to the ecclesiastical canons; a requisition, which in his idea, he considered as an infringement of Protestant liberty. Through this extreme scrupulousness, he excluded himself from rising to those dignities and promotions in the church, to which his uncommon merit, as a scholar and a divine, eminently entitled him; and to which he would most certainly have risen but for the cause now assigned. His friends were many, great, and powerful; as Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Thomas Gresham, Sir Drue Drury, archbishop Grindal, bishop Aylmer, bishop Parkhurst, &c.; who would have been the instruments of raising him to very considerable preferments, had not his unaccountable coolness towards the canons and ceremonies of the Church of England, restrained him from accepting any of her capital emoluments. While, however, we wonder at his prejudices, we cannot but revere him for his honesty, and for his extreme tenderness of conscience.—Dr. Fuller tells us that archbishop Parker summoned him to subscribe, in hope "that the general reputation of his piety might give the greater countenance to conformity." But, instead of complying with the command, Mr. Fox pulled out of his pocket the New Testament, in Greek, and holding it up said, To this will I subscribe. And when a subscription to the canons was required of him, he refused, saying, I have nothing in the Church but a prebend at Salisbury, and, if you take it away from me much good may it do you. But he was permitted to retain it until his death: such respect did the bishops (who had most of them been his fellow exiles abroad) bear to his age, parts, and labours.

Yet, let it be remembered that, notwithstanding his acknowledged moderation in point of thorough conformity, he was still a declared enemy to the heats and violences of rigid puritanism. "I cannot but wonder," said he, in a letter to a bishop,

"at that turbulent genius which inspires those factious puritans.—Were I one who, like them, would be violently outrageous against bishops and archbishops; or join myself with them, *i. e.* become mad, as they are; I had not met with severe treatment [at their hand]. But because, quite different from them, I have chosen the side of modesty and public tranquillity, the hatred which they have long conceived against me is at last grown to this degree of bitterness. —Your prudence is not ignorant how much the Christian religion suffered, formerly, by the dissimulation and hypocrisy of the monks. At present, in these men, I know not what new sort of monks seems to revive; so much more pernicious than the former, as, with more subtle artifices of deceiving, and under pretence of perfection, like stage-players who only act a part, they conceal a more dangerous poison: who, while they require every thing to be formed according to their own strict discipline, will not desist until they have brought all things into Jewish bondage."(*b*)

Thus thought, and thus wrote, this admirable divine! this friend to men of all parties, but a slave to no party of men!

How benevolently disposed this great and good man was, even toward those who differed the most widely from him in religious principles, appears, among many other instances, from the Latin letter which he wrote to queen Elizabeth, A. D. 1575, to dissuade her Majesty from putting to death (*c*) two anabaptists who had been condemned to the fire. Fuller has preserved the whole of this masterly and truly Christian address. The substance of it was as follows, that, "To punish with the flames the bodies of those who err rather from blindness than obstinacy of will is cruel, and more suitable to the example of the Romish Church than to the mildness of the gospel. I do not" (added he) "write thus from any bias to the indulgence of error, but from a regard to the lives of men, as being myself a man; and in hope that the offending parties may have opportunity to repent of and retract their mistakes." He earnestly beseeches her Majesty "to spare the lives of these miserable men; or at least soften their mode of punishment: as to banish them, or commit them to perpetual imprisonment, &c., but at all events not to re-kindle the Smithfield fires, which, through her goodness and care, had been so long extinguished. If this could not be granted, at least to allow them a month or two, in order that endeavours might be used to reclaim them from their errors, and thereby to prevent the destruction of their souls as well as of their bodies."—Mr. Fox (says Fuller) was very loth that Smithfield, formerly consecrated with martyrs' ashes, should now be profaned with those of heretics: and was desirous that the Papists might enjoy their own monopoly of cruelty, in burning condemned persons. But, though queen Elizabeth constantly called him "her father Fox," yet, herein, was she no dutiful daughter, for she gave him a flat denial, as to the saving of their lives, if after a month's reprieve, and conference with divines, they would not recant their heresies. It is not a little surprising that so holy and so candid a man as Dr. Fuller should endeavour to palliate, if not to justify, the extreme malignity which brought those two Dutchmen to the stake. "Damnable," says this historian, "were their impieties; and the queen was necessitated to this severity; who, having formerly punished some traitors, if now sparing these blasphemers, the world would condemn her; as being more earnest in asserting her own safety than God's honour." A wretched excuse this for wilful and deliberate murder! It reminds us of Melancthon's cruelty (falsely fathered on Calvin), in pressing the magistrates of Geneva to burn the heretic Servetus. The answer of a Popish princess on a similar occasion did more honour to humanity. This lady (who is still living) was solicited by some Romish ecclesiastics to concur with them in bringing a supposed heretic to the flames. "Is it not true," said she, "that heretics burn for ever in hell-fire?" Without doubt, answered the priests. "It would be too severe then," added she, "to

(*b*) The occasion on which this letter was written; and the whole of the letter itself, in its original Latin: are extant in Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 106.—For a summary of it, in English, see Biographia Britannica, vol. iii. p. 2021.

(*c*) On Easter-day was disclosed a congregation of Dutch Anabaptists, without Aldgate in London: whereof seven-and-twenty were taken, and imprisoned; and four bearing faggots at Paul's Cross solemnly recanted their dangerous opinions. Next month, one Dutchman, and ten women were condemned, of whom one woman was converted to renounce her errors; eight were banished the land; two so obstinate, that command was issued out for their burning in Smithfield."——Fuller's Ch. Hist. B. ix. p. 204.

This shocking and unjustifiable persecution could not but reflect deep disgrace on the Protestant name. The two unhappy victims were burned, according to their sentence, July 22, 1575. They were both Dutchmen, and, as we are informed by Stow, "died in great horror, with roaring and crying." (Chronicle, p. 680.)—Strype says, their names were, John Wielmacker, and Hendrick Ter Woort; and that they suffered, after an imprisonment of sixteen weeks. Much interest was made in their behalf, by the Dutch congregation settled in London; but the Privy Council would not spare them: (Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 380.) It was eminently humane, in their countrymen here to importune the Government so earnestly in their favour; especially, when we recollect that the intercessors were Calvinists, and that the sufferers added, to their other heresies, the maintenance of free will, perfection, justification by works, and falling from grace; which, however, was infinitely far from warranting the sanguinary rigour with which they were treated.

burn them in both words. Since they are devoted to endless misery hereafter, it is but justice to let them live unmolested here."

Hitherto Dr. Fuller and the Biographia Britannica have been our chief guides in the present account of the truly apostolic Mr. Fox. For what we have further to add we shall be principally indebted to the learned, faithful, and laborious Mr. Clark.(*d*) While Mr. Fox was in exile at Basil, during the prevalence of Popery in England, he one day, in a sermon which he preached before his afflicted countrymen in that city, positively assured them "That the time was now come for their safe and happy return home; and that he told them this comfortable news by express command from God." Several ministers who were present took occasion afterwards to reprove him, with a degree of asperity, for publicly declaring what they took to be the premature flights of his own fancy and conjecture. But they soon altered their opinion, when authentic intelligence arrived that queen Mary the bloody was actually dead.

On his re-settlement here he sat himself to revise and enlarge his admirable Martyrology. With prodigious pains and constant study he finished that elaborate work in eleven years. For the sake of greater correctness he never employed any amanuensis, but wrote every line of this vast book with his own hand, and searched and transcribed all the records and original papers himself. But, by such excessive toil, leaving no part of his time free from study, nor affording himself either the repose or recreations which nature required, his health was so reduced, and his person became so emaciated and altered, that such of his friends and relations as only conversed with him occasionally could not recollect him at sight. Yet, though he grew daily more lean, withered, and exhausted, his hard studies went on as briskly as ever, nor would he be persuaded to lessen his accustomed labours.—The Papists, foreseeing how extremely detrimental his history of their errors and cruelties would prove to their cause, exerted their whole art and strength to lessen the reputation of his work. This malice of their's was of signal service both to Mr. Fox himself and to the Church of God at large; as it eventually made his book more intrinsically valuable, by inducing him to weigh, with the most exact and scrupulous attention, the certainty of the facts he recorded, and the validity of the authorities whence he drew his informations.

Having long served both the Church and the world by his ministry, by his pen, and by the unsullied lustre of a beneficent, useful, and holy life, he comfortably resigned his soul to Christ, on the 18th of April, 1587. The Lord had given him a foresight of his departure; and so fully persuaded was he that the time was just at hand when he should quit the body, that (probably to enjoy unmolested communion with God, and to have no worldly interruptions in his last hours) he purposely sent his two sons from home, though he loved them with great tenderness, and before they returned, his spirit, as he had foreseen would be the case, was flown to heaven. He was interred in the chancel of St. Giles's, Cripplegate; of which parish he had been, in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, for some time vicar.

Mr. Strype (*e*) says that a very fair marble stone, fixed in the south wall of that chancel, was presently after erected to his memory, with the following inscription:

CHRISTO S. S.
JOHANNI FOXO
Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Martyrologo fidelissimo
Antiquitatis historicæ indagatori sagacissimo,
Evangelicæ veritatis propugnatori acerrimo,
Thaumaturgo admirabili:
Qui Martyres Marianos, *tanquam, phœnices ex cineribus redivivos præstitit*
Patri suo, omni pietatis officio imprimis colendo,
Samuel Foxus,
Illius primogenitus
Hoc monumentum posuit
Non sine lacrymis.
Obiit die 18 *mens. April. An. Dom.* 1587.
Jam septuagenarius.

VITA VITÆ MORTALIS EST, SPES VITÆ IMMORTALIS.

Fuller acquaints us that Mr. Fox foretold the destruction of what was madly styled by the Pope and Spaniards, the Invincible Armada. "The story," says that historian, "is true, though Mr. Fox survived not to see the performance of his own prediction. ——His dear friend, Dr. Laurence Humfrey, may be said to have died with him (though his languishing life lasted a year longer); so great was his grief to be parted from his fellow-colleague, bred together in Oxford, and banished together into Germany."(*f*)

Among the graces for which our matchless martyrologist was eminent, shone his extensive (some would almost term it profuse) liberality to the poor. He was so bountiful to them while he lived, that he had no ready money to leave to them at his death. His love to his Saviour was such that he could never refuse giving to any who asked him for relief in the name of Jesus, or, for Christ's sake. A friend once inquiring of him, "whether he recollected a certain

(*d*) See the first volume of his "Marrow of Ecclesiastical History," p. 382, 383.

(*e*) See his edition of Stow's Survey of London part iii. p. 83.

(*f*) Fuller, ubi. sup. 187.

poor man whom he used to relieve?" He answered, Yes, I remember him well: and I willingly forget lords and ladies to remember such as he.

His ability in comforting afflicted consciences was very peculiar. No wonder, therefore, that his house was frequented by persons of all ranks, from noblemen down to the poorest of the flock, who were labouring under soul distresses.

His time was divided between study, preaching, praying, spiritual conference, and visiting the sick and afflicted. His principal hours for intercourse with God in secret prayer were during the night season: at which times of holy retirement, he has been heard to agonize with God, and to mingle his supplications with groanings which could not be uttered.

He was distinguished by a deep and settled contempt of earthly things: more especially of pleasures, amusements, wealth, and honours. Hence, he abstracted himself as much as he possibly could from all friendship, society, and connection with the great and noble of this world. The money which was sometimes offered him by rich men he accepted, but the poor were as sure to have it as ever he received it.

On various occasions he more than seemed to speak by a spirit of prophecy. Many things did he foretel when comforting the distressed, and when terrifying the obstinate and obdurate.

Lady Anne Heneage lying sick of a violent fever, and the physicians deeming it mortal, Mr. Fox was sent for to be her spiritual assistant in her last moments. After prayer and religious conversation, he told her that she had done right in preparing for eternity, but that, nevertheless, she was not to die of that sickness. A knight, her son-in-law, taking him aside soon after, said to him, "Mr. Fox, you acted wrongly in disconcerting my mother's mind with hopes of life, when the physicians have pronounced her past recovery."—I have said no more, answered the good man, than God commanded me; for it is his pleasure that she shall not die, but live. And the event was as he foretold.

Going one day to see the earl of Arundel, son to the duke of Norfolk, at his lordship's house in the Strand, London; on his coming away, the earl walked with him down his garden, to the Thames side, where he was to take boat. The weather being very stormy and the water extremely rough, the earl advised him not to venture himself on the river. Mr. Fox's answer was very remarkable, and makes us feel a wish to know the particular subject of their preceding conversation: My lord, let these waters so deal with me as I have in truth and sincerity delivered to you all that I have spoken. On saying these words he entered the boat, and very shortly afterwards the wind ceased, and the river ran with a smooth and gentle current.

There have been macaronies in a ages. One of Mr. Fox's sons had a great desire to travel beyond sea, from which his father could by no means dissuade him. After a tour of several years, he returned home and presented himself to the good old man in a fantastical, outlandish habit. Who are you? said Mr. Fox.—"Sir, I am your son Samuel."—To which his reply was: O my son, who has taught thee to make thyself so ridiculous? This reproof seems to have been attended with good effect, for the giddy youth proved, afterwards, a serious, devout, learned, and respectable man. In 1610, he wrote the life of his father, prefixed to his Martyrology; and at length died, full of years and of good works.(*g*)

A very singular incident, of which Mr. John Fox himself was eye-witness, shall conclude this summary of his life and character. He it was who had that memorable interview with Mrs. Honeywood, mentioned by so many authors of that age. The concern of this pious lady for the salvation of her soul was so great, her doubts and fears so very distressing, and her sorrow of mind so grievous, that she sunk into utter despair: which had such an effect on her bodily health as brought her to death's door, and kept her in a gradual consumption for almost twenty years. In vain did physicians administer their medical assistances; for her disease, which originated from a spiritual cause, required a supernatural remedy. There was but one Physician whose power and skill could reach her case: even he who healeth those that are broken in heart, and giveth medicine to heal their sickness.—In vain did the ablest and most evangelical ministers preach to her the comforts of the gospel; and labour to persuade her of the willingness and certainty wherewith Christ receives every coming sinner. The holy Spirit alone could preach to her heart with efficacy; and he had not yet vouchsafed, in all those years, to rise upon her soul. At length Mr. Fox was sent for; who, on his arrival, found a most mournful family, and the mistress of it the deepest mourner among them all. The holy man prayed with her, and then reminded her of what the faithful God had promised, and of what Christ had done and suffered for her soul. But even this was to no purpose for still she could not believe

(*g*) See more of him in Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 505.—As also of Simeon, his youngest brother, ibid p. 506. Mr. Strype terms both these surviving sons of Mr. John Fox "well deserving men, bred up to learning, and of note in their times."

that the gospel promises and the merits of Jesus belonged to her. Mr. Fox, not in the least discouraged, went on, and to the wonder of those about her, expressed himself to the following effect: You will not only recover of your bodily disease, but also live to an exceeding great age; and, which is yet better, you are interested in Christ, and will go to heaven when you die. Looking earnestly at him as he spake these words, she answered, with much emotion, Impossible! I shall as surely be damned as this glass will break: and immediately dashed a Venice glass (which she was holding in her hand), with much force against the wall. The glass fell, first on a chest, and then upon the ground, but was neither broken nor so much as cracked.(*h*) The event proved that Mr. Fox did not prophecy by the spirit of error. Mrs. Honeywood was then sixty years old; and lived in much comfort and felicity until she was upwards of ninety, and could reckon above three hundred and sixty persons descended from herself.

THE LIFE OF DR. JEWEL, BISHOP OF SALISBURY. (*i*)

We learn from Dr. Fuller that this great prelate was a native of Devonshire: "John Jewel bearing the Christian name of his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, was born at Buden (or Bowden, of which estate his ancestors had then been near two hundred years in possession), in the parish of Berynarber, near Ilfracombe, in that county. His mother's surname was Bellamy, who with her husband lived happily 50 years in holy wedlock; and at their deaths left ten children behind them.

"Concerning our bishop it may be said, '*nomen, omen.*' Jewel was his name, and precious were his virtues. So that if the like ambition led us Englishmen as doth foreigners, specially to render our surnames in Greek or Latin, he may be termed Johannas Gemma, on better account than Gemma Frisius entitled himself thereunto."

He was chiefly bred in the school of Barnstaple; where John Harding, afterwards his Popish antagonist, was his schoolfellow. At thirteen years old, he was admitted into Merton College, Oxford; under the tuition of Dr. John Farkhurst, afterwards the ingenious and evangelical bishop of Norwich. Such was his sedulity (rising always at four in the morning and not going to rest until ten at night), that he was never punished for any one of his exercises, and but once for absence from chapel. Hence he was removed to Corpus Christi College, where he proved an excellent poet, linguist and orator. Such was his memory that he could repeat all Horace by heart; and he gave many other surprizing proofs of quickness and retention.

During his residence at the university, after the accession of king Edward VI., he was happy in the friendship of that holy and learned reformer, doctor Peter Martyr. "Having touched at all human arts," says Fuller, "he landed at divinity; being much assisted by Peter Martyr the king's professor therein. St. Jerom tells us that so great was the intimacy between Pamphilius that worthy priest and martyr and Eusebius the Bishop of Cæsaræa, *ut ab uno alter nomen acceperat*, that they were mutually surnamed the one from the other *Pamphilius Eusebii* and *Eusebius Pamphilii*. No less the unity of affections between these two, who accordingly might have been called Martyr's Jewel, and Jewel's Martyr, as seldom in body and never in mind asunder.

Having been chosen (*k*) Humanity Lecturer, in preference to many of his seniors, he acquitted himself with such brightness and ability that his tutor, Dr. Parkhurst, honoured him with the following complimentary epigram:

Olim discipulus mihi, care Juelle, fuisti;
Nunc ero discipulus, te renuente, tuus.

Amidst all his attainments in learning, such were his fervour of devotion, sanctity of life, and affability of behaviour, that he was admired and almost loved by the bitterest enemies of the Protestant faith; insomuch that (in Henry VIIIth's reign) the dean of his college, who was a fierce and bigotted Papist, would sometimes say to him, "I should love thee, Jewel, if thou was not a Zuinglian. In thy faith thou art

(*h*) Fuller, in his Worthies of England, (Kent, p. 86,) says, that, though this circumstance was little short of miraculous, still Mrs. Honeywood took no comfort from it; but "continued, a great time after, in her former disconsolate condition, without any amendment, until God, who findeth out the fittest minutes for his own mercies, suddenly shot comfort, like lightning, into her soul; so that she led the remainder of her life in spiritual gladness. This she herself told to the reverend father, Thomas Morton, bishop of Durham, from whose mouth I have received this relation. In the days of Queen Mary she used to visit the prisons, and to comfort and relieve the confessors therein. She was present at the burning of Mr. Bradford, in Smithfield, and resolved to see the end of his sufferings: though, so great was the press of people that her shoes were trodden off and she forced thereby to go barefoot from Smithfield to St. Martin's, before she could furnish herself with a new pair for her money. She died the eleventh of May, 1620: in the ninety-third year of her age, and in the forty-fourth year of her widowhood."

(*i*) Fuller's Worthies, and his Ecclesiastical History.—Clarke's Lives.—Biographia Britannica, &c.

(*k*) Humanity, in college language, is a term that implies and comprehends the knowledge of the Greek and Latin tongues; together with rhetoric, poetry, grammar, and history, both ancient and modern.

a heretic; but surely in thy life thou art an angel. Thou are very good and honest, but a Lutheran." Much the same with what the persecuting heathens would frequently say, of believers in Christ; *bonus homo, sed Christianus; i. e.* such an one is a good man, but he is a Christian.

A little before the death of Henry VIII. Mr. Jewel took his master of arts' degree, and when good king Edward wore the crown he became a most celebrated and shining ornament of the Church of England. His principal fault was that of being too hard a student. By this he greatly emaciated his body and impaired his health. His diet was extremely simple and sparing; and his incessant fatigues of mind bade fair to sink him much sooner to the grave than in reality they did. The tolerably advanced age to which he attained is one proof among millions that the same absolute Providence which registers our hairs has also determined the number of our days.

Retiring once to Witney, on account of an epidemic sickness which raged at Oxford, our future bishop pursued his studies with such assiduity that, neglecting to supply himself with necessary accommodations, he contracted so violent a cold as fixed a lameness in one of his legs, from which he was never exempt to his dying day.

Being presented to the rectory of Sunningwell, in Berkshire, he performed his own duty at that church every other Lord's day, by preaching and catechising in person. On the alternate Sundays he preached and expounded at Oxford with much credit to himself and much usefulness to others.

Thus happily and honourably he went on until king Edward VI. (of whom the world was not worthy) was transplanted to heaven, and Mary succeeded to the English throne. On that sad occasion none had more reason to be apprehensive of danger than Mr. Jewel, whom God had made so zealous and so distinguished an instrument of diffusing the doctrines of grace, in opposition to the Arminian or (as they were then called) the Pelagian tenets of Popery. His enemies immediately laid a snare for him, by choosing him to draw up a congratulatory letter to the new Queen, in the name of the university, well knowing that if he refused the task, he would expose himself to the imputation of disloyalty; and if he consented, he would give great offence to the Protestants throughout England. Aware of the dilemma to which he was reduced, he extricated himself from this artful trap by discreetly penning the letter in such general terms as satisfied the Court and yet gave no umbrage to the favourers of the gospel. "Indeed," says Fuller, "all as yet were confident that the Queen would maintain the Protestant religion, according to her solemn promise to the gentry of Norfolk and Suffolk: though (she being composed of courtship and Popery) this her unperformed promise was the first court-holy-water which she sprinkled among the people. And because every one was counted a truant in Popery who did not outrun the law, Dr. Tresham, an active Papist and a van-courier before authority, repaired the great bell at Christ church, which he new named and (*l*) baptized Mary. While Mr. Jewel was reading the letter he had penned to Dr. Tresham for his approbation thereof, presently that bell tolled to mass, and Tresham, breaking off his attention to what was written, exclaimed in a zealous ecstasy, O sweet Mary! how musically, how melodiously, doth she sound! This bell then rang the knell for that time to the truth in Oxford; thenceforward filled with Protestant tears and Popish triumphs."

Shortly after Mr. Jewel for refusing to be present at the celebration of mass was driven from his college (of Corpus Christi), and forced to quit his fellowship. For a while he lay hid at Broadgates hall (now Pembroke college,) where his friends and scholars privately repaired to him; and in the learned and religious knowledge which he communicated to them they received more than compensation for the dangerous risk they ran in venturing to visit him. Among his pupils was a Mr. Edward Year, an ingenious person, and zealously attached to the gospel. This gentleman wrote two poems, one in Latin and the other in English, ridiculing the superstitions of Papal worship, and prophesying the return of the reformation. These verses coming into the hands of Mr. Welsh, who was at that time censor of Corpus Christi college, so provoked him that he punished the author by literally whipping him with great severity, giving him a lash for each verse, amounting to about eighty in the whole. The poet (a sample of whose performance is preserved in Fuller's Church History), probably thought himself well off to escape with a flogging instead of being roasted alive

Mr. Jewel had not been long in his concealment when he was discovered by some popish spies, which was followed by an event that was matter of subsequent humiliation to him as long as he lived. The apostle Peter and the excellent archbishop Cranmer, though they loved Christ with deep and undissembled affection, yet were unhappily induced to deny him in a day of trouble and of rebuke and blasphemy. Take

(*l*) It is customary in the Church of Rome, to baptize bells, and name them after some reputed saint.

the account of our author's temporary defection in the words of the valuable historian last quoted. "Being, by the violence of Popish inquisitors, assaulted on a sudden to subscribe to some errors of their church, he (*m*) took a pen in his hand and said smiling, Have you a mind to see how well I can write? and thereupon under writ their opinions. Thus the most orient Jewel on earth has some flaws therein. To conceal this his fault had been partiality; to excuse it, flattery; to defend it, impiety; to insult over him, cruelty; to pity him, charity; to admire God for permitting him, true devotion; to be wary of ourselves on the like occasion, Christian discretion.

"Such as go out when God openeth them a door to escape do peaceably depart. But such as break out at the window either stick in the passage or bruise themselves by falling down on the outside. Jewel may be an instance hereof, whose cowardly compliance made his foes no fewer without him, and one the more (a guilty conscience) within him. The Papists neither loved, nor honoured, nor trusted him any whit the more for this his subscription; which they conceived not cordial, but forced from him by his fear. Yea, thereby he gained not any degree of more safety; and his life being waylaid for, with great difficulty he got over into Germany."

For Dr. (*n*) Martial, dean of Christ Church, not deeming his subscription sufficiently sincere and explicit, was plotting how to deliver him into the bloody hands of Bishop Bonner; but he escaped on foot and through bye-ways to London. The news of his flight soon spread, and proper persons were dispatched to intercept him. But, as God's providence would have it, Mr. Jewel (accidentally as an Arminian would call it) missed his way, and so eluded the keenness of his vigilant pursuers. Thus, says a pious historian, "by going out of the way he found the safest way (*o*);" and certain it is that the wrong way proved the right.

While travelling on foot in a snowy winter's night, he grew quite spent, and scarce able to breathe, much less to pursue his walk. In this situation he threw himself despairingly on the earth, expecting and choosing death rather than life. He was found, however, by one Augustin Bernher, a Switz, who had formerly been a servant of bishop Latimer's, but was afterwards admitted into holy orders. This worthy person, like another good Samaritan, lifted Mr. Jewel from the ground, and, seating him on a horse, conducted him to Lady Ann Warcop's, by whom he was kindly entertained, and then safely conveyed to London. Here, concealing himself first in Thames-street, and afterwards elsewhere, for fear of being discovered, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, a man of great distinction at that time, furnished him with money, and secured his passage in a ship bound for the continent. His direct escape was managed by Mr. Giles Laurence, tutor to Sir Arthur Darcie's children, living near the Tower of London. He had been Jewel's fellow collegian at Oxford, and Greek professor. Afterwards, in 1564, Mr. Jewel (then a bishop) made him archdeacon of Wiltshire.

Arriving at Frankfort, A. D. 1554, and the second of Mary's reign, our refugee had the happiness to board in the same house with Dr. Edwin Sandys, who had likewise fled from England on a religious account; and who, in the better days of Elizabeth, became the exemplary archbishop of York. By his advice, and that of two other intimate friends (Mr. Chambers and Mr. Sampson), he made a solemn and affecting recantation of his subscription, in a full congregation of English Protestants, on a Sunday morning, after having preached a most tender penitential sermon. It was, said he, my abject and cowardly mind and faint heart that made my weak hand commit this wickedness. He bitterly bewailed his fall; and, with sighs and tears, supplicated forgiveness of the God whose truth he had denied, and of the Church of Christ whom he had so greviously offended. If the eyes of the preacher were wet, those of his auditory were not dry; and, from thenceforward, "All embraced him as a brother in Christ; yea, as an angel of God. Whoever seriously considers," adds Dr. Fuller, "the high parts of Mr. Jewel, will conclude, that his fall was necessary for his humiliation."

After some stay at Frankfort he was in-

(*m*) Dr. Humphry imputes his [i. e. Jewel's] wavering, to the specious promises made by Queen Mary, that she would force no man's conscience, and intended to make no change in religion. It is added that, if he could have consulted his old tutor, Dr. Parkhurst, he would not have been guilty of so great a weakness. He took a journey, on foot, to Cleve (of which Dr. Parkhurst was rector), for that purpose, but the Doctor, on the re-establishment of Popery, had fled to London. Mr. Jewel, being thus disappointed, returned to Oxford; where he lingered until certain inquisitors laid hold on him by surprize, and pressed him, with threats, to subscribe. But he soon became sensible of his apostacy, and took the first opportunity to escape.—Biogr. Britann.

(*n*) Martial was one of those supple divines, who shape their principles and conduct according to the complexion of the times. Like the celebrated Vicar of Bray (who flourished at the same period), he renounced Popery, under king Edward; re-embraced it, with flaming zeal, under queen Mary; and quitted it again under Elizabeth.

Omnis Aristippum decuit color, & status, & res.

(*o*) Clark's Lives, p. 328.

vited to Strasburgh by his old friend (*p*) Peter Martyr, who, being both wealthy and hospitable, had instituted a kind of college for learned and religious men, more especially for Protestant refugees, in his own house. He entertained them with a friendship and liberality truly noble, and politely made our Jewel the sub-president of his numerous guests; all of whom he continued to shelter and support, until milder times, or more advantageous settlements elsewhere, made it their interest or inclination to remove.

"It (*q*) is no less pleasant to consider than admirable to conceive, how the exiles subsisted so long, and so far from their native country, in so comfortable a condition. Especially, seeing Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, solemnly vowed so to stop the sending of all supplies to them that for very hunger, they should eat their own nails, and then feed on their fingers' ends. But threatened folks live long; and, before these banished men were brought to that short bill of fare, the bishop was eaten up of worms himself."

During the remainder of Mary's evil reign, Mr. Jewel and the other English Protestants, who had taken refuge in Germany, subsisted, on the whole, very comfortably beyond sea. It is pleasing to trace the various (*r*) methods by which God's kind providence supplied the wants of all those excellent men who had quitted their native land for the sake of Christ and his gospel.

1. Many of them were clergymen, and had been richly beneficed in the foregoing reign of king Edward. These prudent men perceiving the rapid decline of that good monarch's health, and dreading the religious revolution which his advancing death might occasion, had managed their revenues so frugally as to feather their nests before the storm came on. By this means they afterwards had it in their power, not only to support themselves in a foreign land, but likewise to administer to the maintenance of their poorer brethren.

2. Some of the English refugees were lay-persons of high birth and great opulence. Among these were Sir John Cheeke, Sir Richard Morison, Sir Francis Knollys, afterwards privy counsellor to Queen Elizabeth, Sir Anthony Cook, father-in-law to that Cecil who was afterwards lord Burleigh, Sir Peter Carew, renowned for his valour in Ireland, where he died in 1576, lady Elizabeth Berkeley, and lady Dorothy Stafford, afterwards lady of the bedchamber to Queen Elizabeth. These and other exiles of wealth and rank, were eminently liberal to their companions in the kingdom and patience of Christ.

3. A great number of pious Protestants, still resident in England, found means to remit with secresy and safety large sums of money, from time to time, for the relief of their Christian brethren abroad. Fuller tells us that the greater part of these home benefactors were Londoners; and adds a remark which holds as true now as it did two centuries ago, viz. that "London commonly counterpoiseth the charity of all the land besides."

4. One Mr. Thomas Eaton, a London merchant, but living in Germany, contributed much by his princely hospitality to the well being of his exiled countrymen; for he was *communis hospes*, the entertainer general of as many of them as had either occasion or inclination to avail themselves of his unlimited generosity.

5. The king of Denmark, the prince Palatine of the Rhine, the duke of Wirtenburgh, the duke of Bipont, together with all the states and free cities where the English sojourned, were nobly bountiful to them.

6. The Dutch clergy, and also those of Switzerland (particularly at Zurich), vied with each other in acts of kindness to the Protestant strangers. Among the foremost in beneficence were Bullinger, Pellincan, Bibliander, Simler, Wolphius, Lavator, and Zuinglius: divines, says Fuller, "whose short stipends would scarce reach to maintain themselves; and yet their thrift and charity stretched their stipends so as therewith to relieve others." The learned Gesner, the famous natural historian, was likewise eminently liberal.

7. Some of the English, who were men of erudition, maintained themselves by writing treatises of religion and of science, and then disposing of their manuscripts for

(*p*) When Mary came to the crown, and the tide was turning fast for the re-introduction of Popery, it was high time for Peter Martyr seasonably to provide for his own security. This great divine was, by birth, a foreigner; and had been invited hither by king Edward, who fixed him at Oxford, where he sat as Divinity Professor, until the death of that good prince. He had, therefore, the warrant of public faith, and the law of nations, for his safety.—Seeing how matters were likely to go under the mischievous government of the bloody female, he solicited for leave to return to his own country: and it was granted to him. And well it was that he had protection of proof: otherwise, such was the enmity of the Papists, and so sharp set were the teeth of some persecuting bishops against him, that they would have made Dr. Martyr brook his own name, and have sacrificed his life to their fury.—Fuller.

It is a debt of justice due to the memory of Bishop Gardiner, to acknowledge that, bad as he was, Providence made him the principal instrument of procuring Peter Martyr the requested passport from England. The Bishop revered him for his immense learning, and for the shining virtues of his life; and therefore exerted his influence with the new government to obtain him the favour (and it was a great favour indeed, as times then went) of a safe conduct to Germany.

(*q*) Fuller. (*r*) See Fuller's Church Hist. book viii.

a good price to the booksellers. Others acquired a competent livelihood by superintending and correcting the press. "Such sums," says Dr. Fuller, "though small in bulk were great in blessing; a divine benediction being always invisibly breathed on painful and lawful diligence. Persons industriously occupying themselves thrive better on a little of their own honest getting, than lazy heirs on the large revenues left to them.

8. "One thing much kept up the credit of the exiles with the merchants and bankers beyond the seas, namely, the certain and constant report of queen Mary's decaying condition. She was daily consuming, though increasing; wasting, though swelling with a dropsical distemper, which could not be kept so closely under the key of confession, but that it became the public discourse at home and abroad. This gave reputation to such English in Germany as were known to be possessed of estates in their own country; enabling them to borrow convenient sums from any creditors." Thus, in some way or other, did God's good providence take ample care of them all. His own grace had taught them to seek first his kingdom and righteousness, and every needful temporal mercy was added unto them.

We left Mr. Jewel at the house of his munificent friend, Dr. Peter Martyr, in Strasburgh. While there he was not a little serviceable, in return for the generous reception given him by that great man, whom he assisted in the publication of his [*i. e.* of Martyr's] Lectures on the Book of Judges. Mr. Jewel also tasted largely of Calvin's bounty, and of Melancthon's, who remitted him (as they did likewise to many others of the English) occasional sums of money, though their own (*s*) revenues were by no means affluent.

On Dr. Martyr's invitation to the divinity chair at Zurich, Mr. Jewel accompanied him thither, and was of great use to him in the discharge of the weighty office annexed to that dignity.

Queen Mary, departing this life, went to her own place, November 17, 1558, in the 43rd year of her age, after a bloody and disastrous reign of five years, four months, and eleven days. Her death was a most happy event for the Church of God both at home and abroad. Some time before she finished her course, such of the exiles as had their chief support from the charity of good people in England, were beginning to be anxious, the usual supplies being in a great measure cut off. This was owing to the malicious vigilance of bishop Gardiner, who, gaining intelligence of their benefactors here, threw some of them into prison, and impoverished others by various modes of oppression; so that the current of their bounty to the transmarines was almost entirely stopt. (*t*) Yet in this difficulty the exiles were liberally relieved by the seasonable humanity of several German princes and cities.

No sooner was the happy news of Elizabeth's accession to the throne publicly announced on the continent, than the exiles returned to England; and among the rest, Mr. Jewel. On his arrival, he spent his first six months at the house of Mr. Culverwell, a citizen of London; and then removed into the family of Lord Williams, of Tame. The 31st of March following, he was one of the eight Protestant divines who were appointed to hold an open disputation in Westminster Abbey, against eight Romanists. On this occasion, Fuller justly remarks that the issue of this conference was similar to "the general destiny of such public colloquies; which, like sycamore trees, prove barren; and the larger the leaves of expectation the less the fruits of success. The assembly dissolved; and it were hard to say which were louder, the Papists in complaining, or the Protestants in triumphing."

In July, (*u*) 1559, Mr. Jewel was appointed one of the Queen's commissioners to visit the dioceses of Sarum, Exeter, Bristol, Bath and Wells, and Gloucester; and to weed them as much as possible of Popery. And, not many months after (viz. Jan. 21, 1559-60), as a reward for his distinguished learning and merit, he was consecrated bishop of Salisbury.

So bright a luminary could not fail of moving to great advantage in so eminent a sphere. Even at a time when all the bishops of the Church of England were

(*s*) Calvin's whole stipend at Geneva amounted to about twenty-five pounds, sterling, per annum.—The senate pressed him to accept of more: but he peremptorily refused any addition. Supposing money, at that time, to be four times as valuable as at present, his income was worth about £100 per annum, according to the modern estimation of specie. Even Monsieur Bayle admires and celebrates this extraordinary proof of Calvin's disinterestedness and deadness to the world: "That a man," says he, "who had acquired so great reputation, and such authority, should yet have had a salary but of an hundred crowns, and refuse to accept of more; and, after living 25 years with the utmost frugality, should leave but three hundred crowns to his heirs, including his library, which sold very dear, is something so heroical, that one must have lost all feeling not to admire it."

Melancthon's salary was not a great deal better, considering he had a wife and family to take care of. His income (see the Biographical Dictionary, vol. viii. p 325.) was but three hundred German florins per annum. A German florin is 2s. 4d. English. Consequently, his finances amounted to thirty-five pounds, yearly: which, quadrupled, make 140 per annum, according to the then value of money.

(*t*) Clark's Lives. (*u*) Biog. Britan.

sound in the faith and eminent for holiness, Dr. Jewel was remarkable for the fervour of his graces, the sanctity of his life, and his laboriousness in the vineyard of Christ.

In his first episcopal visitation he began (what he afterwards happily perfected) such a thorough reformation, not only in his cathedral and in the parochial churches, but also in the courts of his jurisdiction, as procured both to himself and to the whole order of bishops the utmost reverence and esteem. He was a strict overseer of all the clergy and of all the parishes in his large diocese; and so narrowly watched the proceedings of his chancellor and archdeacons, and of his stewards and receivers, that they had no opportunity of conniving at error or at vice, much less of being guilty themselves of oppression or injustice. To prevent those abuses for which the episcopal courts were sometimes too deservedly censured, he frequently presided in person. And being, moreover, in the commission of the peace, he was no less useful as a civil magistrate, than exemplary as a bishop, and equitable as an ecclesiastical judge.

With regard to his more private conduct he usually rose at four in the morning; and after prayers with his family at five, and divine service in the cathedral at six, he was so fixed to his studies, all the remainder of the forenoon, that he could not without the greatest difficulty be persuaded to interrupt them. After dinner, his doors and his ears were open to all comers; and what had been said of the emperor Titus was justly applied to this Christian prelate, that he never sent any person away from his presence dissatisfied or grieved. Suitors being thus dismissed, he heard with singular patience and impartiality those causes which were either debated before him as judge or referred to him as an arbitrator; and as much of the day as remained unoccupied by these public duties he considered as clear gain to his studies.—About nine at night he called all his servants to a spiritual account how they had spent the day; and thence went to prayers with them in his chapel; whence he directly repaired again to his study, and read or wrote until about midnight.

He greatly distinguished himself by preaching and writing in the defence of the Church of England, and against the errors of Popery. In 1560, he gave a public challenge (in a sermon which he preached at St. Paul's Cross, London) to all the Papists throughout the world; defying them to produce but one clear and evident testimony out of any father that flourished within six hundred years after Christ, for any one of the various articles in which the Church of Rome dissents from that of England. His text (*x*) on this celebrated occasion was 1 Cor. xi. 23. This vigorous attack involved him in a long but very useful controversy, for the Romanists mustered their utmost forces to defend their sinking cause. And to their fruitless attempts we are indebted for that inestimable work of the bishop's, published in 1562, and entitled, An Apology for the Church of England; written by his lordship in elegant Latin, that all the learned men in Europe might judge on which side the stress of argument lay; and afterwards translated into English; and then into Greek, for the benefit of the Eastern Churches. Many Popish champions, both foreign and domestic, entered the lists against this masterly and unanswerable defence of the gospel. To these (and particularly to the cavils and calumnies of Harding the Jesuit) our prelate replied in A Defence of the Apology for the Church of England; first printed, A. D. 1564. In so great esteem was this treatise held that it was ordered, by queen Elizabeth and King Jas. I., to be read in every parish church throughout England and Wales; and that each of those sacred edifices should be furnished with a copy, chained to the wall. In some of our country churches this excellent book is still to be seen.—Mr. Harding strenuously attacked the Defence in a treatise published at Louvain, A. D. 1568. To which the indefatigable bishop wrote a rejoinder, printed at London, in folio, A. D. 1568, and 1570.

On the 26th of May, 1565, the University of Oxford conferred on him the degree of Doctor in Divinity though he was then absent; and the year following he attended queen Elizabeth in the visit she made to that noble seminary, and sat as Moderator at the divinity-disputations which were held before her majesty.

Providence had furnished this great and evangelical prelate with such natural talents as most highly qualified him for the important departments he was destined to sustain. His memory was capacious and retentive almost to a prodigy. After hearing a remarkable incident he penned it down in his common-place book, and the trouble of once writing anything would impress it so strongly on his mind that he never afterwards forgot it. If he wrote down an intended speech or a sermon (which it was always his custom to do), he just gave it a single perusal and could then exactly repeat the whole. When the bell began to toll for church he began to run his eye over his discourse, and was perfect master of it in a few minutes. Such were his firmness of nerves and power of

(*x*) The sermon itself was printed the same year; and an extract from it is preserved in Clark's Lives, and in the Biog. Britann.

recollection, that he used frequently to say, If I was to deliver a premeditated speech before ten thousand auditors, and they were shouting or fighting all the while, I should still be able to pronounce the whole of what I intended to speak. After once (or at the most twice) reading the hardest and uncouthest words in such languages as the Welsh, Irish, &c.; and meditating a little upon them, he would repeat any forty of them at a time, either backwards or forwards, without hesitation. In the year 1563, Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper of the great seal, having read to him, out of Erasmus's Paraphrase, the last clauses of ten lines, in a confused and imperfect manner on purpose to try him, the bishop, covering his face with his hand and sitting silent awhile, immediately rehearsed all those broken sentences, both the right way and the contrary, without mistake or embarrassment.—He attained to this amazing memory partly by the help of art. It is to be wished that his method of improving that important faculty had been recorded. But we only know that he taught it to some of his friends, and among them to bishop Parkhurst, who profited so effectually by Dr. Jewel's rules, that he (Parkhurst) was able, in 28 days, and by devoting no more than one hour each day, to repeat the whole 28 chapters of St. Matthew's gospel, both regularly and in any detached parcels.

Though bishop Jewel was a constant preacher, and endued with as profound and lively talents as man could well be, yet he never presumed so far on his inherent powers as to preach an extemporary sermon. I do not mean to say that he carried written notes with him into the pulpit, for I cannot find that he ever did this so much as once; but he always premeditated, and generally committed the principal parts of each discourse to writing, prior to his preaching it. In the article of premeditation he acted properly and wisely. In penning his sermons before hand he incurred, what I should humbly think, a needless drudgery.

His moral and social character were such as might be expected in a bishop who was savingly regenerated by divine grace, and who walked in close communion with God. Devout, charitable, and liberal; modest, humble, and temperate. His serenity of soul rendered him happy, affable, and cheerful; and God gave him the most absolute mastery over all his passions.

His genius was bright and quick; his application to study indefatigable. Hence he was profoundly versed in the sciences, and thoroughly acquainted with the Greek, Latin, and Italian languages; with a competent knowledge of the French and German.

Long before his final sickness he predicted its distant approach, and, when actually overtaken by it, he foretold the precise day of his death. So far was he from shrinking back at the thoughts of his dissolution, that (*y*) by fasting, labour, and watching, he rather seemed to accelerate it: desirous to entertain death, and to meet his Saviour. When in a very weak and emaciated state, he was riding to Laycock (a beautiful village, near Melksham, in Wiltshire), with an intention to preach; a gentleman, who met him, tenderly advised him "to return home for his health's sake; it being better that the people should want one sermon than that the Church of God should lose such a preacher." To whom the holy invalid returned this memorable answer (hear it, ye modern dignitaries and blush!): "It becomes a bishop to die in the pulpit, preaching the gospel."(*z*) He went forward to Laycock, and preached as he intended. His text was, Gal. v. 16. Walk in the Spirit. It was the last sermon he ever preached; for his illness gaining ground on him more and more, he was conveyed from Laycock to the neighbouring parish of Monkton Farley; where, taking to his bed, he resigned his valuable soul to God, September 23, 1571, in the 50th year of his age. He was interred in the choir of his cathedral, at Salisbury, where his grave-stone with his name upon it yet remains.

With respect to his person, he was of a thin habit of body, which natural thinness was increased by his abstemious way of living, his want of exercise, and his intense studies. So that, in the latter part of his life, he was almost a breathing skeleton; or in the words of Dr. Humphrey, *Ad incredibilem maciem perductus, et vivum quasi cadaver effectus.*

He bequeathed the greater part of his estate to his servants, to indigent scholars, and to the poor of Salisbury. A short time before he departed, he called all his family into his chamber, and expounded the Lord's Prayer to them as they stood weeping round his bed. "It has always been my desire," said he, "that I might glorify God, by sacrificing my life unto death, in defence of his truth. But though God has not granted my desire, yet I rejoice that my body is exhausted and worn away, in the labours of my holy calling. And now my hour is at hand, I earnestly desire you to pray for me, and to help me with the ardency of your affections, when you perceive me, through the

(*y*) Clark, ubi supra.

(*z*) It is supposed, that, in this fine reply, he alluded to the saying of Vespasian; some of whose departing words were, "*Oportet imperatorem stantem mori*," i. e. An emperor should die upon his feet.

infirmity of the flesh, to languish in my prayers. Hitherto I have taught you, but now the time is come wherein I desire to be taught and strengthened by you." He then requested them to sing the 71st psalm, in which he joined with them, so far as his extreme weakness would permit. Among his dying ejaculations were these:—Lord, now let thy servant depart in peace.—Break off all delays.—Lord, receive my spirit. One of the company burst out into prayer, with tears, beseeching God to restore the bishop's health, and to continue him longer upon earth. The expiring saint overheard the supplications of his friend, and answered, "I have not lived so as to be ashamed of living longer; neither am I afraid to die, because we have a merciful Lord. A crown of righteousness is laid up for me. Christ is my righteousness. Father, thy will be done. Thy will, I say, not mine, which is imperfect and depraved. This day, quickly, let me see the Lord Jesus."

Dr. Fuller's summary character of the bishop deserves to be transcribed.

"A jewel sometimes taken for a single precious stone, is properly a collective of many orderly set together for their best advantage. So several eminences met in this worthy man; naturals, artificials (among which I recount his studied memory, deserving as well as Theodectes, the surname of Mnemonicus), morals, but principally spirituals.

"So devout in the pew where he prayed: diligent in the pulpit where he preached: grave on the bench of judicature where he assisted: mild in the consistory where he judged: pleasant at the table where he fed: patient in the bed where he died: that well it were if in relation to him *secundum usum Sarum* were made precedential to all posterity.

"He gave at his death to Peter Martyr a golden rose, more fragrant for the worth of the giver than the value of the gift. To the city of Zurich a present, which they converted into a piece of plate, with Jewel's arms thereon. To several scholars large legacies. To the church of Salisbury a fair library; and another to the church of England; I mean his learned Apology.

"It is hard to say whether his soul or his ejaculations arrived first in heaven; seeing he prayed dying, and died praying.

"He was buried in the choir by bishop Wyvil; two champions of the church lying together. One who with his sword proffered to maintain the lands; the other, with his pen, defended the doctrine thereof.

"In the absence of Dr. Humphrey, designed for that service, Mr. Giles Laurence preached his funerals (*i. e.* funeral sermon); who formerly (being tutor to the children of Sir Arthur Darcie, by Aldgate, in London), in queen Mary's days, preserved Jewel's life, and provided accommodations for his flight beyond the seas."

SOME ACCOUNT OF DR. CARLETON, BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.

George Carleton, one of the ablest and devoutest prelates on record in English history, was born A.D. 1559, at Norham in Northumberland; of which castle his father was at that time governor.

He received his grammatic learning under the care of the celebrated Mr. Bernard Gilpin; whose faithful, judicious, and affectionate attention to his young pupil was so remarkably owned of God that the excellent tutor had the satisfaction of seeing him rise at once into a scholar and a saint. When Mr. Carleton became sufficiently qualified for the University, he was transplanted to Edmund Hall, in Oxford, where he was liberally supported by the munificence of his old master Mr. Gilpin, who loved him as his son, and who seems to have foreseen the eminence and usefulness for which God had designed him.

While at Oxford, our future bishop was a pattern to the rest of his fellow-students in piety, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity. Persons who are devout in very early life are sometimes prone to neglect, if not to despise, that literary cultivation of the understanding which at a more advanced age they know the value of too late. Mr. Carleton was blest with a measure of wisdom, to discern and avoid this mistake. Next to the care of his soul and the maintenance of communion with God, his grand business was to furnish his mind with as much important knowledge as he could grasp. Hence the solid and swift advances which Providence enabled him to make in the various walks of useful and ornamental science. In February, 1580, he took his Bachelor's degree with a pre-eminence of applause, which did him honour as long as he lived, and laid the first visible foundation of his subsequent promotions.

He was elected Probationer Fellow of Merton College in the course of the last mentioned year 1580; and proceeded Doctor in Divinity, A. D. 1613. From his long and constant residence at Oxford, he appears to have been extremely fond of an academic life; nor probably would any thing but the royal command have drawn him out of a sphere so suited to his regular and philosophical turn of mind.

On the 12th of July, 1618, he was consecrated to the see of Llandaff: to which elevation he was raised and entitled, not only by his amazing genius, learning and

virtues; but chiefly on account of his masterly and resolute opposition to Arminianism, which had by that time found its way hither from the Dutch Provinces, and with which several of the English clergy were then beginning to be infected. Dr. Carleton in his sermons and University disputations had shewn himself so watchful against the encroachments of this newly imported poison, and was so accomplished a master of the whole controversy, that king James I. (who hated the Arminians with a perfect hatred, until he thought fit some years afterwards to make use of them for political purposes) first appointed him to the above bishopric, and then sent him as his religious plenipotentiary, and as one of the four representatives of the Church of England, to the famous synod of Dort, where his lordship assisted that most venerable assembly in their candid trial and just condemnation of the Arminian heresies.

So faithfully as a minister of God, and so ably as a man of talent, did our excellent bishop acquit himself at Dort, that, on his return to England, the States of Holland wrote king James a letter of thanks for sending to them a person whom they not extravagantly styled "*imago atque expressa virtutis effigies*:" *i. e.*, a living image and counterpart of all virtue. His majesty likewise was so thoroughly satisfied with the whole of his conduct (*a*) that he translated him to the see of Chichester, in Sept. 1619.

What must endear his name to posterity, while sound religion breathes in England, are the invaluable works which his pious and learned pen has bequeathed to the Church of God. Among these,

*——— *veint inter ignes*
Luna minores,

shines his famous "Examination" of Mr. Richard Montagu's "Appeal." This Montagu, in order to curry favour with Charles I. and with archbishop Laud, wrote a very shallow, but very insolent tract, entitled "An Appeal to Cæsar;" in which the author was so lost to all sense of veracity and shame as to aim at squeezing the articles and homilies of the Church of England into the new fangled mould of Arminianism. Many were the refutations which the paltry and daring pamphlet received from some of the best and greatest clergymen then living. Bishop Carleton was among the foremost to assert the scriptural and established doctrines in opposition to the innovations of error, and to that worse than Stygian flood of varnished Atheism which has since overwhelmed so great part of the Protestant vineyard, and which still continues (though in a much narrower channel than formerly) to roll its baneful stream. The great prelate foresaw and deplored the terrible effects which have redounded from the free-will system; and which once operated almost to the utter extirpation of Christianity, morality and sound philosophy, from off the face of this land.

Before our civil and ecclesiastical troubles in the seventeenth century arrived at their height, God was pleased to translate Dr. Carleton from earth to heaven. He expired aged 69, full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, and richly laden with good works, in May, 1628, and was buried the 27th of that month in the choir of Chichester cathedral, near the altar.

The compilers of Biographia Britannica, who have supplied us with several of the above particulars, are so just to the memory of this profound and stedfast Calvinistic bishop, as to observe that "He was a person of solid judgment, and of various reading; well versed in the fathers and schoolmen; wanting nothing that could render him a complete divine." Echard, in his "History of England (*b*)," characterises him in terms of distinguished honour: as does the indefatigable Dr. Fuller(*c*), whose words are: "About this time, George Carleton, that grave and godly bishop of Chichester, ended his pious life. He was bred and brought up under Mr. B. Gilpin, that apostolical man; whose life he (*i. e.* Bishop Carleton) wrote in gratitude to his memory. He retained his youthful and poetical studies fresh in his old age."

The testimony of the great Mr. Camden shall close the present sketch (I wish the materials were more ample) of this admirable prelate's life and character. The learned antiquarian, in his account of Norham and its castle, writes as follows: "This, and other matters were taught me (for I shall always own *my* instructors) by George Carleton, born at this place; whom for his excellent proficiency in divinity (whereof he is professor), and the other polite parts of learning, I love and am loved by him: and I were unworthy of that love if I should not acknowledge his friendship (*d*)." Mr. Camden wrote this in 1607, some years before Dr. Carleton's elevation to a bishopric.

(*a*) "Res à synodo gestas non nostrum est attingere: satis erit adnotasse, Landavensem hunc pristinam tantâ cum eruditionis et pietatis laude controversias agitatas administrâsse, ut, in patriam reversus, Jacobo regi carior factus, ad episcopatum icestrensem, vicesimo Septembris, 1619, promoveretur."

Godwin, de Præsulib. Angl.—Edit. Richardson, fol. p. 515.

(*b*) Vol. ii. p. 72. (*c*) Church Hist. Book xi. p. 131. See also Dr. Fuller's Worthies of England, part ii. p. 304.

(*d*) Camden's Britannia, Vol. ii. col. 1099.—Edit. 1722.

MEMOIRS OF JOHN, LORD HARINGTON, BARON OF EXTON(e).

This extraordinary young nobleman was the eldest son of that lord and lady Harington to whose care king James I. committed the education of his daughter Elizabeth, who was afterwards married to Frederick prince elector palatine. They were persons eminent for prudence and piety, and were unwearied in forming the mind of their son to learning, and his manners tovirtue.

He soon manifested that the labours of his parents and tutors was not in vain in the Lord. Effectual grace laid hold on his heart betimes, and as he advanced in years, he gave brighter and brighter evidences of sound conversion and increasiug holiness.

In very early youth he was able to read the common Greek authors, not only with ease but with taste. He spoke Latin with fluency, and wrote it with elegance; and could converse with foreigners either in French or Italian. He was not a perfect speaker of the Spanish, but had enough of it to read and understand several books written in that language. Logic, natural and moral philosophy, and the mathematics, he was more than competently master of; and excelled in the theory of tactics and of navigation. What added lustre to all were, his deep experience, and his admirable knowledge of the great things of God. Theology was his grand and favourite study, and there were few even of the sacred order (though at that time bishops and clergymen merited the name of divines), who could disembarrass an intricate question, or resolve a difficult case of conscience with more ability, judgment and spirituality, than he.

Being well grounded in religion and learning, his noble father sent him to make the tour of France and Italy, under the care of the excellent Mr. Tovey, who had formerly been head master of the free school at Coventry. During their travels on the continent, they seem to have been imprudently zealous in their avowal of the Protestant faith; by which having given offence to some Jesuits, the latter took an opportunity to administer a slow, but sure poison, to the noble traveller and his religious tutor; that (says the original writer of this memoir) "seeing they had no hope of being able to corrupt their minds, they might at least destroy their bodies, and bring them to their graves."

Mr. Tovey, who was in years, and less able to encounter the strength of so potent a poison, died quickly after his return to England. But Lord Harington, who was of a strong constitution, and in the prime of life, did not so soon yield to its effects, though its violence presently shewed itself in his countenance, and a very few years afterwards terminated in death.

On his lordship's arrival in England from his travels, he testified his gratitude to God, by giving twenty pounds to the poor, which donation he continued annually while he lived. The second sabbath after his landing (having spent the preceding Saturday with his tutor, Mr. Tovey, in prayer, fasting, and thanksgiving), he devoutly attended on the preaching of the word, received the Lord's supper, and distributed five pounds to the poor of that parish, together with forty pounds besides for the relief of indigent ministers, and of other distressed Christians. At all times, his constant rule was, never to devote less than a tenth part of his income to charitable purposes.

From the first day of his last sickness, he strongly apprehended the approach of death; and exercised himself in such thoughts and duties as might tend to loosen him more and more from the world, and aid his affections in their flight to heaven. Much of his time was spent in social and private prayer, and his conversation, with his friends and domestics, turned chiefly on continual confessions of his own sinfulness, declarations of his faith, and professions of his sure and certain justification through Christ Jesus. So strong was his assurance of interest in the covenant of grace, that not one cloud of misgiving seems to have darkened his mind; but he was enabled to testify, with joy unspeakable and full of glory, that he feared not death, in what form soever it might come to him.

Great were his desires to be dissolved and taken home to the Lord. About two hours before he departed, he witnessed to those about him that he still felt the assured comforts and joys of his salvation by Christ. When the last agonies were upon him, he was heard to say, O thou, my joy! O my God! when shall I be with thee? In the midst of which holy breathings, he placidly and triumphantly surrendered his soul to God, A. D. 1613; aged 22 years.

His manner of life had been eminently and uniformly religious. He usually rose every morning at five; and sometimes at four. When he first waked, his constant care was to cultivate communion with God, by offering up the first-fruits of the day, and of his thoughts to the uncreated Majesty. So soon as dressed, he endeavoured to put his heart in tune for family worship, by reading a portion of scripture; after which, he prayed with his servants. This

(e) See the second volume of that curious work, entitled, Nugæ Antiquæ, p. 112.—Also, Clark's Lives.

duty concluded, he spent about an hour in reading some valuable book, calculated to inform his understanding, and to animate his graces. —— Calvin's Institutions, and Mr. Rogers's Treatise, (*f*) were among the performances which he highly esteemed, and which he carefully studied.

Before dinner and before supper his family were called together to wait on God in reading, singing, and prayer. After supper prayer was repeated: and, if he was at leisure from company or business, he then retired to write his diary; in which he faithfully recorded the temptations, sins, and spiritual mercies of the day. When in bed, some or other of his devout servants read to him, out of the scriptures, for an hour or longer, until he betook himself to sleep. Thus he both lay down and awoke with God.

He was a most strict observer of the Lord's day: and, as far as possible, devoted the whole of it to private and public duties: yet so as to shew that in his estimation public ordinances should have the preference to private ones: knowing that the Lord loveth the gates of Sion more than all the dwellings of Jacob. Hence, though he had a household chaplain, he constantly attended the public service twice every sabbath: nor did he violate this rule, even when he was called to attend the royal court. If business, or other providences, cast his lot occasionally where the word was not preached, he would ride many miles to some other place at the proper seasons, rather than defraud his soul of spiritual food. Immediately after sermon, he would seclude himself from company for about half an hour, in order, by prayer and meditation, to digest what he had heard. After evening sermon, two of his servants repeated in the family, before supper, the substance of that and the morning discourse, from notes which they had written at the times of preaching; and so great was his memory that he himself would usually repeat more than they had committed to writing. He then entered the heads, and principal passages of each sermon, in a plain paper book which he kept for that purpose; and afterwards dismissed his domestics with prayer, in which he had a very extraordinary gift.

By way of preparation for the sabbath, he called his soul to a strict account every Saturday night; and with confession, supplication, and thanksgiving, committed himself to the grace of God in Christ. On the Lord's-day morning, rising as usual very early, he repeated to the attendants who waited on him while he was rising, a summary of the two sermons which they had heard the Sunday before.

Every month he received the holy communion; and sanctified the preceding day as a solemn private fast: reviewing the memoirs of his experiences and conduct in the month before, and spending the whole day in prayer, meditation, and self-examination. He carefully noted, on this occasion, how it had been with him since his last appearance at the holy table; what progress he had made in piety; how he had throve in grace, and what additional strength the Lord had given him over his corruptions. Thus he spent his monthly fast (besides which, he frequently kept other days of private humiliation); not coming out of his study until about supper-time. On the sacrament morning, he constantly read 1 Cor. xi. wherein the institution of that holy ordinance is treated of: and, to his servants who were to communicate with him he read part of a spiritual treatise upon the same subject.

He was deeply attentive to the word preached, sensible that he was, then, eminently in the presence of God; and demonstrated, by the awfulness and circumspection of his behaviour, that he came to hear, not the preacher, but Christ speaking in his word.

To avoid all appearance of ostentation, it was his custom not to admit any visitant or acquaintance, either to his prayers, or to the repetition of sermon, in and with his family, except one intimate friend only, who used to be indulged in bearing a part in these heavenly devotions. How far lord Harington judged exactly right, in this extreme scrupulousness, is not for us to enquire. But it certainly resulted from a very high sense of modesty and religious delicacy.

He is now engaged in still more exalted family worship, and sings, with angels and glorified saints, the song of Moses and the Lamb. Reader, be not slothful in the works of God; but a follower of them, who, through faith and patience, inherit the promises.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE OF HERMAN WITSIUS, D. D. TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN ORATION WHICH MARCKIUS DELIVERED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF LEYDEN, AT HIS INTERMENT.

ENCHUYSEN is a noted and considerable city of West Friesland, and remarkable for being one of the first towns in the United Provinces, which, A.D. 1572, shook off the Spanish yoke. It was eminent, moreover, on another account; namely, that having embraced the pure faith of the gospel, this

(*f*) Probably, Mr. Rogers's Commentary on the XXXIX Articles, is the treatise here meant.

city was inflexibly tenacious of the truths it had received, and made a most strenuous and successful stand against the insolent innovations and incroachments of the Arminians, at a time when that pestilent sect was newly started up, and had rendered itself, by the number of its adherents, very formidable to the whole reformed interest in Holland. And although this city, from the convenience of its situation (being a seaport), had been for a long series of ages famous for its extensive commerce; yet it has been so happy as to produce many very learned men, and able ministers of the gospel: and perhaps, amidst all its advantages, it has not more reason to boast of any thing than for being the birth-place of our Hermannus Witsius; who was born here on the 12th of February, 1636. Which same month and year were rendered further memorable, by the erection of the famous school of Utrecht into an University.

His father, Nicholas Witsius, served the Church of Enchuysen, first as deacon, and then as presbyter: and in course of time, being advanced to civil honours, he was made treasurer and chief magistrate of the city: in all which stations, his piety, integrity, and humility, exceedingly endeared him to all his fellow-citizens. He also composed a book of sacred poems and hymns: which were in their matter so evangelical, and in their manner so accurate and lively, that they seemed dictated by heaven to inspire devout affections, and cultivate holy joy and spiritual-mindedness.

The mother of our Witsius was Joanna, daughter of Herman Gerardus: who, suffering greatly in his own country on account of his religious principles, after sustaining many losses and running various hazards, got safe to Enchuysen; where he settled with his family, and became an eminent minister in the church. Here he continued preaching the gospel for upwards of thirty years, and discharged his important trust with singular faithfulness and zeal: admired by all, no less for his eloquence than learning. And so hearty were his attachments to his flock in this place, that he refused many invitations sent him from several churches in Holland, of greater dignity and much larger revenues than his own.

Witsius, thus descended on both sides from such worthy persons, looked upon himself as under an additional obligation so to behave and adjust his conduct, throughout the course of his life, as, by the blessing of divine grace, to bring no stain or dishonour on a family thus happily distinguished by their extraordinary love to God and reverence for his laws.

Before he was born, his pious parents made a vow to the Lord that, if they had a male child, they would, from his earliest years, endeavour to devote him to the ministry and service of the sanctuary. At length, a son came; and they called him, after his pious grandfather, Hermannus: beseeching God, at the same time, that the spirit of that holy man whose name he bore, might, as it were, revive in this his grandson; and that their infant offspring might not only equal, but if possible, even go beyond, him in Christian graces and ministerial abilities. And their prayers were indeed signally answered.

I must not forget to inform the reader that Witsius came (as it is called) before his time: and this premature birth had well nigh cost both mother and son their lives In consequence of this, he was, when born, so uncommonly small and weakly that the midwife and the other women present concluded he must die in a few hours. But herein God disappointed their fears, and (for what can make void his purposes?) raised this puny infant afterwards into a very great man (not in body, for he was always spare and thin): a man of vast intellectual abilities, brightened and improved by deep study, and whose fame diffused itself throughout the whole Christian world by his useful, numerous, and learned labours.

His parents, after this danger, took particular care of his education, and were obliged to be extremely tender of his health. Above all, they endeavoured (and their endeavours were crowned with success equal to their largest wishes,) to bring him up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord: teaching him, ere he could speak distinctly, to lisp out the praises of God, and unfold his wants in prayer before the throne of grace.

In the sixth year of his age, he was entered at the public school of his native town, to learn the rudiments of Latin. There he continued three years; at the end of which space, his mother's brother, Peter Gerardus, took him to his own house, and under his own immediate tuition. This worthy person was a great master of philosophy and the learned languages; but chiefly devoted his time to the study of divinity: and not being then in any public employment, enjoyed a comfortable and useful retirement, addicting himself much to the instruction and improvement of his nephew, whom he loved as his own son.

Under the care of his good uncle, Witsius made so rapid a progress in learning that before he was fifteen years old, he could not only speak and write the Latin language correctly, and with some degree of fluency; but could also readily interpret the books of the Greek Testament, and the orations of Isocrates, and render the Hebrew commentaries of Samuel into Latin:

at the same time giving the etymology of the original words, and assigning the reasons of the variations of the pointing grammatically. He had, likewise, now acquired some knowledge of philosophy; and had so far made himself master of logic that, when he was removed to the University, he needed no preceptor to instruct him in that art. He learned also, while he continued with his uncle, Walæus's and Burgersdicius's Compendiums of Ethics: which latter author he plied so diligently, that he could at any time repeat by heart the quotations cited by him from any of the ancient writers, whether Greek or Latin. He acquainted himself too with the elements of Natural Philosophy and Metaphysics; and as his uncle always kept him usefully employed, he was likewise master, and that almost by heart, of Windelin's Compendium of Theology: the good man deeming it an essential and special part of his duty to make his nephew from his earliest youth intimately versed in matters of divinity.

His uncle himself had from his own childhood been inured to sanctify the ordinary actions and offices of life, by sending up ejaculatory aspirations to God, suitable to the business he was about; in order to which he had made his memory the storehouse of some more eminently useful and familiar texts of Scripture, both of the Old and New Testament, which related or might be accommodated to every part of common life; so that when he lay down, rose up, dressed, washed, walked abroad, studied, or did any thing else, he could repeat apposite passages from the holy Scriptures in their original languages of either Hebrew or Greek; thereby in a very eminent manner acknowledging God in all his ways, and doing whatsoever he did to his glory. This same excellent practice he recommended to his nephew; which had so happy an effect that very many portions both of the Hebrew Bible and the Greek Testament were, in his youth, so deeply impressed on Witsius's memory, that even in his old age he never forgot them. Were all who are intrusted with the education of others equally diligent in forming the minds of their pupils betimes to piety and learning, and were all young men equally attentive and obsequious as Witsius, they would be better scholars at their entrance into the University than the generality of them now are when they leave it.

Having made so swift and deep a progress in most kinds of learning, Witsius began to think of removing to some University, and fixed on that of Utrecht, which was very eminent for the excellency of its course, the strictness of its discipline, the reputation of its professors, and the number of its students. What chiefly recommended this place to him were the advantages he hoped to gain from the lectures and conversation of those very famous divines, who at that time flourished there; especially Maatsius, Hoornbeek, and Gisbert Voetius. Hither, therefore, he came A.D. 1651, and in the fifteenth year of his age. But just before he reached Utrecht, Maatsius was gathered to his fathers; so that on his arrival he had only the melancholy satisfaction of hearing the great Hoornbeek pronounce the funeral oration over his much loved friend and colleague.

Being thus entered at the University he assiduously applied himself to metaphysics, using for that purpose the Manuductio of Paul Voetius; and being greatly taken with the Oriental languages, he studied them under the ever memorable John Leusden, then professor and teacher of those tongues there. Under the direction of that eminent linguist he went through the greater part of the Hebrew Bible; as also made himself master of the Hebrew commentaries of R. Jarchi, Aben Ezra, and Kimchi, on Hosea; Jonathan's Chaldee paraphrase on Isaiah; and the Onkelos, on part of the Pentateuch. He likewise, under the tutorage of Luesden, acquainted himself with the mysteries of the Massora, and the intricacies of the Talmud, as set forth by Cocceius and L'Empereur. Through his instructions, he acquired the knowledge of Syriac and the rudiments of Arabic. He very early gave a specimen of his great proficiency in the Hebrew tongue by composing a most elegant and masterly oration in that language, *De Messiâ Judæorum et Christianorum*; which at the request of his master Leusden he pronounced with great applause before the University, A. D. 1654, and in the eighteenth year of his age.

Though he was thus devoted to matters of literature, he nevertheless set apart the major portion of his time for the study of divinity; to which, as he rightly judged, the others were to act in subserviency. In order to proceed properly in this greatest and best of sciences, he put himself under the guidance of such theological professors as were most eminent for profound learning and the exactest skill in the sacred volumes; and who might consequently be most serviceable to him in the prosecution of such studies. These were Gisbert Voetius, John Hoornbeek, Walter Bruinius, and Andrew Essenius. Assisted, therefore, with such preceptors and adding to their instructions indefatigable labour on his own part, and both being crowned with the grace and blessing of God, the reader may form some judgment how vast a proficiency such

a student with such advantages must needs make

About this time he had a great desire of repairing to Groningen, chiefly with a view to see and hear the celebrated Maresius, then professor of divinity in that University. Hither, therefore, he repaired towards the latter end of the year 1654. Being arrived, he devoted himself entirely to divinity under the sole guidance of Maresius; and entered on the exercises previous to preaching. These he performed in the French tongue; and so well did he acquit himself to the satisfaction of his tutor Maresius that, notwithstanding that great man was so much taken up with various business of importance, he nevertheless condescended to look over and with his own hand to correct Witsius's declamations before he pronounced them in public.

Having spent a year at Groningen, and obtained ample testimonials of his good behaviour and great abilities from the college of divines, he determined for Leyden; but having received information that the plague was making great havoc in that city, he changed his mind and resolved to revisit his beloved Utrecht, that he might there perfect himself in divinity, in which he had already made such large and happy advances.

On his return to Utrecht, he not only as formerly attended all the divinity lectures both public and private of the several professors, but entered into a strict and thorough intimacy with that very excellent divine Bogaerdtius, than whom, Witsius was of opinion, a greater man never lived. From his lectures, conversation, example, and prayers, through the blessed energy and grace of the divine Spirit, Witsius was enlightened into the mysteries of the Redeemer's kingdom, and led into the comfortable, heart-felt enjoyment of inward, spiritual, and experimental Christianity. Through his means he first learned how widely different that knowledge of divine things is which, flows from mere learning, study, and acquisition, from that sublime and heaven-taught wisdom which is the result of fellowship with Christ by the Holy Ghost; and which, through his own powerful influences on the heart of his elect, gloriously conforms the believing soul more and more to the blessed image of its divine Saviour.

Witsius always humbly and thankfully acknowledged that Bogaerdtius was the instrument God made use of to lead him into the innermost temple of holy love and gracious experience; whereas until then he stood only in the outer court; but thenceforward disclaiming all vain wisdom and self-dependance, he was happily brought to sit down at the feet of Jesus, simply to learn the mysteries of his grace from his blessed teachings alone, and to receive his kingdom as a little child.

Nor yet was he so taken up with these delightful and sublime matters as to omit, or slight, his academical studies, which appeared, from his Theses concerning the Trinity, written about this time; wherein with great learning and singular dexterity, he proved that important doctrine from the writings of the ancient Jews, and showed how very far the modern ones were degenerated in that article from their rabbis and forefathers. These Theses he debated publicly in the University, under the presidency of Leusden; and, although they were opposed by some of the oldest standers and ablest disputants in the college, yet Leusden was of opinion that his young pupil defended his positions so well, and maintained his ground in so firm and masterly a manner, as to stand in need of no assistance from him; wherefore he sat by the whole time without interposing one word, but left Witsius entirely to it himself. And it being customary there when disputations are over for the defendant to return thanks to the President for his care and assistance; when Witsius did this, the President replied with equal truth and politeness, "You have no reason, sir, to make me such an acknowledgment, since you neither had, nor stood in need of any assistance from me." This was in the year 1655, and in the nineteenth year of his age.

Being by this time very famous in the two Universities of Utrecht and Groningen, it was thought high time for him to enter on an office wherein he might be made of general service to the church. In order to this, it is expected there that all candidates for the ministry give some previous specimen to the church of their knowledge in divine things, and of their abilities for so important an undertaking. Wherefore he presented himself for his preparatory examination, at Enchuysen, A. D. 1656. Here he was admitted to preach publicly, which he did with extraordinary reputation and universal applause. So great was the satisfaction he gave, that there were scarce any country churches in North Holland, which were without a pastor, that did not put down his name in the list of the candidates, out of whom the choice was to be made.

At the instigation of that reverend man, John Boisius, minister of the French Protestant Church at Utrecht, Witsius, though naturally exceedingly bashful and diffident, was prevailed with to solicit the assembly of French divines convened at Dort, for license to preach publicly and in the French

language in their churches. This he easily obtained; partly by the influence of the celebrated Anthony Hulsius, to whom, at the request of Boisius, Witsius had written a very elegant epistle in Hebrew.

From that time forward he often preached in French, both at Utrecht and Amsterdam; as in the course of his ministry he had done a considerable time before out of the French pulpit at Leuwarden. But thinking himself not quite perfect in that language, he proposed taking a journey into France for that end; as also that he might have an opportunity of seeing the many eminent divines and university professors who then flourished in the Protestant parts of that kingdom. But divine Providence was pleased to order matters otherwise; for in the year 1657, and the twenty-first of his age, he had a regular call from the church of Westwouden to be their minister; and into this office he was initiated on the 8th of July in the same year. Westwouden is a town situate between Enchuysen and Hoorn, at about an equal distance from both; and, in ecclesiastical matters, is united to the adjoining parish of Binne Wijsent. Here he waited on God and his church for upwards of four years; and, being in the prime of life, was the better able to discharge the duties of his function with activity and diligence. He had the satisfaction to see his labours succeed, especially among the younger sort, whom he very frequently catechised with great sweetness and condescension, accommodating himself to their understandings; insomuch that both the children and youth of the place, who, at his first coming there, were quite ignorant of every thing, could not only give a judicious account of the principal heads in divinity, but could also confirm and support the account they give with numerous and pertinent quotations from Scripture; and when they came home from church and were at any time questioned as to the sermon they had heard, they could without any trouble recapitulate the chief particulars of the discourse, its subject, divisions, doctrines, and improvements.

When the fame of our learned and able pastor began to reach far and wide, he received an invitation from the church of Wormeren, in the same province of North Holland, to be their minister; a church famous for its numbers, but at that time sadly harassed with intestine jars and divisions; and who therefore thought they could not possibly choose a pastor more capable of edifying his flock and of calming their dissensions than Witsius. To this call of theirs he acceded, and undertook the ministry of that church in the month of October, 1661, and the 25th year of his age. Here he staid four years and a half; so reconciling all parties, and building them up in the knowledge of Christ, and the obedience of faith, that on one hand he had the comfort to see himself the object of his people's most affectionate regard, and on the other that his pious and pacific labours were not in vain in the Lord. This being his situation he could not be prevailed with to change it by complying with the earnest and repeated invitations sent him by the inhabitants of Sluys, a town in Flanders, to take on him the pastoral care of that place and to preach to them alternately in French and Dutch. However, being afterwards invited to Goës, in Zealand, he thought it advisable to accept the call; and repairing thither about Whitsun-tide, A. D. 1666, was universally admired for his purity of doctrine, depth of learning, diligence in his office, and holiness of life. Here he had three pious and learned co-adjutors; two of whom, being considerably older than himself, he revered as parents; and the third, being much about his own age, he loved as his brother; maintaining with them all a most pleasing harmony and profitable intimacy. While he continued here, he enjoyed such opportunies of study and retirement, and was in all respects so comfortably situated, that he would often afterwards declare he never spent his time with greater pleasure and improvement, and could have wished to have passed his days in a connection so agreeable.

But these wishes were superseded by the inhabitants of Leeuwarden, the capital of Frieseland; who, in November, 1667, invited him to their metropolis; that so burning and shining a light might, by being fixed in so conspicuous a place, diffuse its useful rays in a manner over the whole province. Hither, therefore, he came in April, 1668; the church at Goës having dismissed him with great reluctance and concern, and contrived all the methods they could devise, if not to prevent, yet at least to retard his journey, and detain him with them as long as they could.

During his stay at Leeuwarden, it can scarce be conceived with what vigilance, faithfulness and prudence, he laid himself out for the edification, comfort and discreet guidance of that church; which was a matter of the greater difficulty, as the public affairs were in a very critical and precarious situation; the United Provinces being at that time engaged in a dangerous war, and the enemy making frequent inroads into their territories. At this season of exigence and distress, I much question if there ever lived a man whose labours for the good both of church and state were more remarkably successful, and who by his great talents, as well in civil as religious matters, rendered himself more useful and pleasing to persons of all ranks and

stations. One signal proof of the high esteem in which he was held, was his being made tutor to Henry Casimir, prince of Nassau, and hereditary governor of the province of Frieseland. He was also singled out to be the religious instructor of Amelia, the fore-mentioned prince's most illustrious sister; and who was afterwards married to the duke of Saxony Eisenach. Witsius was made very useful to the soul of this excellent princess, by his prudent and pious informations; and about this time he had the framing and drawing up of the Confession of Faith, published by that princess and her brother (with the approbation and concurrence of their mother, Albertina, Princess of Orange), to the no small joy and edification of the churches in their dominions.

In the year 1675, that very reverend and learned divine, John Melchior Steinberg, professor of theology in the university of Franeker, departed to a better world; and, that they might the better repair so great a loss, it is no wonder that that university made choice of Witsius to fill up the vacant professorship; especially as they had abundant experience of his integrity and great abilities during his seven years' residence in their province of Frieseland. And, which, seemed to add still greater weight to their invitation, and made it appear yet more providential, the church at Franeker being about the same time deprived of one of their pastors, embraced the present occasion of calling him to be over them in the Lord.

Witsius, on the offer of these two important charges repaired to Franeker, and after the university had conferred on him the degree of doctor in divinity, he was solemnly invested with the professorship on the 15th of April, 1675, having first, as is customary, delivered a most beautiful oration, *De vero Theologo*, to the great satisfaction of a vast auditory, who flocked to Franeker on this occasion from all parts of the province.

During his presidency, the university was remarkably thronged with students, many who were designed for the ministry repairing thither on his account, from various parts of Europe; who, having finished their studies under his tutorage and direction, returned back to their own several countries, equally built up in piety and advanced in learning. And, that he might be defective in no part of his duty, but every way answer the large expectations of those who promoted him, he had scarce entered on his professorship before he began (surrounded as he was with business of great importance, both public and private, all which he faithfully and ably discharged) to set about writing; and published in a very short space (besides some select academical disputations, and a smaller discourse), two learned and pretty large treatises in Latin; to wit, his immortal book on the Economy of the Covenants, and his Exercitations on the Apostle's Creed. These had a prodigious sale, being soon vended throughout Holland and all Europe; and, going through several editions, were read with great applause and admiration of their author.

About this time, he became acquainted with the famous John Marckius (afterwards his colleague), who, being originally a native of Frieseland, though educated at Leyden, after he had finished his studies there, now returned to his own country; and Witsius having, by authority from the ecclesiastical synod, examined him as to his abilities for the ministry, solemnly set him apart as pastor of the church at Midluman, situate between Franeker and Harlingen. Soon after Marckius commenced D. D. and was, by Witsius's influence with the prince and senate, made ordinary professor of divinity in Franeker, A. D. 1676.

Frieseland, thus happily possessed of so inestimable a treasure as Witsius, began to be the envy of the neighbouring states and universities, who were each desirous of enjoying so eminent a man themselves. The University of Groningen was the first that invited him to leave his settlement at Franeker; for, having lost their great professor, James Altingius, they scarcely knew where to avail themselves of a successor equally capable of discharging the several weighty duties of theological and philological professor, and likewise that of being pastor of the university church. Wherefore, in the latter end of the year 1679, they deputed a reverend and learned member of their society to wait on Witsius at Franeker, who, being arrived, offered him very advantageous terms if he would remove to Groningen.

Witsius immediately communicated the proposal to the prince, and to the heads of the university of Franeker, and desired their advice. They, with one voice, testifying the great esteem in which they held him, and uniting in a most earnest request that he would not think of leaving them, he very modestly and respectfully excused himself to the university of Groningen.

In the beginning of the year 1680, the university of Utrecht (their professor, Burmannus, being dead) looked out for some eminent person to make up his loss; and without much hesitation fixed their eyes on Witsius for this purpose. In order to prevail with him to accept the overture, they dispatched an honourable deputation to Franeker, by whom they importuned him to

come over to Utrecht, and adorn that church and university with his residence.

Although Witsius was cordially attached to Friesland, as being the place of his nativity, and where he had spent the major part of his life; yet from the love he bore to Utrecht, the place of his education, the messengers had not much difficulty in gaining his consent. Therefore, being with great reluctance on their part dismissed by the university of Franeker, he repaired to Utrecht, where he and the famous Triglandius were jointly invested with the ministry of that church on the 25th April, 1680; and four days after he commenced divinity professor; having first delivered a most elegant oration (afterwards printed) *De Præstantiâ Veritatis Evangelicæ*.

In this elevated station he continued more than 22 years; during which time it is incredible with what application and success he guided the affairs both of the church and university; each of which flourished exceedingly under his faithful and laborious administration.

He was singularly happy in his colleagues; having for his assessors in the university those illustrious divines, Peter Mastricht, Melchior Leidecker and Herman Halenius. For his assistants in the church he had many equally eminent for piety, learning, zeal, and moderation; among whom were Peter Eindhovius, and John Ladstrager, formerly his colleagues in the church at Leeuwarden. He had likewise in the university, besides those already mentioned, that immortal linguist, John Luedsen, formerly his tutor; together with Gerard Uriesius, and John Luitsius, both very eminent in philosophy, and to whose care for instruction in matters purely literary, those youth were committed who were designed for the ministry.

His congregation at Church consisted chiefly of the magistrates and inhabitants of the city, who were all no less edified than astonished at the energy which accompanied his preaching, and the masterly freedom and propriety of his elocution.

As a public and private tutor, he had a most numerous circle of excellent youths, who flocked on his account to Utrecht from every part of the Protestant world; and who hung, with no less rapture than improvement, on his learned, pious, and eloquent lips. Even his private lectures were attended daily, not only by these his pupils, but likewise by great numbers of doctors in divinity, and professors of the several sciences.

This great man, therefore, seeing his labours crowned with such abundant success, spared no pains nor fatigues whereby he might advance the interests and diffuse the knowledge of religion and learning. In consequence of this he would spend many nights totally without sleep; nor was he content with serving the church and the university by preaching, lecturing, conversing, and disputing in the public halls, but committed his treasures of knowledge to writing, and published many books truly invaluable, which will transmit his name with renown to succeeding generations; nor can they ever sink into oblivion, so long as true religion, unaffected elegance, and profound literature, have a friend left in the world.

The people of Utrecht, from the highest to the lowest, were thoroughly sensible of the worth of such a man; whence we find them heaping all the honours upon him which, being a minister, he was capable of receiving. He had always the preference given him in their synods, and was twice honoured with the supreme government and headship of the University: namely, in the years 1686 and 1697. Nor must we omit that when, in the year 1685, the States of Holland sent a splendid embassy to James the Second, king of Great Britain, who at that time was pursuing measures which at last justly ended in his total ruin; and Wassenar, lord of Duvenwarden, and Weedius, lord of Dykevelt, and Cittersius, were the persons nominated to execute this sumptuous commission; the second of these noble personages easily convinced the other two that none was so proper to attend them to England, in quality of chaplain, as Witsius; who might not only by his uncommon knowledge in religious and civil matters be of great service to them in both respects; but also be no small credit to the reformed churches of Holland, by letting the English nation see what great divines flourished there. The design being intimated to Witsius, he cheerfully closed with it; though he was at that time very ill and weak in body. After some months' stay in England, he confessed, on his return, that he had conversed with the (*g*) archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London (*h*), and many other divines, both conformists and dissenters; "by which conversations," he would say, "I was much furthered in learning, experience, and moderation." (*i*) From that period forward the principal prelates and clergymen in England did not conceal the respect and esteem in which they held this great man; especially as he came to be more and more known to them.

(*g*) Dr. William Sandcroft. (*h*) Dr. Henry Compton.

(*i*) Warckius's words are, "Fassus est. ——haud pauca observâsse, quæ ad doctrinæ suæ faceret augmentum, et quibus ad omnem prudentiam redderetur instructior."

By this time there were few places in the Christian world which the fame of Witsius had not reached. And now it was that the commissioners of the University of Leyden, and the magistrates of that city, resolved on inviting him thither; and the rather as the very eminent Spanhemius, junior, was judged to be ill past recovery; and it pleased that most excellent prince, William, king of Great Britain, and governor of Holland, to ratify their choice with his royal approbation. The professorship of Leyden being tendered to Witsius in form, he accepted it. Though the people of Utrecht were loth to part with so great an ornament, he had solid and sufficient reasons for removing; as he judged he might be more useful, if for the few remaining years of his life (which, according to the course of nature, could not be many), he should desist from preaching, and devote himself entirely to University business. He was the more confirmed in this resolution when he received information from Heinsius, the illustrious administrator of Holland, that king William heartily concurred in his removal. Some time afterwards that truly great monarch, having admitted Witsius to a personal conference, was pleased with his own mouth to ratify the same, in terms very affectionate and obliging; assuring him "how highly agreeable it was to him that he obeyed the call to the professor's chair at Leyden, of which call he [*i. e.* the king] himself was the first mover; and that for the future he might depend on his omitting no opportunity of testifying the favour he bore him, and the reverence in which he held him." And the king was ever after as good as his word.

On his entrance upon the professorship at Leyden (*i. e.* on the 16th of October, 1698), he delivered his fine oration *De Theologo modesto*. And with what integrity he discharged his high office for the remaining ten years of his life; how incessant his labours were; with what wisdom and skill he taught; with what resistless eloquence he spoke; with what alacrity he went through the academical disputations; how holily he lived; with what nervous beauty he wrote; with what sweetness of address, with what humility, candour, and benignity of demeanour he behaved in common life; and what an ornament he was to the University; were almost impossible, and altogether needless, to say.

He had scarce been a year at Leyden, when the States of Holland and West-Friesland, at the recommendation of the governors of the University, made him the regent of their Theological College, in the room of their lately deceased regent, Marcus Effius; which he could superintend without omitting any part of his duty as professor; having for his associate in the professorship the famous Antony Hulsius. When he was invested with this new office of trust and dignity, that illustrious nobleman, Hubert Roosemboomius, president of the supreme court of Holland, principal of the University of Leyden, and lord of Sgrevelsrecht, made a most elegant oration (registered in the college acts, and worthy of being universally read); wherein, in the name of the heads of the University, he not only largely set forth the just praises of the new regent, but likewise fervently exhorted the Fellows of the Divinity College to shew him all due veneration, and give him every other mark of becoming duty and esteem.

Witsius entered, with great reluctance, on this new stage of action; and it is well known that he would have absolutely declined it, had he not considered himself bound in duty and gratitude both to accede to the pleasure of the States, and to spend and be spent in the service of the Church. However, he went through this weighty office with fidelity and indefatigable zeal; and his care for the youth under him was rendered easier from the affection he bore them, and from the apparent success with which his instructions were attended. At the same time he was equally attentive to his duty as professor.

Thus usefully he went on till, upon the 8th of February, 1707, partly on account of his advanced age, and partly through infirmities of other kinds (his strength being almost exhausted by heavy and frequent sicknesses for some years back), he with great modesty resigned his important charge as regent, in a full assembly of the University heads and governors; who with one voice, and without intermission, even stooped to intreat his continuance in that office, but in vain, for Witsius, well nigh worn out with a series of years and labours, was as deaf to their intreaties as to the consideration of the very great revenues he must forego by quitting that exalted post. At the same time he was, at his own particular request, favoured with a discharge from the public exercise of his office as University professor; for the execution of which, with his usual accuracy and diligence, his great feebleness of body rendered him less able. And he declared, on the occasion, to an intimate friend, that "He had much rather desist altogether from the exercise of his function, than not go through with it in a becoming manner."

It would have been impossible for Witsius to have undergone so many and incredible fatigues for the public benefit, had he met with domestic troubles and family disquiets. To prevent these, A. D. 1660, he married Aletta Van Borchorn, the daughter of Wessalius Van Borchorn, a wealthy ci-

tizen and merchant of Utrecht. She was a woman happy in the singular sweetness of her temper; and, indeed, excelled in every Christian grace and social virtue. It was hard to say whether she more loved or revered her husband; between whom subsisted an interrupted harmony until her death, which happened in the year 1684, after living together 24 years. She was always the companion of his travels; having lived with him in North Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Utrecht. Her last illness was very long and painful, which, however, she bore with fortitude and resignation truly Christian; and at last departed in great peace and comfort of soul.

He was no less happy in his children. For, not to mention two sons who died young, he had three most pious and accomplished daughters; Martina, who afterwards married Henry Dibbetsius, an eminent doctor in divinity in the Church of Leyden; Joanna, married to Luke Walckier, a judge and senator of Utrecht; and, lastly, Petronella, who would never leave her father, but always staid with him; and who a little before his last sickness was herself almost brought to the gates of death. So great were his trouble and concern on her account, that, in all human appearance, his grief would have been too much for his feeble spirits, had not Providence been pleased to recover her.

From the little that has been related concerning this great man, we may form some idea of his vast abilities and singular virtues. How great the force of his genius was in tracing, comprehending, and illustrating the abstrusest matters; how solid and how quick his judgment in the careful separation, determination, and disposition of them; how tenacious his memory in retaining and readily suggesting what was once committed to its trust; his elocution, how captivating, how powerful to explain, set off, establish, and enforce; they who have heard him speak, whether in public or private, can testify. How complete a master he was of the Latin tongue they well know who have conversed with him personally or read his writings. And, as he was thoroughly versed in the Dutch, wherever he spoke or preached, his apposite and becoming gesture, his justly modulated voice, aided by all the exactest propriety and harmony of language, crowned with the power and presence of the Holy Ghost, sweetly established the faith of God's people, and struck the unbelieving and the unholy with astonishment, shame and fear.

As no person whatever composed a more just and finished encomium on king William's queen than he, in a sermon occasioned by the death of that princess, and afterwards published; so was he also very happy in his talent at sacred poetry: having presented the world with many spirited, elegant, and devout hymns. Indeed, what excellency befitting the most accomplished divine was wanting in him? He was a most accurate philosopher; absolute master of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; a very considerable Orientalist; perfectly versed in the history of all nations, ancient and modern, sacred and profane; and, for his consummate knowledge of theology in all its branches, it would be superfluous to speak. How happy he was at asserting and vindicating the truths of the gospel every one knows. With the holy Scriptures he intimately conversed night and day: and so perfect was his familiarity with these that he could at once, and on any occasion, quote by heart any text of either testament in its original language: and solve extempore with the utmost skill and propriety, the critical and theological difficulties of any passage, how nice or intricate soever.

With respect to his temper, it was as sweet, humble, and benevolent as can be imagined. Hence arose both his aversion to all unreasonable novelties in doctrine, and at the same time his great moderation toward such persons as differed from him. He neither chose to be dictated to by man, nor yet to dictate: his favourite maxim being always this, *In necessariis, unitas; in non-necessariis, libertas; in omnibus, prudentia & charitas.* (*k*) He foreboded the sad declension in doctrine and experience which was coming on the Protestant churches of Holland; and blessed God that he was too old to live long enough to see it. And, though he could not help (such was his zeal for truth) taking notice of such of his reverend brethren as were desirous of striking out, and introducing into the Church, unscriptural novelties and forced constructions of Scripture; yet so far had he drunk into the mind of Christ, that he did this with all tenderness, deference, and caution: and if any were angry at the freedom of his remarks, he received their resentment in a spirit of meekness, and either took no notice of those who reproached him, or repaid their slanders by giving them those commendations which were due to them on account of their commendable qualities in other respects.

Nor can it be wondered at that a man so learned, holy, humble, and diligent, should, wherever he was, be attended with a vast concourse of pupils from every part of the reformed world; from Holland, Germany, France, Poland, Prussia, Switzerland,

(*k*) Agreeable to which was the motto upon his seals, Candide.

Great Britain, and even from America (among which last were some native Indians too); and that his acquaintance should be sought for by the most eminent scholars and divines throughout Europe. To mention his learned works, which are so well known, would be superfluous. I cannot, however help observing that, in the year 1660, he published, 1. his *Judæus Christianizans circa principia fidei & S S. Trinitatem*: and 2. A. D. 1665, at Wormeren, he published in Dutch, The Practice of Christianity, with spiritual representations, first, of what was laudable in the unregenerate, and then, of what was blameworthy in the regenerate: 3. At Leovarden, he set forth an Explanation of the Parable of God's Controversy with his Vineyard.—At Franeker, he published, besides several lesser treatises, 4. his *Oeconomia Fœderum*; afterwards translated into Dutch, by the Rev. Mr. Harlingius; as also, 5. his *Exercitationes in Symbolum*, which were also translated into Dutch, by Mr. Costerus, at Delft. At Utrecht, he set out, 6. *Exercitationes in Orationem Dominicam*: 7. his *Egyptiaca*, with several lesser pieces annexed: and 8. his first volume of *Miscellanea Sacra*: and at Leyden, he, 9. published his second volume of *Miscellanea Sacra*, complete; and likewise, 10. his *Meletemata Leidensia*.

We now draw near to the last scene of this great man's life: for as from his childhood his thin weak body had often struggled with many severe disorders, whence most people were apprehensive he would die young; so now, being far in years, he advanced apace to the house appointed for all living. However, he consantly retained, under all his sickness, his senses and intellects in full vigour; insomuch that, until within a little before his death, he could, with all readiness, read the Greek Testament of the smallest type by moon-light. But as he advanced farther in life, he suffered the most dreadful tortures from the gout and stone: and so far back as six years before he died, he was seized for the first time with a temporary dizziness, accompanied with a suspension of memory and absence of thought: and this, too, as he was sitting in the professor's chair, and delivering an academical lecture. By the help of an able physician, these evils were a little mitigated; but returning by degrees, they threatened future and more violent attacks. His last illness was ushered in by a reeling and universal langour. On the 18th of October, 1708, he was seized with a fever about one o'clock in the morning: which suddenly subsiding, a total feebleness and relaxation diffused itself over his body, and a torpor over his mind. The holy man considering these symptoms, told, with great serenity and composure, some friends who attended him, that "he knew they would issue in death." He slept much, and had very pleasing dreams: and departed in much peace and tranquillity, on the 22nd day of October, 1708, about noon; and was interred at Leyden, on the 29th of the same month.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE REVEREND MR. ALSOP.

Vincent Alsop, A. M. the admired author of *Anti-Sozzo*, was born in Northamptonshire, and received his academical education at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he took the two first degrees in arts. On quitting the University, he removed to Okeham, in Rutlandshire; and became for a time assistant to the master of the free-school at that place.

His genius being very quick and brilliant, and his disposition remarkably cheerful, he was, before his conversion, what the world calls a lively, entertaining companion. After effectual grace had formed him anew, his wit and humour were consecrated to the service of the sanctuary; and his acquired parts, which were not inferior to his natural talents, were also devoted as a whole burnt-offering to the glory of God and the salvation of men. His politeness and affability, his engaging sweetness and vivacity of temper, never deserted him to the last. They were not extinguished, but refined and sanctified, and rendered still more lovely and respectable than before, by being born again of the Holy Ghost.

Mr. Benjamin King (an eminent puritan minister, at, or near, Okeham) seems to have been, in God's hand, the instrument of Mr. Alsop's conversion; who, soon after, married Mr. King's daughter, and removed to Wilbee, in his native county of Northampton, where he was fixed as parish minister, and where we hear little of him until 1662, when he was ejected from Wilbee by the act of uniformity. An act which (through the cruel and unprotestant manner of its first enforcement) gave the true Church of England so severe a bleeding that she has never entirely recovered herself from that time to this.

On being displaced from Wilbee, Mr. Alsop and his family settled at Wellingborough; where, and likewise at Okeham, he sometimes ventured to preach, notwithstanding the rigorous execution of the then persecuting laws. Justice compels me to own that Charles the second stood partly indebted for his restoration to the zeal and activity which the Protestant dissenters had exerted in his behalf. And he rewarded them well! Among other effects of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny in conjunction,

Mr. Alsop suffered six months' imprisonment for having dared to pray by a sick person.

In 1674, Dr. William Sherlock (afterwards dean of St. Paul's, London) published a treatise, entitled, "A Discourse concerning the Knowledge of Jesus Christ." The Dr. was an Arminian; and, as such, could not avoid Socianizing on many important articles: Socinus and Arminius being the two necessary supporters of a free-willer's coat of arms. Good Mr. Alsop would not suffer a performance so horrid and so shameless as that of Sherlock to walk abroad without chastisement. He therefore, in the year 1675, published a confutation of it; which he entitled *Anti-Sozzo* (*i. e.* a book in opposition to Socinus; the real unlatinized name of Socinus, who was an Italian, being Sozzo).

The editor (such an editor as he was) of Mr. Hervey's letters, observes, (*l*) very properly on this subject, that "In the reign of Charles the second, the Socinianism tenets were gaining ground in England." And no wonder. For Arminianism is the head, and Socinianism the tail, of one and the self-same serpent: and where the head works itself in, it will soon draw the tail after it. In the above-mentioned critical days of the unmartyred Charles, the said editor goes on to inform us, "Mr. Alsop, one of the wittiest, as well as one of the best men in that age, wrote this book, called *Anti-Sozzo*. He [*i. e.* Mr. Alsop] and Dr. Sherlock had been pupils at college under the same tutor. And [now], when he saw that Sherlock had no more reverence to the majesty of God, no more regard to the authority of Scripture, than to write as above, he was determined to attack him, and to plead for Christ and his truth here at the footstool, who pleads for us according to his truth at the throne.

"Nor was any man better qualified than himself either to give a check to a man of Sherlock's talents and imperious disposition; or to the growing petulancy of the then daily encroaching profaneness. On grave subjects he appeared as he was the truly reverend Mr. Alsop, and wrote with a becoming seriousness. But where wit might properly be shown he displayed his to great advantage, as may be seen in his *Anti-Sozzo*.

Controversy, when either frivolously or captiously founded seldom brings any advantage or honour to the cause of God. But the controversies which have from time to time taken place between the orthodox on one hand, and the Arminians and Socinians on the other, have been attended with the most important utility to the church and visible interests of Christ. "If," as Mr. Alsop observes, "the Socinians oppose, every true Christian should defend, the gospel of Jesus Christ. For the dispute is not now about decency and order, about fringes and phylacteries, about the tything of mint, anise, and cummin; but about the influence of the righteousness of Christ's life, and the sacrifice of his death upon our acceptance with God; about the influence of the blessed Spirit in the glorious work of the new creation. Whether Christ be a proper priest or not? Whether, as a priest, he offered himself as a proper sacrifice to God, or not? Whether God and man are reconciled, and we redeemed from the curse of the law by the blood of Jesus, or not? Whether we are justified before the just and holy God by our own righteousness, or by the righteousness of a mediator? In which the concerns and all the eternal hopes of every Christian are wrapt up.

The excellent Mr. Hervey's character of this work, in a (*m*) letter which he wrote not quite seven weeks before his departure to eternal rest, deserves to be admitted here. "I could wish, methinks, at this critical juncture, that Alsop's *Anto-Sozzo*, which made its first appearance in 1675, was judiciously abridged; and in the neat Glasgow type, reprinted in a duodecimo volume. Though it is almost pity to abridge it (unless it were well executed), as the whole is so interesting It is, I can assure you, a very smart book; and one of the best defences of the evangelical doctrines I ever saw, or ever expect to see; even if my life, which now draws very near its end, could be prolonged to the next century. In short, I think it an unanswerable performance; and divines of every denomination would do well to make themselves thoroughly masters of this spirited and entertaining writer; as they would then be able to defend the truth as it is in Jesus, against all kinds of opponents, how witty, keen, subtle, or malignant soever the attack might be. I would therefore beg you to recommend this book as a specific against Socinianism."

The learned, pious, and candid Dr. Edmund Calamy bears a testimony no less honourable to Mr. Alsop. "(*n*) Dr. Sherlock's affecting to treat the most sacred things of religion in a jocular way, gave no small offence to a number of persons famous for piety and prudence; and was the very inducement to Mr. Alsop to draw his pen against him. And though in his management of the controversy with him he treated serious matters with abundance of gravity;

(*l*) Vol. ii. p. 270. (*m*) See the fore-cited vol. p. 269-273. (*n*) Continuation, ubi supra. vol. ii. p. 624.

yet where that gentleman, *viz.* [Sherlock] was upon the merry pin, he [*viz.* Alsop] being an ingenious and facetious man, so wittily and sharply turned the edge upon him, that he beat him at his own weapon; so that that celebrated author never cared to answer him, nor was he ever fond of that way of writing afterward. Though Mr. Wood endeavoured to pour contempt on him, yet Dr. South, who was as famous for his wit and drollery as any one of the age, and as bitter an enemy of dissenters as any one whatever, acknowledges that Mr. Alsop obtained a complete victory."

The merits of this book against Sherlock, induced Mr. Cawton who had the pastoral charge of a congregation in Westminster, to cast his eye on our author as a proper person to succeed him in the spiritual care of that people. Mr. Cawton dying soon after, Mr. Alsop left Northamptonshire to settle in London, where he was very assiduous both as a preacher and a publisher. "His living in the neighbourhood of the court," (*n*) say the compilers of a celebrated work, "exposed him to many inconveniences. However he had the good fortune to escape imprisonment and fines by an odd accident; which was the informers not knowing his Christian name; which for this reason he studiously concealed. His sufferings ended with the reign of Charles II., or at least in the beginning of the next reign; when Mr. Alsop's son engaging in (what were termed) treasonable practices, was freely pardoned by king James. After this, our divine went frequently to court; and is generally supposed to have been the person who drew the address to that prince for his general indulgence. After the revolution, Mr. Alsop gave very public testimonies of his affection for the government; yet upon all occasions he spoke very respectfully of king James, and retained a very high sense of his clemency in sparing his only son. The remainer of his life he spent in the exercise of his ministry, preaching once every Lord's day; had a Thursday lecture, and was besides one of the lecturers at Pinners' Hall. He lived to be a very old man, and preserved his spirits to the last."

Dr. Calamy, whom we have already quoted, gives the following instance of that intellectual vigour which Mr. Alsop was so happy as to retain even to old age. "I was," says the doctor, (*o*) "very strictly examined by him before my ordination; at which time it falling to my lot to make and defend a Latin thesis upon this question which he himself gave me, *An Christus officio sacerdotali fungatur in cœlis tantum?* he (for argument sake as is the way of the schools) opposed me with all the vigour, smartness, and fluency, of a young man, though he was then considerably advanced in years. This was in the year 1694.

At length this great and good man, full of days and of renown, slept in Jesus, on the 8th of May, 1703, at his house in Westminster.

It may not be unacceptable to the religious reader, if we acquaint him that the place of worship, where Mr. Cawton, Mr. Alsop, and Dr. Calamy, were successive pastors, was very lately repaired and enlarged, by the pious munificence of an (*p*) elect lady, aided by the zeal and liberalities of other devout persons. So that the glorious gospel of the blessed God is again preached, with power and with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven, on that spot and within those walls.

(*o*) Biographia Britannica, vol. i. p. 132.

(*p*) Continuation ubi. sup.

(*q*) The late Countess Dowager of Huntingdon. Some time previous to her ladyship's decease, the concerns of the above chapel was transmitted into the hands of others. It continues to the present, supported by the assistance of eminent evangelical ministers in the establishment, and of the dissenting community.—Editor.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE RIGHT REV. DR. THOMAS WILSON, LATE BISHOP OF SODOR AND MAN.

Few as the modern instances have been, of sanctity in lawn, even the present century has seen a prelate, whose purity and simplicity of manners would have done honour to the primitive ages.

He was born December 20, 1663, at Burton-Wirrall, near Chester; and having received his school education in England, was sent, A. D. 1681, to perfect his studies in the University of Dublin; where he continued about eight years, and at the stated periods took his two first degrees in arts, with singular reputation, on account of his literary attainments, and the unblameable regularity of his life. When of age for holy orders, he was ordained deacon, A. D. 1686, by the then Bishop of Kildare; and priest, A. D. 1689.

Not long afterwards he quitted the University on being appointed travelling tutor to Lord Strange, eldest son to the Earl of Derby. But before the young nobleman had completed the tour of Europe, he died in Italy, at the end of three years from their first setting out; and good Mr. Wilson returned with a heavy heart to England. He had, however, acquitted himself so faithfully, and so well, in his care of his

deceased pupil, that the Earl nominated him to the bishoprick of Man; and King Wm. approving the choice, our bishop was admitted to a Lambeth degree of Doctor in Laws, and received his episcopal consecration at the Savoy chapel, in London, on the 16th of January, 1697, from the hands of Sharp, archbishop of York; assisted by Moore, Bishop of Norwich, and Stratford, Bishop of Chester.

From his first acceptance of this see he determined to reside with his flock, that he might watch over them as one that must give a speedy and solemn account of his spiritual stewardship. Repairing, therefore, to the Isle of Man, he took possession of his bishoprick with the usual formalities (which, there, are very peculiar); and by the strictness of his life and conversation, soon began to shine as a light in a dark place.

The year after, viz., in October, 1698, he gave his hand to Mrs. Mary Patten, daughter of Thomas Patten, Esq., of Warrington, in Lancashire; who was directly descended from the elder brother of William Patten (commonly called, from the place of his nativity, William Wainfleet), the devout and munificent bishop of Winchester, who founded Magdalen College, in Oxford, and who died A. D. 1486. This great prelate was hardly more distinguished by his works of piety and liberality than by his invariable gratitude to his patron king Henry VI.; to whom he stedfastly adhered, and for whose sake he suffered many mortifying inconveniences when that prince was deposed and the house of York became the reigning family. Wainfleet's monument is still remaining in the cathedral of Winchester. He lies over-against Cardinal Beaufort; and his tomb, which does not appear to have received any injury during the civil wars, is one of the most elegant and majestic pieces of Gothic architecture in England.

If a bishop ever merited the title of Right Rev. Father, it was Dr. Wilson; who might truly be styled the father of his clergy, and of the whole island. His benevolent care to augment the revenues, to improve the knowledge, and to regulate the lives, of the parochial incumbents; his care to put the various schools in his diocese on such a footing as to render them seminaries of strict morals and of sound learning; the zeal he shewed, and the expenses he sustained, in causing the Bible, the Liturgy, and other useful books, to be translated into the Manks language, and distributed throughout the country; together with many instances of piety and liberality, not confined to his own immediate connections, but extending to England, and even far beyond the boundaries of Europe; demonstrated that, where the heart is fully bent on promoting the glory of God, great things may be done without the assistance of extraordinary opulence.

He rightly judged that to employ the young and healthy poor was rendering them a more substantial service than by giving them small pecuniary supplies. Hence he constantly found something for a considerable number of them to do. His method was to assemble all his workmen and domestic servants, in his chapel belonging to his palace, before they entered on the various business of the day, at six in the morning during the summer season; and, in the winter, at seven. On these early occasions he hardly ever failed being his own chaplain; making it a rule to read the whole service himself, and to dismiss his domestics and his labourers with his blessing, which he pronounced in the true spirit of prayer, with peculiar solemnity and affection. At meal times his hospitable table was open, not only to his friends and neighbours, but also to his (r) meanest workmen, and to such of the honest poor as he was not able to employ.

His concern for the whole people of his charge reached even to their secular interests. He studied physic, and distributed medicines with success. He imported the finest cattle, and procured the best grain of every kind for seed. And it appeared that, by the year 1744, he had expended more than ten thousand pounds in acts of charity and beneficence. Nor did he forget to take thought for the welfare of his successors in the bishoprick, of which when he first took possession, the episcopal demesne was rented at no more than thirty pounds a year; but, through his long and many improvements of the soil, he left it fairly worth four hundred pounds per annum.

His tempers, words, and works, all tended to promote the temporal and moral benefit of his diocese. His unaffected gravity of demeanour was softened and brightened by the most amiable and condescending affability. Every body had free access to him, and very few who had been once admitted to his conversation were so lost to virtue and the fine feelings as not to love and admire him.

(r) How different his conduct from that of a certain great churchman now living in Ireland. Not long ago, he was repairing his palace there, and the labourers were allowed a moderate quantity of small beer daily. But when his lordship paid them off they found themselves obliged to abate part of their wages in proportion to the quantity of small beer which they had respectively drunk. One of the men, more arch and less ceremonious than the rest, addressed him as follows: I believe your lordship is the first b——p that ever sold small beer. I have a good mind to prosecute you for presuming to sell malt liquor without a license. This anecdote is authentic.

On one occasion, indeed, his lordship experienced for a time the iron hand of savage insult and oppression. I shall relate the circumstances first in the words of another; and then add some additional particulars exactly as they were related to me by a person of high rank, who is still alive, and who well remembers the whole transaction.

"The person who was governor of Man, from 1713 to 1723, having a difference with his lordship about some matters of right, which the bishop conscientiously denied to give up, that ruler stretched forth the hand of power and committed his diocesan to the damp and gloomy prison of Castle-Rushin, where he remained many weeks, until the affair was determined by king George I. and his privy-council in favour of the bishop.—This treatment of their patron and benefactor so affected the Manks that they came from all parts of the island to Castle-Town, at least once every week, to express their concern about him, and, with tears and lamentations, kneeling down before the castle walls, they had their pious pastor's prayers and blessings from the grated loop-hole."(*s*)

What was communicated to me by the noble person above mentioned is as follows. After the good bishop had been a considerable time in confinement, his hard usage was reported (seemingly by accident) to one of the two Turks whom King George I. then retained about his person. The honest Mahometan gave his majesty an account of the unmerited severities under which the pious prelate laboured; and the king ordered his lordship to repair to London and stand on his defence against the allegations of the governor. The bishop was soon acquitted on being heard, and the next court day attended the royal levee to thank his majesty for the equity that had been shewn him. His appearance in the drawing-room struck every body with veneration and surprize. He came in his usual manner, very simply habited, with his grey locks, a small black cap on the crown of his head, and leather thongs in his shoes, which last he constantly wore in lieu of buckles. A number of English bishops were in the circle, but the king passing by them all, walked up to the bishop of Man, and taking him by the hand, said, "My lord, I beg *your* prayers," laying a particular emphasis on the word *your*.—Nor must the disinterestedness of the worthy Turk be forgot. A near relation of the bishop's pressed the generous Mussulman to accept of 50 guineas, as a testimony of that person's gratitude for the kind services he had rendered to the suffering prelate: but no arguments could induce the Mahometan to accept the offered acknowledgment. "I will have no return," said he, "for it is reward enough to do good to a good man."

Mr. Whiston accounts for bishop Wilson's commitment to prison in a different manner from the authors of Biographia Britannica. Probably both he and they were equally in the right. The offence taken by the governor's lady was, perhaps, the real, and the civil claims of the governor himself might be the pretended, cause of that brutal and unwarrantable persecution. Mr. Whiston's (*t*) own words deserve to be transcribed. — "About this year it might be, that Dr. Wilson, the bishop of Man, was heard before the privy council, in a cause wherein he had been put in prison, by the earl of Derby's governor of the Isle of Man, for executing, as tenderly as he could, the ecclesiastical law for defamation of an innocent woman by the governor's wife. I heard the cause, and, with Dr. Nathaniel Marshall, did the bishop what good offices I could. He carried his cause, but was almost ruined by the suit, the charges were so great. The bishop had long been my acquaintance, and had, many years before, given me the first, or rather the only book then printed in the Manks language, being an Explication of our Church Catechism.—He has always appeared to me as one of the best bishops of our modern ages; and so much the better as he is clear of the snares and temptations of a lord of parliament. His great worth has been principally acknowledged in the plentiful provision made for his (*u*) son, who told me, very lately, that his father still preaches every Lord's day at eighty-three years of age. May the Divine Providence" [adds honest Whiston] "send forth more such labourers as this bishop into his vineyard, which, perhaps, never stood in greater need of them than at this day." What would Mr. Whiston have said had he lived to our day 1776?

Having seen the bishop honourably and happily extricated from the principal difficulty that ever befel him, we will attend him back to the Isle of Man, where, on his return from London, he was received with the most affectionate demonstrations of joy. The iniquitous hardships which he himself had experienced under colour of legal authority, made him thenceforward peculiarly attentive to the due execution of equitable law, for in that island the bishop has some share in the public administrations of justice. (*x*)

(*s*) Biogr. Britan. vol 7. Supplem. p. 109.

(*t*) Memoirs, vol. i. p. 317, 318.

(*u*) The present venerable and munificent Thomas Wilson, D.D., prebendary of Westminster, minister of St. Margaret's in that city, and rector of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, London.

(*x*) The two principal judges in the Isle of Man are called deemsters; whose oath, at their admission is, You shall do justice between man and man, as equally as the herring bone lies between the two sides of that fish.—Herrings were the chief food of the ancient inhabitants: and the tithe of them is still a good part of the bishop's revenue Biog. Britann.

To all his other great and useful talents he added the cultivation of learning, and in particular, a deep acquaintance with history and antiquities. He was the person who furnished bishop Gibson with those (*y*) particulars concerning the Isle of Man, which that prelate inserted into the second edition of his Camden's Britannia.

The high esteem in which bishop Wilson was held may appear from the following instance. As queen Caroline, consort of his late majesty, was once in conversation with several of our English bishops, his lordship of Man came in to pay his respects. She no sooner glimpsed him at a distance than she said to the prelates who were present, "My lords, here comes a bishop whose errand is not to apply for a translation, he would not part with his spouse (his diocese) because she is poor."(*z*)

No pastor could be more intensely vigilant. Scarcely a Sunday passed without his preaching himself, either at his own cathedral, or in some of the parochial churches. Exclusive of his general visitations of his whole diocese (which visitations he constantly held four times in every year); he privately visited each parish church, occasionally, that he might judge how both clergy and people went on. With regard to the rights of conscience in others, he exercised the most candid and benevolent moderation. He admitted dissenters to the holy communion; and administered it to them, either sitting or standing, as they themselves approved. Such amiable and uniform moderation had so favourable an effect that, a few years after his settlement in the island, not a single dissenting congregation of any kind was to be found in it. Never was episcopal authority (which he knew how to maintain when occasion required) more happily blended with paternal mildness. Nor was the learned lord chancellor King at all beyond the mark in delaring that, under this bishop, the true form of the primitive church, in all its purity, might be found in the Isle of Man.

At length, this excellent prelate having served his generation by the will of God all the days of his appointed time, was translated to heaven, the beginning of March, 1755, in the ninety-third year of his age, and the fifty-eigth of his episcopate. He died of a cold, which he caught by taking an evening walk in his garden, after having read prayers in his domestic chapel.

(*y*) "To have rendered this little history as complete as possible, Dr. Wilson addressed an elegant Latin epistle, dated May 1, 1710, to the archbishop of Drontheim in Norway, (*episcopo Nidrosensi*) to which see the bishoprick of Man had formerly been a suffragan; desiring to have copies of such abstracts, papers, &c. relating to the bishoprick of Man, as were in the archives of that metropolitan: but was answered, that the old register proofs of Drontheim had been burnt." Biogr. Britann.

(*z*) The queen seems to have taken this phrase from the usual saying of Fisher, bishop of Rochester, whom Henry VIII. beheaded: who, in the days of his prosperity, was more than once offered a translation to a richer see; but his answer constantly was, I will not forsake my little old wife, to whom I have been married so long, for a wealthier. And to his friend, bishop Fox, he wrote thus: If other bishops have larger revenues, I have fewer souls to take care of: so that, when I give up my account for both to God, which I must soon do, I shall not wish my condition to have been better than it is. Biogr. Brit. vol. iii. p. 1929.

SOME OUTLINES OF THE LIFE OF DR. ISAAC WATTS. (*a*)

THIS great and good man was born at Southampton, July 17, A.D. 1674, of eminently religious parents; who, being conscientious non-conformists, had suffered much by those persecuting measures which dishonoured the reign, and will for ever disgrace the memory, of Charles II.

It is unspeakably beneficial to a man that he bear the yoke in his youth. Whoever is entrusted with the education of a young person, and wishes him to excel in solid literature, should take particular care to initiate him betimes. By which just precaution, useful knowledge becomes insensibly familiar, and almost natural to the mind; before the poisonous habits of ease, idleness, and trifling (so hostile to every manly and valuable pursuit), have entirely and irradicably overspread the soil.

Dr. Watts enjoyed the full advantages of this early cultivation. He began to learn Latin at four years of age; and at a proper interval the Greek; under the care of Mr. Pinhorne, a clergyman of the Church of England, to whom we find a Latin ode addressed by the doctor in his lyric poems. His progress in the languages, though rapid, was solid. He ran fast; but (which was of far greater consequence) he mastered every inch of ground as he went.

The precise time when effectual grace laid hold of his heart, and spiritually con-

(*a*) Dr. Gibbons, in his Memoirs of Dr. Watts, attacks the validity of two anecdotes, and the date of a piece of poetry, which was printed in Mr. Toplady's Outlines of Dr Watts, with a disposition bordering on asperity; the littleness of criticism upon such trifles is certainly derogatory to the dignity of a biographer. They may be false, or imperfect, from mistake or misinformation. To whatever cause they may be ascribed, it cannot be deliberate misrepresentation; they do not, in the least, affect to take one flower from the wreath which encircles the doctor's brow, whose name is enrolled in the tablet of literary merit by the united suffrages of the public. The hints derived from them, were made use of as a palliative for that eminent character's defalcation respecting the Trinity, which the doctor published to the world.—These few incidental remarks, which are exhibited to the reader, and delineated with a bold and masterly hand, have received no alteration except the expunging of the objectionable parts.

verted him to God, I am not at present able to find. But that great event (abstracted from which all besides is of little value) appears to have taken place in an early period of his life. Some tender and beauteous fruits of the Holy Spirit's work upon his soul appear in several of the doctor's juvenile productions, as well as in those of a later date; and warrant us to believe that (to use the phraseology of a divine long since with God) the "old angel" had been a young saint.

About the sixteenth year of his age, and A. D. 1690, he was sent up to London, that the academy might finish an education so happily begun. His tutor, Mr. Thomas Rowe (to whom also the doctor inscribed an ode, extant in his lyric poems), has been heard to declare that he never had occasion to reprimand Mr. Watts so much as once during the whole time of his residence in the academy: on the contrary, that his behaviour was so correct and exemplary that he often proposed Mr. Watts to the other pupils as a pattern worthy of their imitation.

In the year 1693, when he was but nineteen, he was admitted as a communicant by the congregation of which his tutor had the pastoral charge.

Having completed his academical studies at London, he returned (about A. D. 1694), to his father's house; where he spent two years in the private spiritual exercises of reading, meditation, and prayer, by way of humble prelude to his entrance on the work of the ministry; a work to which he believed Providence had called him, and which he justly considered as the most sacred and momentous of all human undertakings.

Hardly any thing can be of more important consequence to individuals, to families, and to society at large, than the wise and virtuous education of young people. Instruction, it is true, cannot impart the saving grace of God: but it is no less true that God often blesses human cultivation to very valuable purposes; and sometimes even deigns to make the religious efforts of Christian tutors and ministers, the channels, or means, through which he imparts his saving grace. The husbandman's duty is to plough and dress and sow his lands: and though, after all his efforts, their success depends on the blessing of heaven; and notwithstanding the crop may not constantly, and in every respect, correspond to the utmost of his wishes and his labours; yet some valuable fruits seldom fail to crown his industry, even if the seasons prove inclement, and the soil untoward. Sir John Hartopp, baronet, a gentleman of distinguished piety and erudition, was sensible of the importance of putting his son under the conduct of a wise, a learned, a polite, and a truly Christian tutor. Swayed by this view, it was no wonder that he should cast his eye on Mr. Watts, as one of the fittest persons in the world to discharge so arduous a trust. Witsius, in Holland; Rollin, in France; and Watts, in England; were, perhaps, of all the elegant scholars who then flourished, endued with the happiest powers to form young people to science and virtue, and to insinuate the delicacies of learning, without its thorns, into tender and unexperienced minds. Most young persons have a certain key, on which, if you touch discreetly, you may manage them as you please, without the usual methods of harsh severity and disingenuous punishments. To discern that key, but without letting your pupil perceive you discern it, and to touch it with judgment, are the great test of a sagacious tutor. Plutarch, in his Life of Alexander the Great, observes, concerning that prince, that he was, from a child, of an ardent and impetuous temper, incapable of being forced to any thing, but susceptible of persuasion, and easily won over by gentleness and reasoning. His father, king Philip, had sufficient penetration to perceive the key of Alexander's mind, and wisdom to provide him a suitable preceptor in Aristotle: who, by a judicious address to the finer passions of his royal charge, subdued the future conqueror of the world; and the prince being made to fall in love with knowledge, became a considerable proficient in the belles lettres, because he apprehended himself to be a perfect volunteer. I should, as a well-wisher to mankind, deeply lament the want of such tutors as Aristotle, Witsius, Rollin, and Watts; if Providence, in the present day, had not given us a Ryland. (*b*)

Pursuant to his friend's invitation, Mr. Watts accepted the care of young Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Hartopp, with whom he resided four years, in the family-house at Stoke-Newington. And it appears, from the dedication prefixed to our author's admirable Treatise on Logic, that the young gentleman's advancements in literature were such as might be expected from the happy pupil of so accomplished a superintendant.

While he was thus discharging the duties of a pleased and pleasing preceptor, with that meekness of wisdom, (*c*) which gave charms to science, and with that sweetness of the lips which encreaseth learning; (*d*) he sedulously attended no less to his own literary improvements than to those of his promising disciple. It is with diligent tutors, as with faithful and laborious ministers: to both of whom that encouraging word is frequently made good, He that

(*b*) This friend to religion, literature, and mankind, breathed his last at Enfield, July 24, 1792, in the 60th year of his age.—Editor.

(*c*) James iii. 13.

(*d*) Prov. xvi. 21.

watereth, shall be watered himself (*e*). But, amidst all his other profound and important attentions, he never lost sight of that grand mark to which he made every human attainment subserve; *viz.*, the edification of his own heart in faith and holiness. Hence he devoted much of his time to God: and carefully studied the inspired volume, in its original languages, and with the assistance of the best ancient and modern expositors.

He preached his first sermon on his birth-day, *viz.* July 17, 1698, when he completed his four and twentieth year: and was shortly after chosen assistant preacher to that independent congregation of which Dr. Isaac Chauncey was the pastor. His pulpit exertions, supposed to be more zealous and vehement than his constitution could well sustain, were soon followed by a severe and menacing illness of five months' duration. But the ambassador of Christ had not yet finished his appointed course, nor fulfilled the work which was given him to do. He recovered, and, determined, through grace, to spend and be spent for God, he plied his ministerial labours with as great intenseness as before.

On the decease of Dr. Chauncey, he was ordained (March 18, 1702, N. S.) to the patorship of that church; presently after which event, another long confinement by sickness threatened the extinction of his valuable life. His recovery was so gradual that it was deemed necessary to lessen his public fatigues, by appointing Mr. Samuel Price to be his assistant, in the summer of 1703.

Men of the finest talents have frequently the infirmest bodies. Mr. Watts was of that number. His health, for some years after the above mentioned period continued extremely precarious. Yet he appears to have spared himself as little as possible; and to have intermitted his private studies and public ministrations no more than necessity obliged.

To increase, and to perpetuate, as far as he was able, the life and power of godliness among the younger part of his spiritual charge, he formed them into a society for the excellent purposes of prayer, and conference on religious subjects. When his health would permit, he met them himself: and to his instructive and pious oversight of these young people, we owe the occasion and the rudiments of his treatise, entitled, A Guide to Prayer.

In September, 1712, when he had little more than entered his 38th year, a violent fever (occasioned, probably, by too devoted application to study) almost quite broke him down. From the effects of this visitation he never totally recovered. His nerves continued more or less in a shattered state, from that time forward until his spirit returned to God. A sad proof, that the famous Sir Francis Walsingham's maxim (*viz.* knowledge cannot be bought too dear) is to be adopted with very considerable limitation.

Notwithstanding these severe constitutional shocks, this faithful servant of God had not, at the time last specified, measured much more than half the race he was to run: for his life was extended to an additional period of six and thirty years. But he could truly say, with the apostle before him, We, who are in this tabernacle, do groan, being burdened. Yet, though he could not help feeling his bodily infirmities, he was preserved by grace from murmuring under them. He does not appear to have entertained one hard thought of God; but lay, at the divine footstool, passive as blank paper to the hand of the writer, or as softened wax to the impressing seal.

In the year 1728, the University of Edinburgh, and also that of Aberdeen, did honour to themselves by conferring on him the degree of Doctor in Divinity, not purchased for five pounds, nor even solicited; but transmitted to him entirely without his knowledge. Learned seminaries would retrieve the departing respectability of their diplomas, were they only presented to (I will not say such men as Dr. Watts, for few such men are in any age to be found: but to) persons of piety, orthodoxy, erudition, and virtue.

The good doctor, though frequently, and for long seasons together, restrained by illness from the public exercises of his ministry, strictly so called, was a hard student, almost to the very last. At length, exhausted by a progressive, but deep decay, his mortal body was forsaken by its deathless inhabitant, Nov. 25, 1748: after an union of seventy-four years, four months, and eight days.—His funeral sermon (which has supplied me with the foregoing facts and dates) was preached by the learned Dr. David Jennings, on the latter clause of Hebrews xi. 4. And a concise, but not very animated oration was spoken over his grave, at the time of his interment, by Dr. Samuel Chandler.

I have been told, by the late excellent Mr. Whitefield (between whom and Dr. Watts a long and very tender friendship subsisted,) that, for several years together, the doctor was so grievously and frequently afflicted with *insomnia*, or continual wakefulness; and his health, strength, and spirits were thereby reduced to so low an ebb; that he might, on the whole, rather be said to gasp than to live. Very often, he could obtain no sleep, for two or three nights successively, but what was procured by art; *i. e.* by dint of medicinal preparations. Sometimes, even opiates failed to win the courted repose: and our modern

(*e*) Prov. xi. 25.

Job might sing, like him of Chaldea, Wearisome nights are appointed unto me. When I lay down, I say, when shall I rise, and the night be gone? I am full of tossings to and fro, unto the dawning of the day. Job. vii. 3, 4.——

"Tired nature's sweet restorer, balmy sleep,"
Cruta laborata referens oblivia vitæ

is a visitant, which, like every other blessing, is the gift of God, and comes not but at his command. He giveth to his beloved sleep: Psal. cxxvii. 2. And, when he gives it not, faith will acknowledge the finger of Jehovah's providence, and say, Thou holdest mine eyes waking. Psalm lxxvii. 4.

But the divine will operates through the medium of second causes. Too intense and unintermitted exertions of mind, in the pursuit of knowledge, and in the communication of it to others by writing, were the direct occasions of unhinging Dr. Watts's intellectual powers, and of shattering a constitution naturally firm.

"With curious art the brain, too finely wrought,
Preys on itself and is destroyed by thought.
Constant attention wears the active mind,
Blots out its powers, and leaves the blank behind."

If grandeur, elegance, and poignancy, of genius;—if a strong, extensive, and highly cultivated understanding;—in a word, if the richest native and acquired talents of the head, added to the most amiable virtues of the heart;—could have secured to a human being the felicity of calm and constant self-possession, Dr. Watts had never written his unhappy Dissertations on the Trinity.

Gladly would I throw, if possible, an everlasting vail over this valuable person's occasional deviations from the simplicity of the gospel, relative to the personality and divinity of the Son and Spirit of God. But justice compels me to acknowledge that he did not always preserve an uniform consistency with himself, nor with the Scriptures of truth, so far as concerns that grand and fundamental article of the Christian faith.

"How narrow limits are to wisdom giv'n!
Earth she surveys, and thence would measure neav'n.
Through mists obscure, now wings her tedious way,
Now wanders, dazzled with too bright a day.
And, from the summit of a pathless coast,
Sees infinite—and in that sight is lost."

The inclusiveness (to call it by the tenderest name we can) of his too wanton tamperings with the doctrine of the Trinity, has been largely and irrefragably demonstrated by more hands than one. Among others, by the learned Dr. Abraham Taylor, in a masterly tract, entitled, The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity vindicated, in opposition to Mr. Watts's Scheme of one divine Person and two divine Powers. The great Mr. John Hurrion, one of the most evangelical men, and ablest reasoners, that have added lustre to the present century, has likewise totally demolished Dr. Watts's fanciful and dangerous surmises, in his [*i. e.* in Mr. Hurrion's] set of admirable discourses, entitled, The Scripture Doctrine of the proper Divinity, real Personality, &c. of the Holy Spirit, stated and defended. Both the above performances were published many years before the Doctor's decease; and consequently, while he was able to answer for himself. Notwithstanding this declension, I am happy in believing that the grace and faithfulness of the Holy Ghost did not permit our author to die under the delusions of so horrible and pernicious a heresy.

Among many instances which redound exceedingly to the honour of the Doctor's heart, must be numbered the cordial and uninterrupted friendship which obtained between him and his copartner in the ministry, the Rev. Mr. Samuel Price. Aulus Gellius used to wonder how two such elegant and magnanimous philosophers, as Plato and Xenophon, could ever descend to the meanness of depreciating and envying each other's talents and success. What would he have said, had he been witness to the low competitions, the dirty jealousies, the narrow self-seekings, and the envious treachery, visible in the spirit and conduct of some who pass for Christian ministers? No such roots of bitterness had any place in the benevolent and disinterested bosom of Dr. Watts. Like the master he served, he took pleasure in the excellencies, the usefulness, and the prosperity of others. It was by his own request that Mr. Price was associated with him as co-pastor, in the year 1713. And in his last will, he styled that gentleman his "faithful friend and companion in the labours of the ministry;" and bequeathed him a legacy, as a "small testimony of his great affection for him, on account of his services of love, during the many harmonious years of their fellowship in the work of the gospel."

Dr. Jennings has preserved a few of Dr. Watts's dying sayings. It is to be wished that he had recorded more of them. "I bless God," said the ripening saint, "I can lay down with comfort at night, unsolicitous whether I wake in this world or another!" His faith in the promises was lively and unshaken: "I believe them enough to venture an eternity on them!" Once, to a religious friend, he expressed himself thus: "I remember an aged minister used to say that the most learned and knowing Christians, when they come to die, have only the same plain promises for their support as the common and unlearned. And so," continued the Doctor, "I find it. It is the plain promises of the gospel that are

my support; and I bless God they are plain promises, which do not require much labour and pains to understand them: for I can do nothing now, but look into my Bible, for some promise to support me, and live upon that." On feeling any temptations to complain, he would remark, "The business of a Christian is to bear the will of God, as well as to do it. If I were in health, I could only be doing that; and that I may do now. The best thing in obedience is a regard to the will of God; and the way to that is to get our inclinations and aversions as much mortified as we can."

The following little incident I lately had from a person of quality, (*z*) who has long shone (and much longer may she continue to shine) the principal ornament of the great and of the religious world. The anecdote, though not important in itself, is worthy of being preserved from oblivion, as a small monument of the refined politeness which distinguished the mind and manners of another elegant and devout female long since with God. The first-mentioned of these ladies being on a visit to Dr. Watts, at Stoke-Newington, the doctor accosted her thus: "Madam, your ladyship is come to see me on a very remarkable day." Why is this day so remarkable? answered the countess. "This very day thirty years," replied the doctor, "I came hither to the house of my good friend Sir Thomas Abney, intending to spend but one single week under this friendly roof; and I have extended my visit to the length of exactly thirty years." Lady Abney, who was present, immediately said to the doctor, "Sir, what you term a long thirty years' visit, I consider as the shortest visit my family ever received."

SOME (*a*) ACCOUNT OF MRS. ELIZABETH ROWE.

This elegant and devout female was the daughter of Mr. Walter Singer, a dissenting minister of good family, and possessed a competent estate near Frome, in Somersetshire; who being imprisoned at Ilchester, for non-conformity in the reign of Chas. II., was there visited by Mrs. Elizabeth Portnel, of that town, from principles of mere benevolence and compassion. The acquaintance thus commenced, terminated however in marriage; and the lady, a summary of whose memoirs we are now going to give, was the first fruit of the alliance; being born September 11, 1674, at Ilchester, in which town her father continued to reside until the death of his wife induced him to return into the neighbourhood of Frome.

On his re-settlement there, his piety, prudence, integrity, and good sense, recommended him to the friendship of Lord Weymouth; and to that of Dr. Ken, the deprived bishop of Bath and Wells, who (after the Revolution) lived with that nobleman at Long Leat. Though the bishop was in principle a very high churchman; and Mr. Singer, a radicated dissenter; still such were the candour and moderation of these excellent men, that they cordially esteemed and constantly visited each other. Dr. Ken would sometimes ride to see his worthy and valued non-conforming neighbour, so frequently as once a week.

Mr. Singer's chief happiness, however, lay within the pale of his own family. Beside our authoress, he had two daughters; one of whom died in her childhood, and the other survived to her twentieth year. The latter seemed to be the very counterpart of her elder sister, in devotion, virtue, accomplishments, and amiableness of temper. She had the same invincible thirst for knowledge; and consequently, the same extreme passion for books. The lovely sisters frequently prolonged their studies in concert until midnight.

But it was Miss Elizabeth whom Providence reserved to be an ornament, not only to her family and to her sex, but to the human species. Her uncommon talents and exalted piety, which dawned even in her infant years, gave her religious father a satisfaction not to be expressed. He himself had received his first effectual convictions in about the tenth year of his age; from which time he was remarkable for having never neglected prayer. God was pleased to visit our poetess with strong impressions of grace at a still less advanced period. My infant hands (says she in her manual, entitled "Devout Exercises of the Heart") were early lifted up to Thee; and I soon learned to know and acknowledge the God of my fathers. Her relative affections were so lively and delicate that we find them mingling even with her most solemn addresses to the Deity. In particular, her love and veneration for her father resembled the vestal fires, which were strong, bright, and in-extinguishable. As a specimen of her fine feelings, in this respect, we may recur to the following passage; Thou art my God, and the God of my religious ancestors; the God of my mother, the God of my pious father. Dying and breathing out his soul, he gave me to thy care. He

(*f*) The late countess of Huntingdon, who deserves the highest panegyric that can be given to a woman. She closed a life of most extensive usefulness, unbounded increpidity, and intrinsic excellence in the cause of Christ, on Friday June 17, 1791. Unequivocally may it be said that her character has never been surpassed or equalled in any age, or in any nation. Ed.

(*g*) Biogr. Brit. vol. v. p. 3593.

put me into thy gracious arms, and delivered me up to thy protection. He told me thou wouldst never leave me nor forsake me. He triumphed in thy long experienced faithfulness and truth; and gave his testimony for thee with his latest breath.

At twelve years of age she began to write poetry; and it is no wonder the same elegant turn of mind was connected with a fondness for music and painting; in the former of which she particularly delighted, and became a very able proficient. But that walk in music which she chiefly cultivated was of the most serious and solemn kind; such as best comported with the grandeur of her sentiments, and the sublimity of her devotion. As to painting, she was more than an admirer of that beautiful art. She took up the pencil when she had hardly sufficient strength and steadiness of hand to guide it; and almost in her infancy would press out the juices of herbs, to serve her in lieu of colours. Her father perceiving her propensity to this accomplishment, provided a master to instruct her in it; and it never failed to be her occasional amusement to the end of her life.

It was her excellence in poetry which first introduced her to the attention of the noble family at Long Leat. She had written a small copy of verses, with which they were so highly charmed that they conceived a strong curiosity to see the authoress; and in this visit there commenced a friendship which subsisted ever after. She was not then twenty.

Her paraphrase of the 38th chapter of Job was written at the request of Bishop Ken, and added to the reputation she had already acquired. She had no less a tutor for the French and Italian languages, than the Hon. Mr. Thynne, son to Lord Weymouth, who voluntarily took that office upon himself; and had the pleasure to see his fair scholar improve so fast under his lessons that in a few months she was able to read Tasso with great facility. She seems to have been entirely unacquainted with the learned languages. Her father, indeed, took the greatest care of her education; but he confined it to the acquisition of those accomplishments only which he considered as falling most properly within the sphere of female improvement.

In the year 1696, which was the twenty-second of her age, a collection of her poems on various occasions was published at the request of two distinguished friends.

Her shining merit, and the charms of her person and conversation, had procured her a great many admirers. Among others the celebrated Mr. Matthew Prior is said to have been a candidate for her heart; and from several tender passages relative to this lady in his printed poems, it plainly enough appears that she had the deepest interest in his affections. But Mr. Thomas Rowe was the person destined by heaven to make happy, and to be made happy by, the most amiable female then existing.

This gentleman had a fine genius, adorned with an uncommon share of profound and polite learning. His talent in poetry, though not invariably equal to his wife's, was yet very considerable. He was the son of Mr. Benoni Rowe, a dissenting minister, eminent as a preacher and a scholar; and descended of the same family from which Mr. Nicholas Rowe, the dramatic poet, derived his pedigree: *viz.* the Rowes of Lamberton, in Devonshire. Our Mr. Thos. Rowe was born at London, April 25, 1687; and was married to Miss Singer, in 1710. On which occasion, a friend of Mr. Rowe wrote the beautifulLatin epigram inserted (*h*) below.

Mrs. Rowe's exalted merit and captivating qualities could not fail to inspire the most pure and lasting passion; and Mr. Rowe knew how to value that treasure of piety, elegance, and wit, which Divine Providence had given him in such a partner. He made it his business to repay the felicity with which she crowned his life. A considerable time after marriage, he addressed to her, under the name of Delia, that delicate and beautiful ode, of which the following lines are part:

———Long may thy inspiring page,
And great example, bless the rising age!
Long in thy charming prison may'st thou stay;
Late, very late, ascend the well-known way,
And add new glories to the realms of day!

At least, Heav'n will not sure this pray'r deny;
Short be my life's uncertain date, [fate!
And earlier far than thine, the destined hour of
Whene'er it comes, may'st thou be by;
Banish desponding nature's gloom;
And make me hope a gentle doom;
And fix me all on joys to come!

With swimming eyes I'll gaze upon thy charms,
And clasp thee, dying, in my fainting arms;
Then, gently leaning on thy breast,
Sink in soft slumbers to eternal rest.
The ghastly form shall have a pleasing air,
And all things smile, while heav'n and thou art there.

(*h*) In nuptias THOMÆ ROWE et ELIZABETHÆ SINGER.
Quid doctum par usque tuum, sociosque labores,
FABRÆ *et* DACERII, *Gallia vana, crepas?*
Par majus gens Angla dedit, juvenem atque puellam,
Quos hodie sacro fœdere junxit amor.
Namque ea, quæ nostri Phœbo cecinere docente,
Explicuisse tuis gloria summa foret.

Thus translated by a young gentleman:
"No more, proud Gallia, bid the world revere
Thy learned pair, Le Fevre and Dacier.
Britain may boast this happy day unites
Two nobler minds in Hymen's sacred rites:
What these have sung, while all th' inspiring Nine
Exalt the beauties of the verse divine,
Those (humble critics of th' immortal strain)
Shall bound their fame to comment and explain.'

As Mr. Rowe had not naturally a strong constitution, his intense application to study (which his marriage connection did not in the least abate) is supposed to have sown the seeds of that ill health which alloyed the happiness of his connubial state, and threw him into a decline, about the latter end of the year 1714. Having little more than finished his twenty-eighth year, his consumption put a period to his life on the 13th of May, 1715. He had formed a design to compile the lives of all the illustrious persons of antiquity omitted by Plutarch. He was enabled to accomplish part of his intent (*i*): for which no man, perhaps, was better qualified both by genius, judgment, and erudition. History was his favourite pursuit; and he had studied that part of it which relates to Jewish antiquities, under the tuition of the great Witsius, at Leyden.

During her husband's long illness, Mrs. Rowe hardly ever quitted his chamber; and alleviated, by all the tender offices of sympathy and assiduity, the pains she was unable to remove. She partook his sleepless nights; nor could be persuaded to relinquish her kind but melancholy station at his bed-side. When death had performed its commission, she was with difficulty torn from his breathless clay; and devoted her future years to his memory, by a resolution (which she inviolably kept) of perpetual widowhood. He died at Hampstead, near London, where he had resided some time for the benefit of the air; and was buried in a vault belonging to his family, in Bunhill-fields. On his tomb were only marked his name, with the dates of his birth and decease. But an inscription of greater pomp was rendered unnecessary, by Mrs. Rowe's fine Elegy on his death; in which she relates the thoughts that follow, as a part of his dying conversation:

"How much I love, thy bleeding heart can tell,
Which does like mine the pangs of parting feel.
But haste to meet me on those happy plains
Where mighty love in endless triumph reigns.
He ceas'd. Then gently yielded up his breath,
And fell a blooming sacrifice to death."

She survived him almost 22 years, and to the last retained without abatement that extreme affection and veneration for him which had constantly animated her breast during life. A very little time before her own departure to heaven, she was observed to shed tears at but hearing the mention of his name.

Soon after the commencement of her widowhood she quitted London (where, in complaisance to Mr. Rowe's inclination, she usually spent the winter season); and indulged her unconquerable love of solitude by retiring to Frome, where the greater part of her estate lay. It was in this retreat that she composed the most celebrated of her works, entitled, Friendship in Death; with the Letters moral and entertaining. How fond she was of obscurity appears from that beautiful passage, among many others, where she thus sings in prose:

"Such a retreat as disengages the mind from those interests and passions which mankind generally pursue appears to me the most certain way to happiness. Quietly to withdraw from the crowd, and leave the gay and ambitious to divide the honours and pleasures of the world, without being a rival or competitor in any of them, must leave a person in unenvied repose.—Ye vain grandeurs of the earth, ye perishing riches, and fantastic pleasures, what are your proudest boasts? Can you yield undecaying delights, joys becoming the dignity of reason, and the capacities of an immortal mind? Ask the happy spirits above at what price they value their enjoyments. Ask them if the whole creation should purchase one moment's interval of their bliss. No: one beam of celestial light obscures the glory, and casts a reproach on all the beauty, this world can boast."

In 1736, some of her acquaintances who had seen the history of Joseph in manuscript, prevailed on her, though with difficulty, to let it be made public. She had written it in the early part of life; and had carried it on no farther than to Joseph's marriage. Through the importunity of friends (especially of the Countess of Hertford, to whom Mrs. Rowe could scarcely refuse any thing), she added two books more: the composing of which is said to have been the labour but of three or four days. This additional part, which was her last work, was published a few weeks before her death.

That crowning event befel her, according to her wish, in her beloved retirement. She was favoured with uncommon strength of constitution; and had passed a more than short life with scarce any indisposition severe enough to confine her to her bed. But about six months before her decease, she was attacked by a visibly dangerous complaint; and lamented to an intimate friend that, on the near approach of death, she did not find herself so serene as she could wish. Her doubts and fears, though sharp, were short. The Holy Spirit, after a little season, filled her with gladness unspeakable, by witnessing to her soul the interest which God's free grace had given her in the atonement and mediation of him

(*i*) He finished nine of those omitted lives; of which eight were published, after his decease, by the late Dr. Samuel Chandler. The ninth, (*viz*, that of Thrasybulus,) having been put into the hands of Sir Richard Steel for his revisal, was unhappily lost.

who died for sinners. Under these assurances, she experienced such repose and triumph that she acknowledged with tears of joy, that she had never felt any consolations equal to these. She repeated on this happy occasion, Mr. Pope's verses, entitled, "The dying Christian to his Soul," with such exalted transport as evidenced that she really felt all the holy ecstasies which breathe in that (*k*) exquisite piece of sacred poetry.

After this threatening illness, Mrs. Rowe recovered her usual good state of health; to which, it is extremely probable, the happy state of her soul, and her blessed foretastes of eternal life, might chiefly contribute. Communion with God, and the assurance of his favour, are frequently known to promote health of body no less than of mind. The fellowship of the Holy Ghost is the grand cordial of human life; and sometimes operates as a sovereign restorative, even to the mortal house of clay.

On the day in which Mrs. Rowe was seized with that distemper which, in a few hours, carried her off, she seemed to those about her to be in perfect vigour. About eight in the evening, she conversed with her usual sprightliness, and not without laughter. Afterwards, she retired to her chamber. About ten, her maid-servant hearing some noise in her mistress's apartment, ran immediately in, and found her fallen on the floor speechless, and in the convulsions of death. A physician and a surgeon were instantly sent for; but all applications proved fruitless. She expired a few minutes before two o'clock, on Sunday morning, February 20, 1736-7. Her disease was judged to be an apoplexy. A devout book was found lying open just by her; it contained some meditations on spiritual subjects, but was afterwards lost; nor could the title be exactly remembered by those who were with her at the time of her death. She often wished and prayed for a sudden dissolution; and God was pleased to grant her the request of her heart. Mr. Grove (who by his mother's side was related to Mrs. Rowe) expressed himself thus in a letter to a friend, occasioned by the decease of this extraordinary lady: "Though her death," says he, "be universally lamented, yet the manner of it is rather to be esteemed a part of her happiness. One moment to enjoy this life; the next, or after a pause we are not sensible of, to find ourselves got beyond, not only the fears of death, but death itself; and in possession of everlasting life, and health, and pleasure: this moment to be devoutly addressing ourselves to God, or employed in delightful meditations on his perfections; the next, in his presence, and surrounded with scenes of bliss, perfectly new, and unspeakably joyous, is a way of departing out of life to be desired, not dreaded, by ourselves, and felicitated, not condoled, by our surviving friends. When all things are in a readiness for our removal out of the world, it is a privilege to be spared the sad ceremony of parting, and all the pains and struggles of feeble nature." Dost thou ask, O converted reader, Which is best? To be snatched to heaven in a moment or two, or to be thrown on a lingering bed, and so (if the Lord please) be able to bear some testimony to his love, power, and faithfulness? I answer: Leave the whole matter to him. If possible, do not entertain a wish either one way or the other. Be this your petition:

> "Only receive my soul to thee;
> The manner and the time be thine."

She was buried, by her own desire, under the same stone with her father, in the Meeting-house, at Frome; and her funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Bowden, to whom she left a particular charge that he should not say one word about her in the whole of his discourse.

In her cabinet were found letters to the Countess of Hertford, the Earl of Orrery, Dr. Watts, and some others of her most intimate and most valued friends. These farewell epistles she ordered to be immediately after her death transmitted to the persons they were directed to. They have since been published. An extract from that to her bosom confidant, the Countess of Hertford (afterwards Duchess of Somerset), may stand for a sample of the rest. "This is the last letter you will ever receive from me; the last assurance I shall give you on earth of a sincere and stedfast friendship. But when we meet again, I hope it will be in the heights of immortal love and ecstasy. Mine, perhaps, may be the first glad spirit to congratulate your

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I.

(*k*) Vital spark of heav'nly flame,
Quit, oh quit this mortal frame!
Trembling, hoping, ling'ring, flying:
Oh the pain, the bliss of dying!
Cease, fond nature, cease thy strife,
And let me languish into life.

II.

Hark! they whisper. Angels say,
Sister spirit, come away.
What is this absorbs me quite,
Steals my senses, shuts my sight,
Drowns my spirit, draws my breath?
Tell me, my soul, can this be death?

III.

The world recedes: it disappears.
Heaven opens on my eyes; my ears
With sounds seraphic ring.
Lend, lend your wings! I mount, I fly!
O Grave, where is thy victory?
O Death, where is thy sting?

safe arrival on the happy shore. What transporting reflections shall we make on the advantages of which we shall find ourselves eternally possessed! To him that loved and washed us in his blood, we shall ascribe immortal glory, dominion and praise, for ever. This is all my salvation, and all my hope. That name, in whom the Gentiles trust, is now my glorious, my unfailing confidence. In his merits alone I expect to stand justified before infinite purity and justice. How poor were my hopes, if I depended on those works which my own vanity or the partiality of men have called good! The best actions of my life would be found defective, if brought to the test of that unblemished holiness, in whose sight the heavens are not clean. Where were my hopes but for a Redeemer's merits and atonement! How desperate, how undone my condition! With the utmost advantages I can boast, I should start back, and tremble at the thoughts of appearing before the unblemished majesty. O Jesus, what harmony dwells in thy name! Celestial joy and immortal life is in the sound. Let angels set thee to their golden harps. Let the ransomed nations for ever magnify thee. Adieu, my most dear friend, until we meet in the paradise of God."

All truly great minds entertain the most elevated ideas of friendship; and, indeed, without some greatness of soul, no man is capable of the sublime virtues and the refined attachments comprised in that lovely term. Such a spirit as ennobled and warmed the breast of Mrs. Rowe was susceptible of that generous and exalted flame. Witness the following paragraph, in her farewell letter to Mr. Theobald: "The converse I have had with you has been short; but I hope the friendship begun by it will be transmitted to the regions of perfect amity and bliss. It would not be worth while to cherish the impressions of a virtuous friendship if the generous engagement was to be dissolved with this mortal life. Tell Mrs. Theobald I hope to meet her in the shining realms of love and unmingled bliss."

As to her person, Mrs. Rowe was not what is called a regular beauty; yet she possessed a large measure of the charms of her sex. She was of a moderate stature. Her hair of a fine auburn colour. Her eyes of a darkish grey, inclining to blue, and full of fire. Her complexion was very fair, and a lovely blush glowed in her cheeks. She spoke gracefully; her voice was harmoniously sweet, and perfectly suited to that gentle language which always flowed from her lips. The softness and benevolence of her aspect, together with the strength of understanding which appeared in her countenance, exceed the powers of description.

Her acquaintance with the great, added to her own natural delicacy and good sense, had insensibly formed her to all the ease and accomplishments of the most engaging politeness. Without any degree of stiffness or affectation, she practised, in a distant solitude, all the address and fine behaviour of a court.

The labours of the toilet consumed very little of her time. She despised the arts of dress and ornament; yet without falling into the opposite extreme of improper negligence.

She led a recluse life, but without austerity; and was as exemplary for sweetness of temper, affability, meekness, and every social virtue, as for the exact sanctity of her manners.

God had given her such absolute command over her passions that it has been questioned whether she was ever angry, so much as once in her whole life.

Though she possessed an uncommon share of wit, no one had reason to fear its edge, or to wish it had been less. For, together with the most manly genius, she possessed all that gentleness which completes the charms of the tender sex. Next to profane and lewd writings, she expressed the strongest aversion to satire, as being usually replete with uncandid invective.—No strokes of this kind can be found in her works; and her conversation was not less innocent of every appearance of illnature than her writings. Scandal and detraction were considered by her as extreme inhumanity, which no embellishments of wit and liveliness could render tolerable.

She had few equals in her admirable turn for conversation. Her wit was inexhaustible; and she expressed her thoughts in the most beautiful and flowing style. Though she had, even from her youth, been accustomed to receive the deserved tributes of compliment and praise from such judges of worth as might have made some degree of vanity almost pardonable in a lady and an author, yet she retained all the humility of the meanest and most obscure person.

She was perfectly untainted with the love of pleasure; and was even ignorant of every polite and fashionable game. She had no relish for novels and romances, and entirely abstained from the entertainments of the theatre. The grandeur of her mind set her above every species of luxury. She was always pleased with whatever she found on her table; and neither the nature of her food, nor the manner of dressing it, gave her any uneasiness. She despised visits of ceremony, and had a contempt of riches that has been rarely equalled. She wrote no dedication to great persons, nor is the name of any minister of state to be met with in her productions. She solicited no favours, and never saw a court.

Filial piety was a remarkable part of her character. She loved the best of fathers as she ought; and has been heard to say that she would rather die than displease him. In a memorandum relating to his last sickness and death, are these words: "My father often felt his pulse, and complained that it was still regular. He smiled at every symptom of approaching death; and would be often crying out, Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly! Come, ye holy angels, who rejoice at the conversion of a sinner: come, and conduct my soul to the skies, ye propitious spirits! And then would add, But thy time, Lord, not mine, is best. When shall I awake, and be satisfied with thy likeness?" The anguish she felt at seeing him in so much pain gave her, during the time of his illness, a kind of habitual convulsion: a disorder, from which she was wholly free in every other part of her life. Her father died, April 18, 1719, and was indulged with some delightful prelibations of heaven before he ascended thither.

She was a gentle and kind mistress to her dependants; and a warm and generous friend. It was observed, that none of her domestics ever quitted her service, unless they married off. Nor was there a friend of her's, though in ever so high a station, who did not experience her beneficent disposition, in presents of books, pictures, or something elegant and valuable, as marks of her esteem.

Her charities to the poor were literally amazing. The first time she accepted of a gratification from a bookseller for any of her works, she bestowed the whole sum on a family in distress. She solemnly consecrated half of her yearly income to charitable uses; and employed her own hands in providing clothes for the necessitous. She extended her liberalities, not to the poor only, but also to the farther relief of those who were raised above absolute want; and would frequently observe that one of the greatest temporal benefits we can render to our fellow-creatures is to free them from the cares and anxieties which attend a narrowness of fortune. In these cases, she knew how to heighten every favour, by the delicate and obliging manner in which she conferred it. She studied to spare their blushes, while she softened their adversity. Thus, when one of her worldly acquaintances was in known distress, she contrived to lose, at play, a sum of money sufficient to answer the exingences of the case; and this was, probably, the only time she ever touched a card in her life.

It was matter of wonder, how so moderate an estate as she possessed could supply such various and extensive benefactions; and her own sense of this once broke out to an intimate friend. I am surprised, said she, how it is possible my estate should answer all these things. And yet, I never want money!

She affected no kind of singularity or appearance of severity; nor ever presumed to censure those whose piety and morals were less exalted than her own. Her serenity and cheerfulness of temper were so perpetual that (except on the loss of her father and of her husband, and when she was witness to any case of distress in others) her whole life seemed to be a constant calm; or rather an uninterrupted sunshine: and every hour of it sparkled with good humour and inoffensive gaiety.

With regard to her religious principles, she was a doctrinal Calvinist: and shone an eminent trophy of that distinguishing and efficacious grace which she so richly experienced, and which diffused its sanctifying power throughout her practical walk. Agreeably to the scriptural views of the divine sovereignty, we find her thus expressing herself to him whom her soul loved: "Why did thy watchful providence perpetually surround me, crossing all the methods I took to undo myself? Why didst thou pursue me with the offers of thy favour, when I fled thee with such aversion; and had fled thee for ever, if thou hadst not compelled me to return? Why wast thou found of one that sought thee not? Oh why, but because thou wilt be merciful to whom thou wilt be merciful!" [Devout Exerc. Medit. VIII.]—Again: "I lay, a wretched slave, pleased with my chains, and fond of my captivity; till love, almighty love, rescued me. Blest effect of unmerited grace! I shall stand, for ever, an illustrious instance of boundless mercy. To that I must entirely ascribe my salvation: and through all the ages of eternity, I will rehearse the wonders of redeeming love; and tell to listening angels what it has done for my soul." [Ibid.]—"Thy kingdom ruleth over all, O Lord; and thou dost according to thy will, in the armies of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth. I confess and acknowledge thy providence. The ways of man are not at his own disposal, but all his goings are ordered by thee." [Ibid. Med. IV.]

The holy doctrine of final perseverance was, through the application of it to her soul by the blessed Spirit, the comfort and rejoicing of her heart. Hence those fine passages which occur in Medit. X. of the above work. "Shall a soul, consecrated to thee, fall a sacrifice to hell? Shall the temple of thy Spirit be profaned, and the lips that have so often ascribed dominion and glory and majesty to thee, be defiled with infernal blasphemy and the execrations of the damned? Shall the sparks of divine love be extinguished, and immortal enmity succeed? And shall I, who was once blest

with thy favour, become the object of thy wrath and indignation? It is all impossible; for thou art not as man, that thou shouldest lie; nor as the son of man, that thou shouldest repent. Thou art engaged, by thy own tremendous name, for my security. Transporting assurance! What further security can I ask? What security can I wish, beyond eternal veracity? The mountains shall depart, and the hills be removed: but thy kindness shall not depart, nor the covenant of thy peace be broken."

A CONCISE CHARACTER OF THE LATE REV. MR. WHITEFIELD

I DEEM myself happy in having an opportunity of thus publicly avowing the inexpressible esteem in which I held this wonderful man; and the affectionate veneration, which I must ever retain, for the memory of one whose acquaintance and ministry were attended with the most important spiritual benefit to me, and to tens of thousands beside.

It will not be saying too much, if I term him The apostle of the English empire: in point of zeal for God, a long course of indefatigable and incessant labours, unparalleled disinterestedness, and astonishingly extensive usefulness.

He was a true and faithful son of the Church of England, and invincibly asserted her doctrines to the last; and that not in a merely doctrinal way (though he was a most excellent systematic divine), but with an unction of power from God, unequalled in the present day.

He would never have quitted even the walls of the Church, had not either the ignorance, or the malevolence, of some who ought to have known better, compelled him to a seeming separation.

If the most absolute command over the passions of immense auditories be the mark of a consummate orator, he was the greatest of the age. If the strongest good sense, the most generous expansions of heart, the most artless but captivating affability, the most liberal exemption from bigotry, and the purest and most transpicuous integrity, the brightest cheerfulness, and the promptest wit, enter into the composition of social excellence, he was one of the best companions in the world.

If to be stedfast and unmoveable, always abounding in the works of the Lord; if an union of the most brilliant with the most solid ministerial gifts, ballasted by a deep and humbling experience of grace, and crowned with the most extended success in the conversion of sinners and the edification of saints, be signatures of a special commission from heaven: Mr. Whitefield cannot but stand highest on the modern list of Christian ministers.

England has had the honour of producing the greatest men in almost every walk of useful knowledge At the head of these are, 1. Archbishop Bradwardin, the prince of divines. 2. Milton, the prince of poets. 3. Sir Isaac Newton, the prince of philosophers; and 4. Whitefield, the prince of preachers.

Bishop Benson was the prelate who had the distinguished honour of ordaining the greatest, the most eloquent, and the most useful minister that has, perhaps, been produced since the days of the apostles.

It appears, from a passage in one of Mr. Whitefield's own letters, published since his decease, that he was the person whom the gracious Spirit and providence of God raised up and sent forth to begin that great work of spiritual revival in the Church of England, which has continued ever since, and still continues, with increasing spread, to replenish and enrich the evangelical vineyard by law established. In the remarkable passage to which I refer, Mr. Whitefield expresses himself, verbatim, thus, to Mr. John Wesley: "As God was pleased to send me out first; and to enlighten me first: so I think he still continues to do it: my business seems to be chiefly in planting. If God send you to water, I praise his name." (*l*) On the whole, he was the least imperfect character I ever knew; and yet, no person was ever more shockingly traduced and vilified, by those who either were unacquainted with him, or who hated him for his virtues, and for his attachment to the gospel of Christ. But the pen of faithful history, and the suffrages of unprejudiced posterity, (*m*) will do justice to the memory of a man, of whom the present generation was not worthy.

(*l*) See the collection of Mr. Whitefield's Letters, in three volumes, octavo. Vol. i. Let. 214. p. 205.

(*m*) Already has this been exemplified by the testimony of several eminent persons, particularly by the inimitable pen of Cowper, whose poetical characteristic is truth and taste. The following lines are transcribed as descriptive of that invaluable man, and by being inserted in proximity with the above, it is presumed cannot fail of being interesting to the reader. EDITOR.

" Leucoronus (beneath well-sounding Greek
I slur a name a poet must not speak)
Stood pilloried on infamy's high stage,
And bore the pelting scorn of half an age;
The very butt of slander, and the blot
For ev'ry dart that malice ever shot.
The man that mentioned him at once dismiss'd
All mercy from his lips, and sneer'd and hiss'd;
His crimes were such as Sodom never knew,
And perjury stood up to swear all true;
His aim was mischief, and his zeal pretence,
His speech rebellion against common sense:
A knave, when tried on honesty's plain rule,
And when by that of reason, a mere fool;
Tu' world's best comfort was, his doom was pass'd;
Die when he might, he must be damn'd at last.
Now truth perform thine office: waft aside

ANECDOTES, INCIDENTS, AND HISTORIC PASSAGES.

It appears, from a little account-book, wherein that great man of God, the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, minuted the times and places of his ministerial labours, that he preached upwards of eighteen thousand sermons, from the æra of his ordination to that of his death.

Dr. Grovenor's first wife was a most devout and amiable woman; the Sunday after her death, the Doctor expressed himself from the pulpit in the following manner: "I have had an irreparable loss, and no man can feel a loss of this consequence more sensibly than myself. But the cross of a dying Jesus is my support; I fly from one death, for refuge to another."

Some years ago, a friend of a clergyman now living, (n) said to him, "Sir! you have just as many children as the patriarch Jacob." — True, answered the good old divine: and I have also Jacob's God to provide for them.

A spark of red hot iron flew into a gentleman's eye, several eminent surgeons tried in vain to extract it; at last, a lady of the patient's acquaintance thought of holding his eye-lid quite open, and of extracting the grievance by the application of a load stone. The experiment succeeded. —— How similar is the Holy Spirit's virtue, in extracting the love of sin from the heart of a saint.

King Charles II. once said to that great man, John Milton, "Do not you think your blindness is a judgment upon you for having written in defence of my father's murder?"—Sir, answered the poet, it is true, I have lost my eyes; but, if all calamitous providences are to be considered as judgments, your majesty should remember that your royal father lost his head.

That excellent man, the late Rev. Mr. Joseph Hart, made it his inviolable rule, not to let an Arian, an Arminian, or any unsound preacher, occupy his pulpit so much as once. His usual saying on those occasions was, I will keep my pulpit as chaste as my bed.

Monsieur de Voltaire forgets all his infidelity, on two occasions; viz. when he is sick, and when it thunders and lightens. He is so particularly afraid of stormy weather, that if he happens to be writing when the "clouds pour down their torrents, the air thunders, and the arrows of the Almighty flash abroad," he will call out, in an agony of horror, for a bottle of holy water, and sprinkle himself with it from head to foot, and plentifully bedew the floors and walls of his apartments into the bargain. Immediately after which precaution, he orders mass to be said in his chapel; and the masses go on briskly, one after another, until the thunder and lightning cease. But no sooner is the tempest hushed, than a clear sky and placid elements settle him into a laughing Infidel again; and, resuming his pen, he writes against Christianity with as much acrimony, zeal, and want of argument, as ever.— This behaviour reminds me of an old proverb:

> "When the devil was sick,
> The devil a monk would be;
> But, when the devil grew well,
> The devil a monk was he."

A short time before the demise of queen Anne, as bishop Burnet was riding slowly in his coach, round that part of Smithfield whence so many blessed martyrs ascended to heaven, he observed a gentleman, standing on the distinguished spot, in a musing, pensive attitude, and, seemingly, quite absorbed in thought. His lordship ordered the carriage to stop, and sent his servant to the person, with a request that he would come to his coach side. He did so, and proved to be Dr Evans, a very eminent dissenting minister, of whom the bishop had some knowledge; "Brother Evans," said the prelate, "give me your hand, and come up hither, I want to ask you a question." The doctor being seated, and the coachman ordered to continue driving round as before, the bishop asked the doctor, "what it was that directed his

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The curtain drawn by prejudice and pride;
Reveal (the man is dead) to wond'ring eyes
This more than monster in his proper guise.

He lov'd the world that hated him: the tear
That dropped upon his Bible was sincere;
Assail'd by scandal and the tongue of strife,
His only answer was a blameless life:
And he that forg'd, and he that threw the dart,
Had each a brother's int'rest in his heart!
Paul's love of Christ, and steadiness unbrib'd,
Were copied close in him, and well transcrib'd.
He follow'd Paul—his zeal a kindred flame,
His apostolic charity the same.
Like him, cross'd cheerfully tempestuous seas,
Forsaking country, kindred, friends, and ease:
Like him he labour'd, and like him, content
To bear it, suffer'd shame where'er he went.

Blush, calumny! and write upon his tomb,
If honest eulogy can spare thee room,
Thy deep repentance of thy thousand lies,
Which, aim'd at him, have pierc'd th' offended skies;
And say, Blot out my sin, confess'd, deplor'd,
Against thine image in thy saint, oh Lord!"

(n) The late venerable Mr. Moses Brown. Editor.

steps to Smithfield? And what he was thinking of while standing there?"—"I was thinking," answered the other, "of the many servants of Christ who sealed the truth of their lives in this place. I came purposely to feast my eyes, once more, with a view of that precious spot of ground. And as public matters have, at present, a very threatening aspect, I was examining myself, whether I had grace and strength enough, to suffer for the gospel, if I should be called to it, and was praying to God that he would make me faithful even to death, if it should be his pleasure to let the old times come over again."—"I myself came hither," replied the prelate "on the same business; I am persauded that, if God's providence do not interpose, very speedily, and almost miraculously, these times will, and must, shortly return. In which case, you and I shall probably be two of the first victims that are to suffer death at that place," pointing to the paved centre.

But it pleased God to disappoint their fears, by giving a sudden turn to national affairs, within a few weeks queen Anne was gathered to her fathers, and king George I. was proclaimed.

King William being once advised to take more care of his safety, and not to hazard his person too much in the field of battle, answered, "Every bullet has its billet;" meaning, that not a bullet flew at random, but was directed, by a particular providence, whom to injure, and whom to spare. So the preaching of the gospel is equally under divine direction. God's Spirit takes care that the word of truth shall be a savour of life unto life to this man; and a savour of death unto death to that.

An ingenious foreigner was, this week, observing to me, That, "of all the nations of Europe, in which he had been, the English were the most afraid of death." I fear, the reason is, because the English have less religion than other nations.

Archbishop Potter wrote a letter to lady Huntingdon, to this effect: and, as nearly as she can remember (for she repeated it to me by memory), in these terms:

"Dear madam,

"I have been very ill since I last saw you. I hope soon to hear from you, that your health is better for your being at Bath. Continue to pray for me, until we meet in that place where our joy shall be complete. I am, as ever,

Your affectionate Friend,

John Cant."

After the good prelate had written the above letter, he was walking with it to his scrutoire, and (as his son, Mr. Potter, acquainted lady Huntingdon), being seized with a sudden syncope, dropped upon the floor, and expired with the letter in his hand.

A very remarkable circumstance is related concerning Monsieur Huet, the learned bishop of Avranches. During the latter years of his life, his genius and memory gradually failed; but two or three hours before his death, being then in the ninety-first year of his age, his genius revived, his memory returned, and he enjoyed all his intellectual faculties in their original vigour. So, with the people of God, faith, hope, love, joy, and other gracious fruits of the Spirit, may seem to decline; but before a saint expires, they all flourish again, in as great or greater liveliness than ever. God does not take away his children, until he has given them a lightening before death.

Thales, the Miletian, one of the seven Sages of Greece, while he resided in Egypt, measured the exact height of the pyramids there by the shadows they cast. So, one way of attaining to the knowledge of doctrinal truths is by considering the consequences of the opposite errors.

Some gentlemen and ladies were a Sunday or two ago refused admittance into the Magdalen Chapel, though they shewed their tickets. On asking the door-keeper, "Why he objected to their going in?" he answered, that he had orders to admit no persons but such as were in full dress. Surely this is a very ridiculous regulation.

There is, however, a church where this regulation is indispensable, and most strictly right. I mean the Church above. No admittance there for any souls that are not in full dress. You must put on Christ for your wedding garment, and wear his resplendent righteousness by imputation, if ever you mean to shine at God's right hand, and to have a seat in the Church triumphant.

The late king of Sweden was, it seems, under great impressions of spiritual religion for some time before his death. A peasant being once on a particular occasion admitted to his presence, the king, knowing him to be a person of singular piety, asked him "What he took to be the true nature of faith?" The peasant entered deeply into the subject, and much to the king's comfort and satisfaction. The king, at last, lying on his death-bed, had a return of his doubts and fears, as to the safety of his soul; and still the same question was perpetually in his mouth to those about him, "What is real faith? His attendants advised him to send for the archbishop of Upsall; who, coming to the king's bed-side, began in a learned logical manner, to enter into the

scholastic definition of faith. The prelate's disquisition lasted an hour. When he had done, the king said, with much energy, "All this is ingenious, but not comfortable; it is not what I want. Nothing, after all, but the farmer's faith will do for me."

Told me by Mrs. Gallatin, Oct. 1769.

I had the following anecdote from the late worthy Mr. Davis, of Hatton Garden, London, whose father had it from one who lived during the plague, and who was well acquainted with the nobleman to whom it refers.

Lord Craven lived in London, when that sad calamity raged. His house was in that part of the town since called (from the circumstance of Craven House being situated there) Craven Buildings. On the plague growing epidemic, his lordship, to avoid the danger, resolved to go to his seat in the country. His coach and six were accordingly at the door, his baggage put up, and all things in readiness for the journey. As he was walking through the hall with his hat on, his cane under his arm, and putting on his gloves, in order to step into his carriage, he overheard his negro (who served him as a postillion), saying to another servant, "I suppose, by my lord's quitting London to avoid the plague, that his God lives in the country, and not in town." The poor negro said this in the simplicity of his heart, as really believing a plurality of gods. The speech, however, struck Lord Craven very sensibly, and made him pause. "My God," thought he, "lives every where, and can preserve me in town as well as in the country. I'll even stay where I am. The ignorance of that negro has preached a useful sermon to me. Lord, pardon that unbelief, and that distrust of thy providence, which made me think of running away from thy hand." He immediately ordered his horses to be taken off from the coach, and the luggage to be brought in. He continued at London, was remarkably useful among his sick neighbours, and never caught the infection.

I likewise think it worth preserving, that (as the same person assured my friend Davis's father), the out-pouring of God's spirit was uncommonly great during the whole time of the plague. Such spiritual consolations and such rich communion with God were seldom experienced as were felt and enjoyed by the Lord's people, from the first commencement to the final cessation of that tremendous visitation. So that the time of destruction was, in another respect, a time of peculiar and most transcendant refreshing to the church of Christ.

A very poor, but a very good woman, who died in Yorkshire, not far from Ledstone, the seat of the excellent Lady Betty Hastings, said, a little before she expired, "I will not die without leaving dear Lady Hastings a legacy; and I bequeath her the 17th chapter of St. John; with my prayers that that sweet chapter may be made as great a blessing to her heart as it has been to mine."

The preceding anecdote was told me by the Countess of Huntingdon, at Clifton, this day, August 12, 1775.

One Mr. Simon Brown, an eminent dissenting minister, who lived about 40 years ago in London, became at one time so low-spirited as actually to believe that his soul was annihilated, and that he had no more soul than a stock or a stone. And yet he wrote, and preached, and prayed, and reasoned with so much power, liveliness and good sense, that he was more like a man with two souls than like a man with none. Some of the Lord's people who are disposed to question the truth of their conversion, live so conscientiously, feel their imperfections so deeply, prize Christ so highly, and long for his presence so ardently, that they demonstrate themselves to be converted persons; just as Mr. Brown, who persuaded himself that he had no soul, proved that he had one, by the very arguments which he brought against it.

Cyrus said to Crœsus, "The chests I keep my riches in are the hearts and affections of my subjects." The hearts of the saints are the repositories in which God lays up the riches of his grace. His best treasure is in the souls of his people; for there himself resides.

Sir James Thornhill was the person who painted the inside of the cupola of St. Paul's, London. After having finished one of the compartments, he stepped back gradually, to see how it would look at a distance. He receded so far (still keeping his eye intently fixed on the painting) that he was got almost so the very edge of the scaffolding, without perceiving it: had he continued to retreat, half a minute more would have completed his destruction, and he must have fallen to the pavement underneath. A person present, who saw the danger the great artist was in, had the happy presence of mind to suddenly snatch up one of the brushes, and spoil the painting, by rubbing it over. Sir James, transported with rage, sprung forward to save the remainder of the piece. But his rage was soon turned into thanks, when the person told him, "Sir, by spoiling the painting, I have saved the life of the painter. You were advanced to the extremity of the scaffold, without knowing it. Had I called out to you to apprise your of you danger, you would na-

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saw a person more thoroughly humbled, distrest, and broken in heart. Coming to him about two days before he died, he lamented, not only his own past infidelity, but the zeal and success with which he had endeavoured to infect the minds of others. "O that I could undo the mischief I have done! I was more ardent," said he, "to poison people with the principles of irreligion and unbelief than almost any Christian can be to spread the doctrines of Christ."—Cheer up (answered lady Huntingdon); Jesus, the great sacrifice for sin, atoned for the sins of the second table as well as for those of the first.—"God," replied he, "certainly can, but I fear he never will, pardon such a wretch as I."—You may fear it at present, rejoined she; but you and I shall most certainly meet each other in heaven.—The doctor then said, "O woman, great is thy faith. My faith cannot believe that I shall ever be there."

Soon after, the Lord lifted up the light of his countenance on Dr. Oliver's soul. He lay, the rest of his time, triumphing and praising free grace: and went off, at last, as happy as an angel.

Told me, by lady Huntingdon, at Clifton, August 19th, 1775.

Mr. Maccail, a Scotch preacher, was tortured to death, in Scotland, some time after the restoration of Charles II. His dying words were glorious and triumphant, notwithstanding the extremity of his bodily pain: "Farewell, sun, moon, and stars! farewell, world, and time! farewell, weak and frail body! welcome, eternity! welcome, angels and saints! welcome, Saviour of the world! welcome, God the Judge of all!" He died by the torture of the iron boot.

A person, who had heard much concerning Scanderbeg's victories, was very desirous of seeing the sword with which that famous general had wrought such celebrated exploits. Scanderbeg sent it to him; and, on seeing it, the person spake to the following effect: "Is this the weapon which has made so great noise in the world? I can see nothing in this short, mean-looking sword, answerable to the majestic idea I had entertained of it." This being told to Scanderbeg, he ordered the messenger to remind the other that "Scanderbeg's victories depended not on the grandeur of his sword, but on the strength and skill of the arm that wielded it: not the weapon, but Scanderbeg himself was the conqueror." So it is not the gospel, nor gospel ministers, by whom souls are subdued to Christ; but the power of Christ's own spirit, acting by these, which brings sinners in subjection to the obedience of faith.

The late lady L——d——y, on being asked, by lady Huntingdon, "whether she knew any thing of that holy Spirit by whom the Bible was inspired?" made answer, in the following words: "Yes, my lady, I am well acquainted with the name of Socrates, and of all the other philosophers that composed the Bible."

Told me, at Epping Place (in Essex), by lady Huntingdon, April 2, 1776.

A godly minister, being in a consumption, came to Ashby (near Fawsley, where Mr. Dod lived) for the benefit of Mr. Dod's counsel and conversation. He was much bowed down with doubts and fears; and a little before his death asked Mr. Dod, "What will you say to me who am going out of the world, and can find no spiritual comfort?" Mr. Dod answered, "And what will you say to Christ himself, who, when going out of the world, found no comfort, but cried out, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" This speech much refreshed the dying minister a little before he went to his heavenly inheritance.

A minister was recovering of a dangerous illness; when one of his friends addressed him thus: "Sir, though God seems to be bringing you up from the gates of death; yet it will be a long time before you will sufficiently retrieve your strength, and regain vigour enough of mind to preach as usual."—The good man answered: "You are mistaken, my friend; for this six weeks' illness has taught me more divinity than all my past studies, and all my ten years' ministry put together."

Related by Mr. Medley, in preaching, at London, this evening, May 11, 1776.

Public controversy, from the press, may be of standing use to the present and to future times. But wrangling altercations, in private company, seldom have much good effect: they resemble the pope's interview with an English quaker, where neither received any good from the other.—The quaker visited Rome, in order to convert the pope. Being admitted to his presence, the quaker thus accosted his holiness "Friend, I come to tell thee that thou art antichrist, and the scarlet whore of Babylon."—The pope, who was a man of humour, answered: "Friend, I am glad thou art come, as it gives me an opportunity of telling thee that thou art a most egregious heretic. Thou mayest think thyself well off that I do not put thee into the inquisition, and burn thee to ashes. So,

get thee back to thy own country while thou art safe and sound."—Thus each left the other as he found him. The pope would not believe himself to be antichrist, nor the quaker deem himself a heretic.

Mr. William Gay (of Uffculme), in conversation, at Broad Hembury, April 2, 1775.

Lewis I. of France died of vexation, occasioned by the revolt of his son, Lewis of Bavaria. The broken-hearted father said, as he expired, "I forgive Lewis; but let him know he has been the cause of my death."—The sins of God's elect were the cause of the Messiah's death: yet, in dying, he declared, "Father, forgive them," &c.

My late revered friend, the truly reverend and useful Mr. George Whitefield, was preaching one time at Exeter. A man was present who had loaded his pockets with stones, in order to fling them at that eminently precious ambassador of Christ. He heard his prayer, however, with patience: but no sooner had he named his text than the man pulled a stone out of his pocket, and held it in his hand, waiting for a fair opportunity to throw it. But God sent a word to his heart, and the stone dropt from his hand. After sermon, he went to dear Mr. Whitefield (whose name I can hardly think of without tears), and told him, "Sir, I came to hear you this day with a view to break your head; but the Spirit of God, through your ministry, has given me a broken heart." The man proved to be a sound convert, and lived an ornament to the gospel. Such power belongeth unto God!

My old and valuable acquaintance, the late Mr. Thomas Chorlton (who died, at Southwark, Dec. 19, 1774), who absolutely fell a martyr to frequent and excessive preaching, was very comfortable on his death-bed. "When will the happy hour arrive?" was one of his dying sayings. And, when some of his friends were taking their last farewell of him, he said, "Friends united to Christ shall meet again." He compared himself to a weary child, whom his father was putting to bed: and was deeply refreshed by that sweet promise in the last verse of Isa. xxxv. "The ransomed of the Lord," &c.—His funeral text was, by his own particular desire, Acts ii. 28. "Thou hast made known to me ways of life; thou shalt make me full of joy with thy countenance."

Lady Huntingdon was once speaking to a workman who was reparing a garden wall, and pressing him to take some thought concerning eternity and the state of his soul.—Some years, afterwards, she spoke to another, on the same subject: and said to him, "Thomas, I fear you never pray, nor look to Christ for salvation."—"Your ladyship is mistaken," answered the man: "I heard what passed between you and James, at such a time; and the word you designed for him took effect on me."—"How did you hear it?"—"I heard it on the other side of the garden, through a hole in the wall: and shall never forget the impression I received."—Thus will the blessed Spirit even make his way through the hole of a wall rather than an elect sinner shall die unconverted.

"How does your ladyship" (said the famous lord Bolingbroke once to lady Huntingdon) "reconcile prayer to God for particular blessings with absolute resignation to the Divine Will?"—Very easily (answered she): just as if I was to offer a petition to a monarch, of whose kindness and wisdom I have the highest opinion. In such a case, my language would be, I wish you to bestow on me such a favour: but your majesty knows better than I how far it would be agreeable to you, or right in itself, to grant my desire. I therefore content myself with humbly presenting my petition, and leave the event of it entirely to you.

A gentlewoman at Lambeth (if I mistake not, her name is B——e) being lately asked to read some of W——y's Arminian tracts, answered thus; "I have not yet done with the Bible: when I have thrown aside the Bible, I will read Mr. W——y."

Told me, at Knightsbridge, by Mr. Petty, in June, 1777.

The late Dr. Guyse lost his eye-sight in the pulpit, while he was in his prayer before sermon. Having finished his prayer, he was, consequently, forced to make no use of his written papers, but to preach without notes.—As he was led out of the Meeting, after service was over, he could not help lamenting his sudden and total blindness. A good old gentlewoman who heard him deplore his loss, answered him, "God be praised that your sight is gone. I never heard you preach so powerful a sermon in my life. Now we shall have no more notes. I wish, for my own part, that the Lord had took away your eye-sight twenty years ago, for your ministry would have been more useful by twenty degrees.

The truths of the gospel are to be introduced with discretion and propriety.—A person once harangued on the strength of Samson: "I affirm," said he, "that this same Samson was the strongest man that ever did or ever will live in the world." "I deny it," replied one of the company: "yourself are stronger than he."—"How do you make out that?"—"Because you

just now lugged him in by head and shoulders."

The duke of Alva having given some prisoners their lives, they afterwards petitioned him for some food. His answer was, that "he would grant them life, but no meat." And they were famished to death.
Fuller's Worthies, Part III. p. 39.

The deniers of final perseverance represent the Deity in a similar view. "God promises eternal life to the saints, if they endure to the end:" but he will not, according to this wretched Arminian doctrine, secure to them the continuance of that grace, without which, eternal life cannot be had!

Mr. Hervey was once travelling in a stage-coach with a lady who was totally immersed in dissipation, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life. "I have comfort," said she, "before my pleasurable plans take place, and when they do take place, and after they have taken place. I expect them with satisfaction, I enjoy them with high gratification, and I reflect on them with happiness when they are past." "You have forgot to mention one comfort, madam, (replied Mr. Hervey,) which such a life is productive of." "How so?" answered the lady. "I have specified the pleasures I receive before the time, at the time, and after the time: and surely I cannot have made any omission." "Yes: you have forgot the principal joy of all: viz. the comfort which the review of these things will give you on your death-bed." The lady was struck: and growing serious, from that time forward she became an eminent Christian.
Told me at Broad Hembury, March 15, 1775, by good Mr. Pitts, of Chard.

Similis, captain of the guards to Adrian, got leave to quit that emperor's service, and spent the last seven years of his life in rural retirement. At his death, he ordered the following inscription on his tomb: "Here lies Similis, who lived but seven years, though he died at sixty-seven."

Our true age, and our real life, are to be dated from the time of our abstraction from the world, and of our conversion to God.

One time, when I was at Glastonbury, I went to see the Torr, which is a tower seated on the top of a very high hill. The ascent was so steep that I was forced in some places to climb up on my hands and knees. Would we enjoy God's presence? We must (through the efficacy of his influence) use our hands and knees, i. e. we must be found in the way of obedience, humility, and prayer.

A person was preaching in Norfolk some time ago, and, among other observations, made the following: "If king George was to come and knock at your doors, you would all strive who should let him in first: why do not you, with at least equal readiness, let Christ into your hearts?" One of his auditory took occasion to ask him when sermon was over, "What if king George should knock at the door of a house in which all the people were dead? Who, I wonder, would rise and let in the king then?"

There are merit-mongers among the most abandoned sinners.—Two women were some time since admitted into the Lock Hospital, in order to be cured of a very criminal disease. Mr. Madan, who visited them during their confinement, laboured to convince them of their sin and spiritual danger. "Truly," said one of them, "I am by no means so bad as some of my profession are; for I never picked any man's pocket in my life."—The other said, "I cannot affirm that I never picked a man's pocket; but I have this in my favour, that I never admitted any man into my company on a Sunday until after nine at night."

When captain David Gam fell in the battle of Azincourt, king Henry V. knighted him as he was expiring on the ground.—What are all earthly distinctions but honours conferred on dying men.—And what superior glory does Christ confer on his expiring saints! He crowns them kings in the very article of death.

A good woman (Mrs. Whitby, of Columpton) said, when under great bodily pain, "God has an end to answer by every afflicting dispensation; and until God's end is answered, I would not wish this affliction to be withdrawn."

Aug. 18, 1769, Dr. G——— told me that some years ago, when he had been for a long time together under great darkness of soul, he was complaining to good Mr. Walker, Truro, that "he could compare himself to nothing else but to a raven, an unclean bird, bringing bread and flesh to God's people without tasting any himself."—To which Mr. Walker answered, "Be contented and thankful that the Lord makes you a feeder of his heritage."—"Ah, but," added the doctor, "it seems hard to act merely as a cook, and serve up rich provision for others, while I myself am famishing."—Mr. Walker rejoined, "Nay, but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God?"

Mr. Fox, the martyrologist, tells us of one Mr. Crow, an English seaman, who, being shipwrecked, lost all his property, and was obliged, when shifting for his own life, to throw what little money he had, which

was five pounds, into the sea. But he would not part with his New Testament: and therefore, having tied it round his neck, he committed himself to a broken mast; on which, having floated for four days, he was at last discovered and taken up alive; all the rest of the ship's crew being drowned.

Some time since, I was reading of a good woman who, being on her death bed, was asked Whether she wished to live or die? "I desire," said she, "to have no wish about the matter; except it be, that the Lord may perform his own will." But, replied the person, which would you choose if the Lord was to refer it to yourself? "Why truly," rejoined she, "I should in that case beg leave to refer it back to him again!"

Archbishop Williams once said to a friend of his, "I have passed through many places of honour and trust, both in church and state; more than any, of my order, in England, these seventy years before: yet, were I but assured that by my preaching, I had converted but one soul to God, I should take therein more spiritual joy and comfort than in all the honours and offices which have been bestowed upon me."

The old duke of Bedford (grandfather of the late duke) used to say, "I consider the prayers of God's ministers and people as the best walls round my house."

Told me at Woburn by Mr. R. Oct. 12, 1775.

Mr. Winter was lately in company with an Arminian who ran out violently against the doctrine of election. "You believe election," said Mr. Winter, "as firmly as I do." "I deny it," answered the other: "on the contrary, it is a doctrine I detest." "Do you believe that all men will be saved, in the last day, or only some?" Only some. "Do you imagine that those some will be found to have saved themselves?" No certainly; God in Christ is the only Saviour of sinners. "But God could have saved the rest, could he not?" No doubt. "Then salvation is peculiar to the saved?" To be sure. "And God saves them designedly, and not against his will?" Certainly. "And willingly suffers the rest to perish, though he could easily have hindered it?" It should seem so. "Then is not this election?" It amounts to much the same thing.

Mr. John Bunyan having preached one day with particular warmth and enlargement, some of his friends, after service was over, took him by the hand, and could not help observing what a sweet sermon he had delivered: "Aye," said the good man, "you need not remind me of that, for the devil told me of it before I was out of the pulpit."

The late Dr. Grosvenor, being at the funeral of Dr. Watts, a friend said to him, "Well, Dr. Grosvenor, you have seen the end of Dr. Watts, and you will soon follow; what think you of death?" "Think of it," replied the doctor, "why, when death comes, I shall smile upon death, if God smiles upon me."

Told me by Mr. Ryland, July 11, 1769.

The late Lady Stormont, sen., mother of the present Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, upon being complimented by another lady, that "she had the three finest sons in Scotland to be proud of; made answer, "No, madam; I have much to be thankful for, but nothing to be proud of."

Told me by Lady Grierson, at London, this day, January 10th, 1776.

When Thales was young, his mother asked him why he did not marry? "It is too early," answered the philosopher. When he was advanced in years, the good woman repeated her question; to which he answered, "I am now too old." So Satan is perpetually suggesting that it is either too soon or too late to return to God

A Persian king, willing to oblige two of his courtiers, gave to one a golden cup, and to the other a kiss; and he that had the former complained to the king that his fellow's kiss was more to be valued than his golden cup. Christ does not put off his people with the golden cup; but he gives them his kiss, which is infinitely better. He gives his best gifts to his best beloved ones; he gives his best love, his best joy, his best peace, his best mercies.

Some of Mr. Thomas Jones's last words [*viz.* he who was chaplain of St. Saviour's, Southwark] were, "A sinner saved, a sinner saved!" Similar will be the everlasting song of the saints, in heaven itself.

Mr. Richard Baxter, when on his death-bed, was visited by a friend, who reminded him of the glory to which he was going, and that his many good works would attend him into a better state. The old gentleman, lifting up his dying hand, and waving it, replied, "Do not talk to me about works, alas! I have dealt too much in them already."

Mrs. Romaine was last week in company with a clergyman, at Tiverton, who ran out with no little zeal against what he called "irresistible grace;" alleging that "such grace would be quite incompatible with free-will." Not at all so, answered Mrs. Romaine; grace operates effectually, yet not coercively. The wills of God's people are drawn to him and divine things, just as your will would be drawn to a bishoprick, if you had the offer of it.

Told me at Broad Hembury, by Mr. Romaine, Sept. 18, 1773.

A gentlewoman went some time ago, to hear Dr. F—— preach, and, as is usual among Dissenters, carried a pocket-bible with her, that she might turn to any passages the preacher might happen to refer to. But she found she had no use for her Bible there; and, on coming away, said to a friend, "I should have left my Bible at home to-day, and have brought my dictionary. The doctor does not deal in Scripture, but in such learned words and phrases as require the help of an interpreter to render them intelligible."

Edward the Black Prince, having conquered and taken prisoner king John of France, nobly condescended to wait on his royal captive the same night, at supper. Christ, having first subdued his people by his grace, waits on them afterwards to their lives' end.

Mr. Dod, being at Holmby-house, and being invited by an honourable personage to see that stately building erected by Sir Christopher Hatton; he desired to be excused, and to sit still, looking on a flower which he held in his hand: "For," said he, "I see more of God in this flower than in all the beautiful edifices in the world."

Dr. Gill was preaching, some years ago, on the natural depravity and spiritual inability of man. A gentleman who heard the sermon was greatly offended; and, taking an opportunity some time after, calling on the doctor, told him that, in his opinion, he had degraded that noble being, man, and laid him much too low. "Pray, sir," answered the doctor, "how much do you think can men contribute towards their own conversion and salvation?" Man can do such and such things, replied the gentleman; reckoning up a whole string of free-will abilities. "And have you done all this for yourself?" said the doctor. "Why no, I cannot say I have yet, but I hope I shall begin soon. "If you really have these things in your power," replied the doctor, "and have not done them for yourself, you deserve to be doubly damned, and are but ill qualified to stand up for that imaginary free-will which, according to your own confession, has done you so little good. However, after you have made yourself spiritually whole (if ever you find yourself able to do it), be kind enough to come and let me know how you went about it; for at present I know but of one remedy for human depravation, namely, the efficacious grace of Him who worketh in men both to will and to do of his own good pleasure."

Dr. Gill, preaching a charity sermon, some years since, concluded thus: "Here are present, I doubt not, persons of divided sentiments; some believing in free-will, and some in free grace. Those of you who are free-willers and merit-mongers, will give to this collection of course, for the sake of what you suppose you will get by it. Those of you on the other hand, who expect salvation by grace alone, will contribute to the present charity out of love and gratitude to God. So between free-will and free grace I hope we shall have a good collection."

A person called some time ago on Mr. Romaine, and complained of being grievously distressed and bowed down in soul, without one ray of comfort from God. Mr. Romaine's answer was, "Do you think, then, that no persons go to heaven but those that have comforts?"

Told me by Mr. Willett, Nov. 14, 1769.

The Virgin Mary is applied to by Papists as the giver of children. I should rather have thought them more consistent if they considered her as the patroness of maids and bachelors.

Euclid (the disciple of Socrates) having offended a brother of his, the brother cried out in a rage, "Let me die, if I am not revenged on you, one time or other." To whom Euclid replied, with a sweetness next to Christian, "And let me die, if I do not soften you by my kindnesses and make you love me as well as ever."

The learned Salmasius said, when on his death bed, "Oh, I have lost a world of time! If one year more was to be added to my life, it should be spent in David's Psalms and Paul's Epistles."

A friend of Mr. Dod's being raised from a mean estate to much worldly greatness, Mr. Dod sent him word that "This was but like going out of a boat into a ship; and he should remember that, while he was in the world, he was still on the sea."

Good Mrs. Wicks of Cambridge, when on her dying bed requested her family to pray that God would stay his hand: "I am so full of consolation," said she, "that the frail vessel of my heart can hold no more. I cannot sustain the divine manifestations with which I am favoured. Beg of the Lord to moderate them until I get out of the body."

A little before her departure she said, "All the promises that, during the time of my pilgrimage below have been sent home to my soul at different seasons, are now given me together in a cluster.

Told me by her daughter, Mrs. G. sen., September 19, 1769.

Mr. Hervey, being in company with a person who was paying him some compliments on account of his writings, replied, laying his hand on his breast, "O, sir,

you would not strike the sparks of applause, if you knew how much corrupt tinder I have within."

The Rev. Mr. Cochlan asking a lady, in the neighbourhood of Norwich, "Whether she knew anything of Christ?" She answered, "Yes, sir; I remember that I once saw his picture."

Told me at Norwich, by Mr. Cochlan, April 5, 1776.

A gentleman having lost a favourite son, said, when some friends offered their condolences, "I would be content, was it possible, to lose a son every day in the year, might I but be favoured with such manifestations of God's presence and love as I have experienced on the present occasion."

Told me by Dr. Gifford, Sep. 22, 1769.

Mr. Grimshaw (of Yorkshire), a little before he expired, said to Mr. Venn, "I am as happy as it is possible for me to be on earth; and am as certain of my salvation as if I was already in heaven."

A martyr was asked, whether he did not love his wife and children who stood weeping by him? "Love them? yes," said he, "if all the world were gold, and at my disposal, I would give it all for the satisfaction of living with them, though it were in a prison. Yet, in comparison of Christ, I love them not."

Bromiardus mentions an apprentice who had served a hard master, by whom he had often been severely beaten. These blows and rigorous treatment the Lord made a means of the young man's conversion.—Sometime after, lying on his death-bed, he got hold of his master's hands (who stood by), and kissing them said, *Hæ manus perduxerunt me ad paradisum, i. e.* "These hands have been instrumental in bringing me to heaven."

Good old Mr. Peter Higgins, who lately departed to glory, dwelt much in the light of God's countenance, and walked in the full assurance of faith. Being asked whether he had any doubt of his salvation? He answered in his plain simple manner; "I was bargained for in eternity, and the price of my redemption was paid above 1700 years ago; then why should I doubt? I have nothing left to doubt of."

Luther had this passage in his last will and testament: "Lord God, I thank thee for that thou hast been pleased to make me a poor and indigent man upon earth. I have neither house, nor land, nor money to leave behind me. Thou hast given me wife and children: whom I now restore to thee. Lord, nourish, teach, and preserve them, as thou hast me."

Mr. Fisher, of Norwich, being some time ago dangerously ill, and recovering again, said to a friend, "I have been in full view of the harbour, and, alas! am blown back again."

Told me by Dr. Hunt, of Norwich, Dec. 10, 1769.

"I know myself to be a child of God, and an heir of glory," said Mr. Hart, on his death-bed; adding, "Judas was lost, that the Scripture might be fulfilled; but the Scripture would not be fulfilled, if I should not be saved."

The famous Mr. Bulstrode Whitlock, (Lord Chancellor, ambassador to Sweden, and historian,) used to say, after his retirement from the world and from public business, "My religion is, to have the good Spirit of God in my heart."

Paulinus, when they told him that the Goths had sacked Nola, and plundered him of all that he had, lifted up his eyes to heaven, and said, "Lord, thou knowest where I have laid up my treasure."

To say that a man, now in a state of grace, may hereafter perish eternally, is to say that God serves his saints as Edward IV. served the bastard of Falconbridge. Edward first pardoned him, and then cut off his head.

In returning from St. Nicholas' church, Bristol, where I preached this afternoon, lady Huntingdon said to me, "You have dressed the Pharisees to purpose."—I answered, "My wish, madam, is not to dress them, but to undress them."

Henry I. made the length of his own arm a standard measure (since called a yard) throughout England. Do not bigots act much the same part in matters of religion?

Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, after the defeat and flight of his army, being himself taken captive by the enemy, was asked, how he did? His answer was, "Never better. While I had all my army about me, I could find but little time to think on God: whereas now, being stripped of all earthly dependencies, I think on God alone, and betake myself wholly to his providence."

A good woman, in much pain of body, lately said, "Though I groan, I do not grumble."

"I had rather do the least truly good work," said Luther, "than obtain all the conquests of Cæsar and Alexander."

Anaxagoras, the Ionian, being asked to what end he was born, replied, "To contemplate the sun, moon, and skies."—Had he been a Christian, he would have answered, "To glorify God, and to be glorified by him."

A painter, going to take the picture of Helena, finding himself not able to draw her

beauty to the life, drew her covered with a vail.——Much more, when we speak of God's excellencies, must we draw a vail

A good man, who died some years ago at Cambridge, said, in his last hour, "I used to fear the river of death; I thought it deep, but I find it shallow: and it is no burden to me to go over."

Some of Dr. Doddridge's last words were "The best prayer I ever offered up in my life deserves damnation."

Told me by Mr. Ryland, at London, June, 1774.

Doctor Cotton Mather, on his death-bed, expressed himself thus: "I am not afraid to die: if I was, I should disgrace my Saviour. I am in his hand, where no ill can befal me."

A certain philosopher once asked a Christian, "Where is God?"—The Christian answered, "Let me first ask of you, Where he is not?"

A certain Jew had formed a design to poison Luther: but he was happily disappointed, by a faithful friend, who sent Luther a picture of the man, with a warning to take heed of such a person when he saw him. By this Luther knew the murderer, and escaped his hands.—Thus the word of God, O Christian, shews thee the face of those lusts which Satan employs to butcher thy comforts and poison thy soul. Hereby, saith David "is thy servant warned," Psalm xix. 11

The Rev. Mr. William Law, who was a professed and very able mystic, and who had gone great lengths in asserting the anti-christian doctrine of justification by works; was, so far as concerns that article, brought to a better mind by the grace of God before he was taken hence. Being on his death-bed, and the turn of the conversation leading him to speak about confidence in good works, he delivered himself in these words, a very short time before he expired: "Away with those filthy rags! A fire is now kindled in my soul" [laying his hand to his breast], "which shall burn, to the praise of Jesus Christ, to all eternity."

Good Mr. Wilcox [author of "A Word to Saints and Sinners,"] used to wish, if it were God's will, that his death might be sudden: and the Lord gave him his desire. His usual saying was, "Sudden death, sudden glory." Which words were his epitaph on his tomb in Bunhill Fields.

One Mr. Barber (an ancestor of that Mr. Barber who, about the year 1720, officiated as minister of a dissenting congregation at Burntwood in Essex), being a Protestant, was, in the reign of bloody Queen Mary, condemned to the flames. The morning of execution arrived The intended martyr walked to Smithfield, and was bound to the stake. The faggots were piled round him, and the executioner only waited for the word of command to apply the torch. Just in this crisis tidings came of the Queen's death; which obliged the officers to stop their proceedings, and respite the prisoner's sentence until the pleasure of the new Queen [Elizabeth] should be known.

In memory of so providential a deliverance, by which the good man was literally as a brand plucked from the burning; he was no sooner released from his imprisonment and troubles than he had a picture made of Queen Elizabeth, decorated round with significant ornaments: and ordered in his will that the picture should be transmitted down for a memorial to future times, in the eldest branch of his family; where (says Mr. Whiston, from whom the above account is extracted), it is preserved to this day. See Whiston's Memoirs, vol. i. page 295.

The late Duke of Newcastle (*viz.* the old Whig Duke), had been the instrument of making more bishops than any other courtier of that time. On his being discarded by a succeeding sovereign, it was remarked to his grace, by a nobleman who was intimate with him, that "all his bishops except one" [*viz.* Dr. Johnson, late bishop of Worcester], "had forsaken his levee." To whom the duke answered, "I do not wonder at it, my lord: for of all people in the world, no men are so apt to forget their Maker as the bishops." How smart! (but at the same time how palpably unjust) was the prophane remark!

Mr. Dodd having preached from that text, "O woman, great is thy faith, be it unto thee even as thou wilt;" he afterwards told some women who were at dinner with him, "It is an usual saying, let a woman have her will, and she will be quiet. Now, the certain way for a woman to have her will, is to have a strong faith, and to pray as the woman did in the gospel."

Aristides, a professed heathen, would lend but one ear to any one who accused an absent party, and used to hold his hand on the other; intimating, that he reserved an ear for the party accused.

See Mrs. Sarah Wight's Experience, page 68.

In the late war between Russia and the Porte, a small fleet of the former was met in the Black Sea by a much larger one belonging to the latter. The Turkish commander, observing his own superiority, sent a polite message or summons to the Russian,

advising him to surrender, since all resistance would be rash and fruitless. To which the gallant officer made this reply: "That surrendering was not in his commission, but fighting; and that he might come on as fast as he pleased, for he was ready for him." This resolute answer being seconded by a suitable conduct, the Turkish fleet, after a short but smart engagement, was obliged to sheer off with loss. Christian reader, an useful animating hint to you and me; let us go and do likewise. James iv. 7. 1 Tim. vi. 12.

In the reign of Charles II. one Blood attempted to steal the crown; and, instead of being hanged for it, had a pension settled upon him by that prince.

Naturally, we are all crown stealers. We rob God of the glory, freeness, and unchangeableness of his decrees; we are for robbing Christ, as much as in us lies, of the praise of our salvation; and rob the Spirit of his efficacy, by exalting our own free-will. Yet many rebels who have done this, many who have done all they could to uncrown and dethrone the whole Trinity, are endued afterwards with grace, and made partakers of God's kingdom.

I have heard of a man who, being in Wales, went, out of mere whim, to hear a Welsh sermon. He did not understand a single sentence that was spoken: and yet the power of God's Spirit was so eminently present that the man was converted under that discourse. Can there be a stronger proof that the work of conversion is the work of God only?

In the last century an Asiatic Jew, named Sabbatei-Sevi, pretended to be the Messiah, and to work miracles. Being brought before the Turkish emperor, that prince told him, "he would have him stripped naked, and shot at with arrows; and if he proved invulnerable, he would acknowledge him for the person he pretended to be." The impostor fell on his knees, and begged he might not be put to so violent a test. Arminianism professes itself to be the true system. But stripped and shot at with the arrows of reason and God's word it soon appears to be an imposture.

Sometimes there were more kings than one at Sparta, who governed by joint authority. A king was occasionally sent to some neighbouring state in character of a Spartan ambassador. Did he, when so sent, cease to be a king of Sparta because he was also an ambassador? No: he did not divest himself of his regal dignity; but only added to it that of public deputation. So Christ, in becoming man, did not cease to be God: but, though he ever was and still continued to be king of the whole creation, acted as the voluntary servant and messenger of the Father.

The late elector and bishop of Cologne was particularly addicted to hunting, and kept a great number of fine horses and excellent dogs. An intimate friend took the freedom, one day, to represent to him "that it was rather unbecoming a bishop to devote so much of his time and affection and revenues to the sports of the field."—"I hunt" (replied the elector), "not as bishop, but as prince, of Cologne."—"Be it so" (rejoined his friend): "but if the prince should break his neck, what would become of the bishop?"

I would give this hint a farther improvement. If a professing minister of Christ should go to hell, what would become of the man?

A gentlewoman, who lived a little way out of Brighthelmstone, dreamed, that a tall lady, dressed in such and such a manner, would come to that town, and be an instrument of doing much good.—About three years after this dream, lady Huntingdon went down thither (on account of her younger son's health, who was ordered by his physicans to bathe in the sea). One day her ladyship met this gentlewoman in the street; who, seeing the countess, made a full stop, and said, "O madam, you are come!"——Lady H. was surprized at the oddity of such an address from an absolute stranger, and thought at first that the woman was not in her senses. What do you know of me? said the countess.—"Madam," returned the former, "I saw you, in a dream, three years ago, drest just as you now are:" and related the whole of what she had dreamed.—This very person was, in consequence of this acquaintance with lady H., converted in a few weeks; and died in the triumph of faith about a year after.—The result of lady Huntingdon's visit to Brighthelmstone was the founding of that chapel there which has been since blest to the conversion of so many souls.

Told me, by lady Huntingdon, at Trevecka, this evening, August 30, 1776.

Our Henry IV. used to keep his crown by him on his bolster, while he slept. Being once very ill, and falling into a deep sleep, his attendants supposed him dead: on which his eldest son came and took the crown away. The king, waking, unexpectedly missed his crown, and enquired what was become of it: when his son brought it again, and restored it on his bended knee.

Man is, by nature, in a deep sleep; a sleep of spiritual insensibility and death. He knows not that the crown is fallen from his head: but when awakened by the spirit

of God, he at once misses his crown, and enquires after it at the throne of grace. And, as surely as he feels his loss of it, and beseeches God to restore it, so surely shall it be given him again.

The late lord Huntingdon (who was remarkable for having hardly ever dreamt in his life) dreamed one night that death, in the appearance of a skeleton, stood at the bed's foot; and after standing a while, untucked the bed-clothes, at the bottom, and crept up to the top of the bed (under the clothes) and lay between him and his lady. His lordship told his dream, in the morning, to the countess; who affected to make light of it: but the earl died in about a fortnight after.

Told me, by the countess, at Rumford, Essex, April 12, 1776.

It was, this evening, after preaching at St. Bride's, in company with one Mr. Richards: who, in the course of the conversation, told me that, some years ago, when he was under his first awakenings, and had but an imperfect view of the gospel plan, he had been, for a considerable time, exercised with various doubts concerning the absolute freeness of salvation: his unbelief perpetually suggesting that he must do something as a condition of justification. While in this state of embarrassment and legal distress, he dreamed one night that he was in company with Mary Magdalen; and that she addressed him to this effect: You are in doubt whether salvation is absolutely free. Look at me. Consider my case. And then doubt the absolute freeness of salvation if you can. This dream had so happy an effect, that Mr. Richards waked perfectly satisfied about this great point; and has not had a doubt concerning it since. London, Dec. 31, 1775.

Zeuxis is said to have painted a picture of an old woman so very humorously that, when finished, it threw him into such an excessive fit of laughter as proved his death. —How many pharisees have fallen in love with their own supposed works of righteousness (as Narcissus with himself), and descended to everlasting death amid all the false complacency of self-admiration! See Isa. l. 11.

A fellow traveller of mine (one Mr. Fry), with whom I went last month through Dorsetshire, and who has been several voyages to China, told me of a people called Lascars [by a slight transposition, rascals], who are extraordinary good seamen in fine weather and out of an engagement: but if once a storm arises, or the vessel is attacked by an enemy, down these Lascars go into the hold, and under the hatches; and will suffer themselves to be sunk, killed, or taken, rather than either fight or work the ship. No threats or entreaties will induce them.—Such are half the professors of the Christian name.

Broad Hembury, Aug. 18, 1770.

Mr. Ohm (born near Riga) told me today, that he loves England better than his native country, because he had only his natural birth there; whereas here he was born again of the Holy Ghost.

London, July 13, 1776.

Mr. Chorlton, who returned to town from the North last night, called on me this morning (Oct. 25, 1769), and told me that he has reason to think that his ministry has been blest to awakening his aged father. Preaching very lately on Ezekiel xxxvii. 9. the old man was so affected under his son's discourse as to acknowledge, with tears, "I have been eighty-six years in the world; and have never lived to God a moment of the time."—Thus grace can make a father the spiritual son of his own child!

Mr. Heard very lately heard Dr. M—— preach. Afterwards, the doctor asked him how he liked his sermon? "Like it," said Mr. Heard, "why, sir, I have liked and admired it these twenty years." The doctor stared. "Upon that shelf," added Mr. H. "you will find it verbatim. Mr. Boehm was an excellent preacher."

Told me by Mr. Heard, Oct. 1769.

My friend Heard is a bookseller: and booksellers are, sometimes, dangerous hearers when a preacher deals in borrowed sermons.

My friend, Mr. Thomas Walsh, who died in the year 1759, had been, during his health, a great asserter of free-will and perfection. In his last illness (which was a very long one) I saw him frequently. It was hardly possible for any created being to suffer, on this side eternity, more pain of body, or more dreadful darkness and distress of soul. His bowels literally came away from him by piece-meal. And the Lord did not give him so much as one ray of spiritual comfort, for eight or nine months. He was indeed led through a most tremendous wilderness of horrors. In this awful and disconsolate state (though he had, for many years before, been favoured with assurance of interest in Christ) he continued until about half a minute before his death. All was darkness, even darkness that might be felt. "I now feel," said he, "the truth of our Lord's words, without me ye can do nothing." But just before he expired the Holy Ghost shined in upon his soul. His last words were, "He is come, he is come, he is come! My beloved is mine, and I am his."

There is a remarkable fish, called the

torpedo, which the moment it touches the bait communicates such a numbness to the fisherman's arm who holds the rod, that he has hardly any command of it.—What the torpedo is to the fisher, that the world is to a child of God.

I have read of a great commander who, being extremely tormented with thirst, sold himself and his army into the enemies' hands for a draught of cold water: which when he had drunk, he repented, and said, "*O quantum ob quantillum!*" *i. e.* "How very little is that for which I have parted with so very much!"

Believers may adopt the same words, though in a far different sense: "Oh, how much grace and happiness have I got, by a little thirsting, a little trusting in Jesus Christ!"

Mr. Chastanier was some years ago in great temporal difficulties and distresses. One night, falling a sleep with a heavy heart, he dreamt that he was walking over a very rough country, exceedingly fatigued. At last his progress was stopped by a wide river whose waves were agitated by a violent storm. Pass over it he must; but how he knew not. After walking up and down the side of the boisterous stream, in hope of being able to find a fordable place, he at last discovered a very old and battered boat, with a grave man sitting in it, who said to him, "Young man, you are in great distress about passing this river: step into this boat, and I will engage to convey you safely over." In he accordingly went. The stream immediately grew smooth and placid, and they got soon and safe to the other side. On quitting the boat he thought he turned and looked very earnestly on the person that had done him this kindness; and it struck him that it must be Christ. "Lord," said he, "is it thou?"—"Yes," answered his friend, "it is I: and be of good cheer, for I will never leave thee nor forsake thee."—On waking it was so impressed upon his mind that the boat was emblematic of his faith; which, for a considerable time before, had been very weak and battered indeed.—Soon after, Divine Providence gave a prosperous turn to his affairs.

Told me, by Mr. Chastanier himself, at London this day, May 11, 1776.

The famous Dr. Manton was appointed, on some public occasion, to preach before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London. His sermon was learned, ingenious, and eloquent. As he was returning home, a plain old gentleman pulled him by the coat, and desired to speak with him. The doctor stopt, and the stranger began: "I was one of your auditory to-day: I went to be fed with the gospel as usual; but have returned empty. Dr. Manton was not Dr. Manton this morning. There was indeed much of the doctor, of the florid and learned man, in the discourse; but little or nothing of Jesus Christ: it was, in short, no sermon to me."—"Sir," answered the doctor, "if I have not preached to you, you have now preached a good sermon to me: such as, I trust, I shall never forget, but be the better for as long as I live."

Told me by Dr. Gifford, Oct. 21, 1769.

During the Auto-de-Fé's at Lisbon, the priests, who attended, used to chaunt a number of psalms, which occasioned the following remark of Voltaire, in the character of a Jew; "These pretended Christians add to their hardship of our presecution, by singing our own psalms while they are burning us to death."—May not the observation be accommodated to those base professors, or rather, disgracers, of the Christian name, who confess Christ with their mouths, and, as far as in them lies, put him to open shame in their practice?

Mr. Northcote's uncle served, as an officer under king William, at the battle of Landen, in 1693; when the English and Confederates, being overpowered by numbers, were forced to retreat: at which time, my friend's gallant kinsman above-mentioned, forded the river (the river Geet, if I mistake not) with his bible in one hand, and his drawn sword in the other.—In much such a manner do the faithful ministers of God pass through life.

Told me, by Mr. Northcote, at Broad Hembury, August 17, 1770.

Zeuxis painted some grapes in so natural a manner that the birds flew to the picture, and pecked at the fruit. What are the pleasures of sin, but painted grapes, which, beheld through the delusive medium of Satan's colouring, appear to be real, while, in fact, they are empty and void and waste?

Lady Huntingdon, being once at Tunbridge, asked a poor man's daughter, "whether she took any thought for her soul?" The young woman answered, "I never knew that I had a soul." "Bid your mother call on me to-day," replied the countess. When the old woman came, my lady said to her, "How is it that your daughter is sixteen years of age, and does not know that she has a soul?" The woman answered, "In troth, my lady, I have so much care upon me, to find my daughter in food and clothes for her body, that I have no time to talk to her about her soul."

Told me, by Lady Huntingdon, at Norwich, April 5, 1776.

To the above instance, I add two others, which occurred to me myself; and both at Blagdon, in Somersetshire, which was my

first curacy. Old farmer Vouls once said to me, "Sir, you preach about faith, and say a great deal concerning it: pray, what is faith?" I answered, "What is your idea of it?" He replied, "I suppose it to be the ten commandments."

Old Mr. Robert Clarke, on my mentioning to him (in his last sickness) the necessity of the Holy Ghost's influence, answered, "I suppose, sir, that the Holy Ghost was a good man who lived a great while ago."

When Dr. Gill first wrote against Dr. Abraham Taylor, some friends of the latter called on the former, and dissuaded him from going on; urging, among other things, that Gill would lose the esteem, and of course, the subscriptions, of some wealthy persons who were Taylor's friends. "Do not tell me of losing," said Gill; "I value nothing in comparison of gospel-truths. I am not afraid to be poor."

Told me by Mr. Ryland.

King Darius (in a message to Alexander the Great) is said to have styled himself "brother to the sun and moon, and partner with the stars." Yet were these swelling words of vanity downright humility, when compared with the spiritual madness and pride of those who, trusting in their own righteousness, set themselves up for partners and coadjutors with the Son of God in the business of justification.

Lady Huntingdon once asking another lady, in Leicestershire, "Whether she knew who it was that redeemed her?" received for answer, "Yes, madam, I know very well who it was that redeemed me: it was Pontius Pilate."

Told me by Lady Huntingdon, at Norwich, April 5, 1776.

MR. CHRISTOPHER LOVE'S PROPHECY.

[Communicated to me at London, this day, Dec. 23, 1775, by Dr. Gifford.]

*** How far the predictions are just I cannot take upon me to say; but I insert them here, on account of their being very remarkable, and the production of so sensible and devout a man as Mr. Love.

"A short work of the Lord's in the latter age of the world. Great earthquakes, and commotions by sea and land, shall be the year 1779.

"Great wars in Germany and America, 1780.

"The destruction of Popery, or Babylon's fall, in 1790.

"God will be known by many, in 1795. This will produce a great man.

"The stars will wander, and the moon turn as blood, in 1800. Africa, Asia, and America, will tremble in 1803.

"A great earthquake over the whole world, in 1805.

"God will be universally known by all. Then general reformation, and peace for ever. The people shall learn war no more. Happy is the man that liveth to see this day.

Omnia penes Deum.

OMENS,

Or, at least, incidents which carry that appearance, are not always regardable. The gallant Epaminondas, a little before the battle of Leuctra, on being told that several inauspicious omens seemed to portend bad success nobly answered, in a celebrated verse of Homer, Ἑνὶ οἰωνὸς ἀριστος ἀμυνεσθαι περὶ πατρὶς: *i. e.* The best omen we can have is to fight manfully for our country When William the Norman, commonly termed William the Conqueror, was landing on the Sussex coast, his foot slipped, and he fell to the ground. One of his soldiers gave the incident a very courtly turn, by crying out with a loud voice, "Joy to you, sir! you have already taken possession of England." A short time after, when the same prince was arming himself for the battle of Hastings, he perceived that, in his hurry, he had put on his coat of mail the lower side uppermost: but, instead of shewing any symptoms of superstitious discouragement, he cheerfully said to his attendants, "By this I prognosticate that my dukedom is turned into a kingdom. Julius Cæsar (if I rightly remember the person) is reported to have fallen, in landing on the shore of Africa: and, lest his followers should be disheartened by so unfavourable a beginning, he turned it off with saying, "thus, Africa, do I embrace thee." When our King William III., while Prince of Orange, sailed the first time with a large Dutch fleet, to restore the the church and the civil constitution of England to a state of safety and vigour, the commencement of that important expedition was accompanied by some very unpromising circumstances. A violent storm arose, which dissipated the whole fleet, and drove the shattered ships into various harbours. William, though by no means exempt from superstitious feelings, yet was not disanimated by this disaster. The dispersed vessels were re-collected, and refitted. He ventured to sea again. Scarce had he made the coast of Devonshire when a contrary wind put his firmness once more to the trial. A council was held, and several expedients were proposed. It was even deliberated whether it might not be prudent to steer back for Holland. But *flebile*

principium melior fortuna secuta est. In the very crisis, that God, whom every element obeys, commanded the wind to shift; and a sudden unexpected gale from the south wafted the fleet, with all its precious freight, into Torbay. On this occasion, well might William (*p*) ask the Arminian Dr. Burnet (afterwards bishop of Salisbury), "Will you not now believe the doctrine of predestination?"

But though it be true that all omens are not worthy of observation, and though they should never be so regarded as to shock our fortitude, or diminish our confidence in God; still they are not to be constantly despised. Small incidents have sometimes been prelusive to great events; nor is there any superstition in noticing these apparent prognostications; though there may be much superstition in being either too indiscriminately, or too deeply, swayed by them.

A most singular chain of uncommon circumstances preceded the assassination of that excellent monarch, Hen. IV. of France. In the morning of the day on which he was murdered by Ravaillac (*viz.* Friday, May 14, 1610), his majesty was exceedingly pensive. In hope of composing his spirits, he threw himself on his bed, but was unable to rest. Thrice he rose; and thrice he fell on his knees in prayer. Soon after, repairing to the presence chamber, his attendants endeavoured to divert the melancholy which preyed so deeply on his mind. Being naturally amiable and cheerful, he tried to fall in with the well-meant pleasantry of his nobles, and attempted to smile; but concluded thus: "We have laughed enough for Friday; there will be weeping on Sunday."

His queen (Mary Medicis), had been crowned but the day before his murder. One La Brosse, a physician, is by some reported to have said to the Duke de Vendome, on the evening of that day, "If the king survives a mischief which threatens him at present, he will live these thirty years." The duke intreated the king to grant this physician an audience; and repeated what the old gentleman had been saying. His majesty with unusual asperity and hastiness replied, "He is an old fool for telling you such things; and you are a young fool if you believe him." The duke's rejoinder was firm, respectful, and sensible: "Sire, one ought not to believe such things, but one may fear them (*q*)." The same day, as the king and queen were walking through an apartment of the palace, the king stopped to speak with somebody present. The queen stopping at the same time, he said to her, as by a spirit of involuntary prophecy, *Passez, passez, madame la regente, i. e.,* "Go on, go on, madam the regent."

A few nights before the catastrophe, the queen dreamed that all the jewels in her crown were changed into pearls; and that she was told pearls were significative of tears. Another night, she started and cried out in her sleep, and waked the king: who asking her what was the matter? she answered, "I have had a frightful dream; but I know that dreams are mere illusions." "I was always of the same opinion," replied Henry, "however, tell me what your dream was." "I dreamed," continued she, "that you were stabbed with a knife under the short ribs." "Thank God," rejoined the king, "it was but a dream."

I have already noted that, on the morning of the fatal day, his majesty was unusually chagrined; and he said more than once, to those about him, "Something or other hangs very heavy on my heart." Before he went to his coach, he took leave of the queen no fewer than three times; and then stepping into his carriage, had not passed through many streets, ere Ravaillac gave him that fatal stab which deprived France of one of the most generous and humane sovereigns she ever had.

When Charles I. of England opened the civil war, by erecting his standard on Nottingham castle, it was soon blown down by a high wind; and the weather continued so boisterous that the standard could not be refixed for several days. Some years after, while the same calamitous prince was taking his trial before what was called the High Court of Justice, the silver head fell off from his cane; nor did the head of its owner remain many days longer upon his shoulders.

At the coronation of James II. the crown, not having been properly fitted to his head, was several times likely to have fallen off; which occasioned Mr. Henry Sidney (afterwards Earl of Romney), who was standing near the coronation chair, and who once prevented the crown from slipping, to remind the king, facetiously, "Sir, this is not the first time the Sidney family has supported the crown." On the same day, as James was walking under the canopy of state, it broke; and the royal arms, which occupied part of a painted window in one of

(*p*) See Burnet's History of his own Time, vol. i. p. 789. Folio.

(*q*) It is proper to apprise the reader that Bayle has endeavoured to shake the credit of this whole story about La Brosse and the Duke of Vendome. But I am still inclinable, for reasons too numerous to mention here, to question the decisiveness of the evidence he alleges. See his 3d volume, under the article of Henry IV.

the London churches, fell to the pavement (without any visible cause, and the rest of the window standing entire), and were dashed in pieces.

The Prince of Orange having landed in the west, James repaired to Salisbury, in order to review a part of the army on which he so vainly depended. Shortly after his arrival in that city, he was seized with a sudden bleeding at the nose; and a stone crown, which almost terminated the spire of the cathedral, was blown down by a sudden storm. The next day, when the review began, he was seized with a more violent bleeding of the nose than before; and it was not a little happy for this endangered nation, that a few spoonsfull of blood, spouting from the royal nostrils, were the only blood which the accomplishment of the ensuing revolution cost.

Let the reader observe, that I nakedly relate the above facts, without wishing to build any theory upon them, or to deduce from them any superstitious inferences.—It is, however, my own private opinion that absolutely to cashier all omens, without distinction or exception, would be to fly in the face of ancient and modern wisdom, as well as of ancient and modern history.

When Paulus Æmilius was appointed to the command of the forces designed against Persius, king of Macedon, the former, seeing his little daughter Tertia in tears, inquired the reason of her distress. The child, throwing her arms round his neck, answered, "that she was crying for the death of Persius;" which was the name of her favourite dog, who had just breathed his last. I cannot think that Æmilius discovered any mental weakness, in replying as follows: "An auspicious circumstance, my daughter! I embrace the favourable omen."

Before the incomparable Timoleon sailed on his glorious expedition to Sicily, he visited the oracle of Delphos, and sacrificed to Apollo. It was customary, at that place, for rich and religious visitants to leave some valuable or elegant donation behind them, which was thenceforward appropriated to decorate the walls or ceiling of the temple. One of the votive presents, which had been thus suspended, and which represented a triumphal wreath, suddenly fell from the place where it was fixed, directly on Timoleon's head. "So that," (says Plutarch) "Apollo himself seemed to crown the hero for his future triumphs."

Pyrrhus, the celebrated king of Epirus, had been forewarned, by an oracle, that, "When he should see a wolf and a bull engaged in fight, his death would quickly ensue." Many years after, he attempted to take the city of Argos by storm, and actually penetrated into the town. Among the consecrated statues which decorated the market-place were the figures, in brass, of a wolf and a bull in combat. The prediction immediately occurred to his mind, and filled him with all the gloom of anxious distress. He took off the regal diadem which adorned his helmet, that his person might not be noticed and exposed by so dangerous a distinction: when, in a few minutes, one of the meaner citizens pierced him in the breast with a spear. The wound being but slight, Pyrrhus turned with redoubled fury on his assailant; whose mother (a very old, and very poor woman), beholding from the top of a house the imminent peril her son was in, made shift, with the help of both hands, to hurl a massy tile on the head of Pyrrhus, who immediately sunk from his horse to the ground, where he was soon completely dispatched by some Argive soldiers that knew him.

The prophecy respecting Pyrrhus, reminds me of a similar one, recorded in our own English history. King Henry IV. had been told that he would finish his days at Jerusalem. He supposed the meaning of this prediction to be, that he was destined of God to emancipate the city of that name from the Turkish dominion, and should terminate his life there, amidst the flattering glories of conquest. But he received the omen of his death much nearer home. While paying his devotions at the shrine of Edward the Confessor, in Westminster Abbey, he was seized with his last illness, and borne thence to the abbot's apartments. On coming to himself, he asked where he was? "In the Jerusalem chamber, sir," replied his attendants. On which he recollected the intimation given him so long before, and resigned himself to his fate.

Many inauspicious portents ushered in and accompanied the terrible commotions which desolated Rome, under the conflicting interests of Marius and Sylla.

Mithridates, King of Pontus, had been long and remarkably successful in his efforts to stem the torrent of the Roman power. Being at Pergamus, the inhabitants of that city, desirous to pay him a very elegant compliment, contrived that a statue of victory, holding a triumphal crown in its hand, should (by pullies) descend over him as he sat, and deposit the crown on his head. Just as the image had almost reached him, it suddenly burst asunder into several pieces! and the crown falling likewise to the ground, strewed the area with its fragments. From that period, Mithridates' affairs began to

decline: though they had, until then, been signally flourishing and prosperous.

For my own part, I cannot smile at the prodigies and omens which are affirmed to have preceded the assassination of Julius Cæsar: nor even at the crows that fluttered at the outside of Cicero's chamber window (and one of which birds found its way into the room, and proved extremely troublesome), on the morning of the day in which he was murdered by Marc Anthony's soldiers.

Crassus's invasion of the Parthians (an invasion, the sole motives to which were lust of money and lust of power) was attended by various unfavourable symptoms, strongly pre-noting the loss of glory which should result to Rome, from that ill-concerted, unjust, and calamitous expedition. Two thunderbolts fell on the place which had been marked out for the army's encampment. A horse of Crassus's, sumptuously caparisoned, broke with sudden violence from the man who was holding him, and, plunging into the Euphrates, was no more seen or heard of. Part of a bridge which Crassus had thrown across that river was broke down by a storm: on which occasion he was so unguarded as to tell his troops that the loss of the bridge was no misfortune, for not one of them should go back again that way. This speech was deemed ominous by the army; and Crassus was advised, but in vain, to compose their apprehensions, by explaining himself in a favourable sense. At one of the last sacrifices, the priest, according to custom, offering the entrails of the victim to the general, he took them, and they fell from his hand: This comes, said he, laughingly, of my being an old man! but I will take care to grasp my sword sufficiently fast. On the morning of the day of battle, he appeared, not habited in scarlet, as was usual with the Roman generals, but (through inadvertency) in black. And it proved to him the blackest day he had ever seen: for it ended in the total ruin of the most rapacious and unprincipled man that then disgraced the Roman name.

Mr. Collins, in his "Peerage of England," relates, (*r*) concerning an Irish nobleman (an ancestor of the Kildare family), that being concerned in treasonable practices against king Henry VIII., himself and five of his sons were sent prisoners to England. The young gentlemen, in the course of their passage hither, enquired the name of the ship: and, on being informed that it was called the Cow, expressed a dread of the consequence; a prediction having formerly been current that when five sons of a certain earl should sail to England in a cow's belly, none of them would return. How far so vague a prophecy was worthy of credit, I will not venture to decide: but that it was followed by a corresponding result is undeniable; for the unhappy brothers were all executed at Tyburn, February 2, 1535-6

After Alexander the Great had made himself master of Sardis, he was undetermined for a while, whether he should push, or delay, his designed attack upon Darius. During this state of suspense, a stream suddenly overflowed its banks, without any apparent cause: and the water having receded to its channel, left behind it, on the ground, a plate of copper, engraved with very old characters, importing that a period would ensue when Persia should be overthrown by Grecians.—I only mention this as a remarkable circumstance: for I have my doubts as to (what is commonly called) the accidentality of it. It might be an artifice of Alexander's own contrivance, to keep up the spirits of his men, and to inspire them with an expectation of certain victory.

On the whole: what a very celebrated and no less ingenious (*s*) traveller remarks, concerning omens in general, fully speaks my humble sentiments of that subject. "I know not what to say. This I know, that many rash and ignorant people disregard and laugh at these things; and that men of great wisdom and learning speak of them with diffidence, and strive rather to encourage others to slight them than shew any real contempt of them themselves."

EXTRAORDINARY DREAMS.

THOUGH it be true, that in a multitude [or major part] of dreams, there are diverse vanities, Eccles. v. 7.; though it be likewise acknowledged, that whoso regardeth [ὁ ἐπέχων, he that leaneth, or layeth great stress, upon] dreams in general, is like him that catcheth at a shadow, and followeth after the wind, Eccles. xxxiv. 2; forasmuch as dreams have deceived many, and they have failed that put their trust in them; yet, the same wise writer from whom the two last passages are quoted, guards his remarks by the following caveat (v. 9): Set not thy heart upon them [*i. e.* upon dreams], if they be not sent from the Most High in thy visitation. And we have it from an incomparably superior authority, that, in a dream,

(*r*) Vol. vi. p. 371.—Edit. 1768.

(*s*) Viz. The person who published his Travels (one of the most sensible and entertaining books in the English language), under the name of Edward Browne, esq. See p. 38. of that work.

in a vision, when deep sleep falleth upon man, in slumberings upon the bed; then God openeth the ears of men, and sealeth their instruction: Job xxxiii. 15, 16.

Examples of supernatural dreams occur so frequently in the sacred volume that no man can explode all dreams as vain, without exploding the Bible at the same time. God came to Abimelech in a dream: Genesis xx. 3.—The angel of God spake to Jacob, in a dream: Genesis xxxi. 11.—Very remarkable was Jacob's dream at Bethel: Gen. xxviii.—Joseph's two dreams were evidently prophetic: Gen. xxxvii.—So were those of king Pharoah: Gen. xli.—And of the Jewish soldier: Josh. vii. 13.—When God took away the spirit of prophecy from Saul, it is said, that the Lord answered him not by dreams: 1 Sam. xxxviii. 6.—At Gibeon, the Lord appeared to Solomon in a dream by night: 1 Kings iii. 5.—Nebuchadnezzar's predictive dreams were, undeniably, from God: Dan. ii. and iv.—As was Daniel's, concerning the four universal monarchies: Dan. vii.

Your old men shall dream dreams, is a promise belonging to gospel-times: Joel ii. 28. And it began to have its accomplishment in Joseph, the espoused and nominal husband of the Virgin Mary. It was in a dream that the angel of the Lord appeared to this holy man, and forbade him to suspect the purity of his unsullied bride. In the same dream it was revealed to Joseph that he should give to the Messiah the name of Jesus, because that blessed person was to save his people from their sins, Matt. i.—A short time after, Joseph was warned by an angel, in a dream, to flee with Jesus and Mary into Egypt: and, in in the same manner, he received notice of Herod's death, and was commanded to return to Judea, Matt. ii.—Nor can it be doubted that the dream of Pontius Pilate's wife was from above: Matt. xxvii.

With regard to the cause of dreams, one of the most able and most rational (*t*) philosophers, whom the present age, or any nation has produced, demonstrates, absolutely demonstrates, that dreams, even all dreams whatever, proceed, and can proceed only, from the agency of unembodied spirits on the human mind. Strange as this theory may at first seem, the great author solidly proves his point, and solves (unanswerably in my opinion) every objection that is, or that perhaps ever can be, alleged to the contrary. To him I refer the speculative reader: and shall conclude the present article with several very observable, but very authentic, instances of extraordinary and significant dreams.

Alcibiades, a little before his assassination, dreamed, (*u*) that an event of that kind had taken place. The ultimate ruin of Pompey was (*x*) pre-discovered to Petitius in a dream.

About 332 years before Christ, Jaddua, the high priest of the Jews, refused to take the required oath of allegiance to Alexander the Great, who was then besieging Tyre. Alexander had no sooner made himself master of that city, than he bent his course towards Jerusalem: with full determination, to destroy both place, priest, and people; and to enrich his forces, by the free plunder of the Jewish capital. Jaddua, on receiving notice of this design, was in great perplexity. He appointed a day of public and solemn humiliation before God: and was, that same night, relieved from his anxiety, by the following dream. He thought that "the Almighty exhorted him to dismiss his fears; to adorn the city, as on festive occasions; to set open the gates; and when Alexander drew near, to give him the meeting, at the head of an ecclesiastical procession, robed in their sacerdotal habits." The next morning Jaddua publicly declared his dream; regulated his measures agreeably to the suggestions he had received; and placidly waited the event.

So soon as Alexander came within sight of Jerusalem, the procession from the city began to move. The high priest took the lead, superbly arrayed in scarlet and purple, and wearing the mitre which bore the name of GOD engraved on a plate of gold. Next him followed the inferior priests, habited in fine linen. A multitude of citizens, clothed in white, closed the rear. When the venerable train came up, Alexander commanded his own soldiers to halt: and, advancing foremost and alone, respectfully accosted Jaddua, and adored the incomprehensible name with which his mitre was adorned. The Jews uttered their salutations in shouts; and the hostile army stood astonished at the unexpected beha-

(*t*) Viz. The late Mr. Baxter. See the second volume of his unequalled Enquiry into the Nature of the human Soul. It is astonishing, that so great a man should have lived and died in such obscurity: and that (so far as I can find) not the least memoir of him has hitherto been published. What a disgrace to this generation! a generation that prides itself on its love of science, and on the respect it pays to elevated merit!—Even bishop Warburton acknowledges the surprizing excellence of this extraordinary person; on whom the right reverend critic bestows the following just encomium: "He was truly a great genius. And a time will come, if learning ever revive amongst us, when the present inattention to his admirable Metaphysics, established on the physics of Newton, will be deemed as great a dishonour to the wisdom of this age, as the neglect of Milton's poetry is to the wit of the past." Notes on Pope; vol. iv. p. 320.

(*u*) Plut. in Alcibiad. (*x*) Idem in Pomp.

viour of their prince. Parmenio, who was Alexander's particular friend and favourite, could not help expressing his surprise; and ventured to ask him, How is it, that you, who are worshipped by all mankind, are now become a worshipper of the Jewish pontiff?—"I worship not the high priest," returned the king, "but the God whose name he bears. When I was at Dios, in Macedon, concerting the plan I should pursue in order to subject Asia to my dominion, I saw, in a dream, this very person, habited exactly as he now stands, who exhorted me to undertake the expedition without delay, and promised me infallible success. I now am certain that, under the divine patronage, I shall subdue Darius and be master of Persia." (*y*)

Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, was martyred for the Christian faith, A. D. 167. Three days before he was apprehended by the heathen officers, he (*z*) dreamt, that "his pillow took fire, and was burnt to ashes." The holy man told his friends that he considered this dream as significative of his being burnt to death for Christ's sake. And the event was answerable to the presage.

Thomas Bradwardin, archbishop of Canterbury, who went to heaven, A. D. 1349, was author of that admirable treatise, written against the Pelagians, and most justly entitled, "*De-Causâ Dei.*" As a masterpiece of invincible reasoning, and as a treasury of evangelical doctrine, it is equal to any performance of St. Austin's: nor can I refer the learned reader to a more suitable book (next after the holy Scriptures), if he wish to see the very sinews of Pelagianism, and of modern Arminianism, totally and irrecoverably demolished.

This admirable prelate acquaints us, in his preface to that immortal work, that he was encouraged to undertake it by a very singular dream. I had long lamented (says he) the atrocious errors of Pelagius, and the general infection occasioned by the extensive spread of the free-will heresy. One night, after having spent some considerable time in weeping and supplication before God, beseeching him, for his glory's sake, to arise and maintain his own cause; I at last fell asleep, and dreamed as follows: "Videbar nempe mihi videre, diurno lumine "circumfuso, me multùm supra terram in "aëre sublevatum, sicque ab oriente versùs "partes occiduas ascendendo intrepidum "proficisci: quòdque Pelagius veniens ex "adverso, apprehensâ sinistrâ meâ, conser- "tisque digitis, totâ me violentiâ ad terram "detrapere conabatur. Cui et, proprii ro- "boris accinctus fiduciâ, plurimùm reluc- "tabar: talisque lucta, non mediocriter "anxia, diutiùs perduravit. Sed et Pelagio "continuò prævalente, et me pænè ad "infima detrahente, ipse in meipso respon- "sum desperationis accepi; totâ tamen "virtute renitens, ad divinum confugi auxi- "lium toto corde: statimque Pelagius, "solutâ manu, præceps detruditur, et "fractâ cervice corruit super terram, clau- "sisque oculis mortuus jacuit resupinus. "Ego autem super terram remansi, in aëre "ascendens et progrediens, sicut ante, "gratulando jucundiùs, et mirando. Hinc "ergo, spiritu fortitudinis confortatus, spem "hausi, quòd de superbo Pelagio, principe "Pelagianorum pestifero, quare et de uni- "verso ejus exercitu, Christi parvulus trium- "pharem." i. e. I imagined myself to be ascending, high and fast, through the air, from east to west, in broad day-light, and without being in the least afraid. Pelagius, methought, met me in a hostile manner; and, laying hold of my left hand, implicated his fingers strongly with mine, and strove with all his might to check my ascent, and to drag me down again towards the earth. Confident in my own imaginary strength, I resisted and opposed him to the utmost; and the conflict was warmly continued for some time. But Pelagius seemed to be getting the better, and to be pulling me more and more downward. Then it was that I began to despair of my own strength, and cried with my whole heart to God for succour; taking care, however, still to resist the enemy with all the force I could exert. Immediately, I thought, the tables began to turn: and Pelagius, unclinching his grasp of my hand, fell headlong to the earth, and there lay, a breathless corpse, with his neck broken and his eyes closed. I still seemed to remain above the earth, mounting and advancing as before, but with additional wonder and rejoicing.—From the tenor of this dream, I conceived some hope, that I, though a mere infant in Christ, might be enabled to triumph over the insolent Pelagius, that pestilent ring-leader of the sect which bears his name; and over his whole army of followers and adherents.

I will take upon me to say, that Bradwardin was not mistaken as to his interpretation of this dream. Pelagianism has indeed lain extended on the ground, a breathless corpse, with closed eye-lids and a broken neck, ever since the publication of the great and good archbishop's volume. Arminians worship a demolished dagon, which all their zeal and efforts will never be able to quicken, or set up again on its legs; seek they to collect the shattered pieces ever so carefully, and to put them together ever so artfully.

(*y*) Josephus, Antiq. b. xi. ch. 8

(*z*) Cave's Apostolici, p. 118.

SKETCH OF NATURAL HISTORY

BIRDS.

THERE are two kinds of birds which I shall consider: viz. birds of retreat, and birds of passage. The former pass the winter in their chambers (if I may use the expression); i. e. in sleep and retirement. The latter migrate, at stated seasons, from one climate to another.

I. Of the first sort are bats (if they may be classed with birds), swallows, and (as is generally believed) the cuckoo.

1. The bat, as every body knows, is a very ugly animal, and holds a kind of middle rank between bird and beast. As it seems to subsist on what nocturnal insects it can meet with, and as this supply can only be had during the warmer months, Providence has wisely and kindly ordained that sleep shall answer, to this creature, every purpose of food, until the return of summer supersedes the famine occasioned by the long absence of the sun.

In men, that fine chemical process of nature, which we term perspiration, is twice as great during the hours of sleep as when we are awake. But in those of the lower animals, who are to sleep for whole months successively, and who would literally starve but for that succedaneum, perspiration either totally ceases, during the period of rest; or is so extremely trivial, as to occasion no sensible waste of spirits, nor diminution of parts.

2. Swallows, likewise, live on insects, which they catch flying: and when their summer repast fails, betake themselves, in October, to holes and shelves, under the banks of rivers, &c. where they very comfortably sleep away the winter; and, with a more than philosophic insensibility, bid absolute defiance to their poverty, by quite forgetting it. Nor are they at all incommodated, much less injured, by the coldness and the dampness of their situation. The unctuous matter which transudes from the various pores of their feathers preserves their delicate skins from any hurtful access of water: and a sufficient circulation of the blood is kept up within, to maintain life, and counteract the cold, until the breath of April again awakens them to the businesses and pleasures of perceptive existence. Until this little resurrection takes place, the manner in which they arrange themselves is said to be very curious. They lie, clustered together, in great numbers: their beaks and claws locked and interlinked with those of one another.—No improper emblem of the strict unity, and friendship, which ever ought to obtain among God's people; but especially when under afflictive circumstances!—A humble type, moreover, of the universal harmony which never fails to reign among the elect, when death has extinguished the petty animosities which, too often, divided them below. Swallows, which perhaps, amidst the hurries and the self-regards of active life, might quarrel for a gnat, or chatter and peck at each other for a bit of straw, bid adieu to their differences when the time of retiring comes: and, during the whole of their quiescent state, sleep in the social embraces of each other.—Neither let us despair of divine assistance and deliverance, even when pressed by the severest weight of tribulation. He that supports the swallows during their winter recess, and renews their strength, and calls them forth, at the return of spring, will not forsake the people of his love and the purchase of his blood.—Moreover, he that raises the swallows from their temporary graves will much more quicken the mortal bodies of his saints, when he descends in person to call his sons and daughters from the ends of the earth. Therefore, O believer, lay down thy flesh with joy, at the call of God; and let it rest in hope, until thy Saviour comes, and the archangel's trumpet sounds.

3. The cuckoo, once thought to be a bird of passage, is now, by general acknowledgment, numbered among those of retreat.

Here, in England, it salutes us, commonly, in April; and bids us good night, in June: so that this hasty visitant obliges us with very little of its company. Having dispatched the short business of its waking hours, it again betakes itself to rest; and enjoys a long nap of about nine months.—Emblem of the sluggard, who, instead of redeeming, sleeps away his time!—And in respect of its unvaried sameness of note, no unstriking counter-part of lazy preachers who deliver one discourse, and of talkative people in general, who often repeat the same things over and over again.

II. Birds of passage are many; whose map is nature, and Providence their pilot.

as the stork (though it never visits our island), the crane, the quail, the woodcock. To which some add the nightingale, the fieldfare, and the martin.

The quail comes to see us in April: the woodcock about October. Nobody need be told that we treat those beauteous travellers very inhospitably. And yet enough of them survive the sportsman's havoc to return to the far countries whence they came, and to preserve their species from extinction; that notwithstanding our ill usage of them, they may continue to favour us with their company again. — Learn from the amiable conduct of these gentle preachers to be patient under affliction; to be meek under every provocation; to be kind, even to the ungrateful; and to overcome evil with good.

The excellent Mr. Derham takes notice of two striking particulars, for which the conduct of migrating birds is remarkable: 1. That these creatures "should know the proper times for their passage. And, 2. That they should know so exactly how and which way to steer their course." To which we may add the wonderful unanimity with which they assemble, and concert matters for their intended expeditions; the neat and regular order into which they dispose themselves like a regiment of foot, or a squadron of horse, where each individual knows his place and keeps to it; and the prudent secrecy with which they set off, or rather steal their march, *viz.*, in the night-time, when they are in the least danger of annoyance. Doubtless the pretty itinerants have a common language which they understand; a president of their council, who takes the lead in deliberative affairs; and a general, who, by mutual consent, heads each of the excursive legions, and superintends their flight for the good of the whole.

Admirable are the works of the Creator! In wisdom has he made them all. The earth is full of his riches. Through him the stork in the heavens knoweth her appointed time; and the turtle, and the crane, and the swallow, observe the time of their coming. Jer. viii. 7. May our attendance on every means of grace, and our attention to the regular discharge of every moral duty, be equally punctual and exact!—Let us, in the strength of the Holy Spirit, set out in affection from earth to heaven, from self-righteousness to Christ, and from sin to holiness; like birds of passage, when they shift their clime. So at death shall we pass, like them, to a better country, whence we shall never wish to return; and fly not on the wings of eagles, but on the wings of angels, to Jesus the mediator of the covenant, and to the company of elect souls made perfect: there to be for ever with the Lord, and with each other.

METEORS.

Leaving the birds of retreat to enjoy their peaceful slumbers; and congratulating the birds of passage, on their safe arrival in milder climes; we will turn our meditations to that elegant and useful meteor, whose fleeces now decorate the leafless branches, and whiten the face of the ground.

The whole world of nature, no less than those of grace and of glory, is under the absolute dominion and the never-ceasing direction of God. Every wind that blows, is of his breathing; and every drop, whether fluid or condensed, that falls from the sky, is of his sending. At this very time, must the adoring nations confess that he giveth snow like wool; he scattereth the hoar frost like ashes; he casteth forth his ice, like morsels: who can stand before his cold? Psalm cxlvii. 16, 17. He saith to the snow, be thou on the earth: likewise to the small rain, and to the great rain of his strength. Job xxxvii. 6.

Let the same question be put to my readers, which speaking Omnipotence once put to Job (chap. xxxviii. 22.) "Hast thou entered into the treasures of snow?" Hast thou considered its nature, it properties, and its uses?

Dew, mist, rain, snow, hail, and clouds, are no more than coalitions of watery vapours, which have been partly forced towards the surface of our terraqueous globe by the latent fires with which its bowels are fraught; and partly drawn up from it, by the insinuating, attractive agency of the sun. The humid particles thus exhaled, naturally ascend; as being, in their uncombined state, lighter than the surrounding air; and persist to soar, until they arrive at a region of the atmosphere, where their flight is stopped by other preceding vapours, already exhaled and condensed into clouds. Thus arrested and detained, they unite (like coalescing spherules of quicksilver, or like the contacting globules of water in a containing vessel) into floating masses; and remain in a state of literal suspense and fluctuation until, by accumulated compression, and by their own collected weight, they become specifically heavier than the sustaining air, and fall in larger or smaller drops to the earth and ocean whence they sprung. Striking representation of man, in his best estate of mortal excellence! Are you rich, or exalted, or prosperous, or gay? remember that you are under as absolute obligation to Providence for these glittering distinctions as a rising vapour is indebted, for its transitory elevation, to the action of the solar beams. And, vapour-like, you too must fall, after having hovered your few destined moments: for, Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou

return. An inspired pen has both started and resolved the question: what is your life? It is even a vapour that appeareth for a little time, and then vanisheth away. James iv. 14. If so,

> Why all this toil, for triumphs of an hour?
> What though we wade in wealth, or soar in fame!
> Earth's highest glory ends in "here he lies!"
> And "dust to dust" concludes her noblest song.

Be wise, therefore, to slip the cable of your affections from the world's evanid shore. Supplicate the Holy Spirit to make you rich towards God. And, under the sweet breezes of his gracious influence, set sail in good earnest for the kingdom of heaven.

When the watery treasures of the sky descend to their native earth, more like respectful visitants than like rude invaders, *i. e.*, in moderate quantities, and with not too impetuous force, we call them showers. When they greatly exceed in those two particulars, we give them the hostile name of storms. Thus the human passions, if rectified and regulated by supernatural grace, are instruments of happiness, and productive of the most beneficial effects. But, if unrestrained by Providence, and unrefined by the Holy Ghost, they operate like the deadly Egyptian tempest, which smote both man and beast, and destroyed every herb, and brake all the trees of the field. Exodus ix. 25.

While the middle regions of the air are impregnated with frost, the falling drops catch cold (if the expression may be allowed), and are congealed in the course of their descent. Hail and snow are but other names for different modifications of frozen rain. Hail is rain consolidated into a hard and heavy mass. Snow is a multitude of small, hooked icicles, which interfering with each other in their fall, become mutually entangled and interlinked, and cohere in delicate but irregular flakes, of very light, because of very expansive, and superficial texture. If snow is no more than particles of water congealed in their passage to the earth, it affords but too just an emblem of our affections, when, instead of aspiring to God in Christ, they subside and gravitate towards a perishable world. Under such spiritual declension, our comforts are chilled, and our graces benumbed; until a fresh rising of the sun of righteousness upon our souls dissolves the moral frost, and again warms us into the meltings of penitential love. His beams strike upon the rock, and then the waters flow.

SAGACITY OF BRUTES

I have often wondered that no ingenious observant has hitherto (so far, at least, as I can find,) favoured the world with a professed treatise on the sagacity of brutes. Many curious and remarkable instances are, indeed, occasionally interspersed through the writings of various naturalists. But I could wish to see the rays collected to a point: and should be happy if the hint, now suggested, might set some competent hand in motion, to supply the lovers of Nature with so amusing and instructive a desideratum.

My own reading, I honestly confess, is too scanty to administer any very significant quota towards such a stock of valuable entertainment. I will however present the reader with a few specimens, or scraps of a subject, which an abler and more intelligent pen might easily enlarge into a plentiful and pleasing feast: let us then, briefly advert to some examples of that sagacity, which it has been the Creator's will to distribute, with sufficient, though not with equal, hand, through the different tribes of quadrupeds, birds, fishes, and insects.

1. INSTANCES OF SAGACITY IN BEASTS.

The elephant is supposed to be the largest of any quadruped in the known world: and seems to be the wisest also. The observation is Cicero's; whose words (*De Nat. Deo.* i.) are, "*Elephanto belluarum nulla providentior. At figurá quæ vastior?*" All the amiable, and all the furious passions are to be found in this animal; and its docility is wonderful; for, when properly tamed, he is capable of being instructed and disciplined into a vast variety of entertaining and useful qualifications.

Do him a material injury, and he will act as if he had been tutored by the late Lord Chesterfield: *i. e.* if it be in his power, he will immediately revenge the affront; but if restrained for the present, either by motives of prudence, or by inability to wreak his resentment, he will retain the offence in his memory for years together, and take care to repay it with interest, the first favourable opportunity. I have heard or read of a boy, who wantonly struck the proboscis or trunk of an elephant; and then courageously secured himself by running away. Seven years afterwards, the lad was playing near the side of a river; and had probably forgot his past misdemeanour. But the elephant had a better memory; and making up to the young delinquent, grasped him with his trunk, and very sedately carried the sprawling captive to the water, where he ducked him once or twice over head and ears, and then quietly setting him down again on terra firma, permitted him to walk off without further hurt.

It is said that, in those countries where elephants abound, such of them as are tame go about the streets, like any other domestic

animals; and it is common for people to give them fruit as they pass. In time, they commence absolute beggars, and will put in the extremity of their trunks at doors and windows, in hope of receiving the little benevolences which custom has inured them to expect. After waiting a short while, if nothing is given them, they withdraw their trunks, and pass on to the next accessible house. It is related that some tailors were at work on a board, withinside of a window, whose casement stood open. A passing elephant stopped, and put in his trunk, one of the men, instead of conferring a doceur, gave the animal's trunk a scratch with his needle. The injured party took no present notice of the provocation, but patiently walked away. He repaired to a neighbouring stream; and having filled his capacious trunk with a large quantity of water, returned to the window, where he coolly avenged himself, by spouting the fluid artillery on the aggressor and his comrades, for their late breach of hospitality. If we do not relieve the indigent, they at least have a right not to be insulted. And very frequently the meanest are able, sooner or later, to retaliate with usury the contempt they undeservedly receive.

Every beggar is not honest. Nor are all elephants actuated by a strict sense of moral delicacy. Their smell is very acute; and if a person has any fruit or cakes about him, they show by the quick and judicious application of their trunks to the proper part of his dress, that they are adepts in the art of picking pockets with excellent dexterity.

Elephants, like men, have (if I may be allowed the expression) their virtues and their vices; though, to the honour of the former be it observed, the vices of an elephant bear but small proportion to his virtues. There have been instances of these creatures who, in the first hurry of rage for ill-treatment, have killed their keepers. But their subsequent remorse has been so insupportably keen that they have refused to take any sustenance, and literally starved themselves to death. A lesson to persons of violent passions; who, if hurried away by the impetuous torrent either of excessive and unguarded anger, or of headstrong and irregular desire, are liable to the commission of irreparable evil, and may in a single moment lay the foundation of irremediable ruin. He that hasteth with his feet sinneth. O believer, if thou art by nature hasty, vehement, and easily inflammable, call in superior aid. He who, in the days of his flesh, rebuked the raging of the winds, and stilled the tossings of the sea, can by the sweet composing influence of his gracious spirit, restrain thee within the bounds of holiness, and speak the storm into a perfect calm. I have read of a heathen who, when he found himself unduly fermented by the kindlings of inward wrath, would never utter a single word until he had first deliberately run over in his mind all the letters of the alphabet. I have read of a Christian who, when endangered by similar temptation, would not suffer himself to speak a syllable until he had silently repeated the Lord's Prayer. Go, and do thou likewise. Repeat that prayer to God in the spirit of supplication; and thy victory over passion will be more than probable.

Elephants are singularly grateful, and have a very deep sense of friendship. They have been known to lay the death of a brother elephant, or of a kind keeper, so much to heart as to pine away from that time forward. Even virtue, if strained beyond a certain pitch, degenerates into a fault. Nor is it right for us to love, with too much ardour, any perishable good. Dr. Owen somewhere remarks, that "strong affections make strong afflictions." Confine, therefore, your absolute regards to Father, Son, and Spirit; the three glorious friends who never die, and whose loving kindness is immortal as themselves.

In some countries, we are told, elephants supply the place of executioners. They are trained, at a given signal, to lay hold on the criminal with their trunks, by a strong suction; and either dash him violently against the ground, or toss him aloft in the air, until repeated contusions put a period to his life Mankind are very prone to value themselves on their supposed civilization: and yet, by artful practising on the ferocity of inferior animals, they sometimes teach brutes themselves to be still more brutal.

Clumsy as elephants are, they may be taught to dance, both singly and in companies; and they move, on these occasions, with singular exactness and order. They are not insensible to the harmony of music; and if properly inured, keep time with their feet in a manner which discovers great powers of judgment. If I rightly remember, Bishop Burnet informs us in his travels that he saw an elephant play at ball with all the ease and expertness of a man. But Plutarch, in his Life of Pyrrhus, mentions a much nobler instance of elephantine understanding and adroitness, accompanied by such magnanimous courage and fidelity, as would have redounded to the honour of a Sertorius, or of an Alexander. When Pyrrhus stormed the town of Argus, a number of accoutred elephants (according to the custom of those times) formed a part of his military apparatus. One of these creatures, perceiving that his rider was fallen, invited

him, by every effort in his power, to remount. But finding, soon after, that he (viz. the rider) was dead of the wounds he had received, the animal, in a transport of grief and rage, rushed furiously on friends and foes, without distinction; and, taking up the body with his trunk, made good his retreat, and rescued the remains of his breathless master from further violation, by faithfully and heroically conveying them from the scene of action.

With all his magnitude and strength, an elephant (if not soured by unkind usage) may be rendered so passive and gentle as to be led and governed by a child. Just representation of that amiable meekness and humility wherewith Christians of exalted rank condescend to men of low estate; and persons eminent for superior grace, or for distinguished learning, bear with the infirmities, and are courteous to the ignorance, of the weak. It was in this spirit that the excellent Dr. Watts descended from the regions of philosophy, and stooped from the heights of more elevated poetry, to compose his admirable hymns for children, and teach infant warblers to lisp the praises of the great Three-One.

The method by which wild elephants are taken deserves to be noticed. A narrow inclosure is made, one end of which is left open for entrance, and at the extremity of the other several tame female elephants are placed. Between both (i. e. between the entrance and the extremity, where the females are fixed) a large pit is dug, whose surface is lined with a slight bridge-work, so neatly turfed that it has all the appearance of firm ground. Allured by the females, the male elephants make towards the place, but are suddenly intercepted by the unsuspected snare. Proper persons, who are stationed to watch the event, start from their concealments, and with exulting shouts mock the indignant distress of their unwieldly prisoners. Striking picture of the deceitfulness of sin, the unthinking folly of heedless minds, and the terrible effects of successful temptation.

Elephants are tamed chiefly by hunger and by blows. Providence hides pride from man, and bends his stubbornness to obedience, by graciously afflictive dispensations.

Elephants are said to be extremely fond of pomp, and to receive very pleasurable ideas from the exhibitions of splendour. Hence the natives of East India, who hold the doctrine of transmigration, imagine that these animals are animated by the souls of departed princes. For this reason they are treated (especially in the kingdom of Siam) with distinguished respect: and some of the handsomest are decorated with rich ornaments, and even dignified with titles of honour. An elephant of quality is known by the rings of gold, silver, or copper, with which his tusks are adorned. There is something very humiliating to the pride of human reason in conduct so extravagantly absurd as this. Absolute good nature is absolute folly. And yet the fanciful surmise of the transmigration of souls from one body into another is attended with peculiar felicities to the poor beasts who live in countries where that doctrine obtains. It is our duty to adopt the humanity of those heathens without its absurdities, and to be scrupulously tender of the life and happiness of every inferior animal entrusted to our care; knowing that the sovereign Providence, which has made them subservient to our wants, has given us no charter for the exercise of unnecessary cruelty or wanton tyranny.

Elephants are extremely long-lived. It is affirmed that they will reach to one, two, or even three hundred years of age. If this be fact (and it rests on very respectable testimonies), it is probably true of those elephants only which are permitted to live according to nature, unspoiled by the artificial and false refinements of our management. It will admit of little doubt that, on the sum total, those beasts are happiest who have least connection with man. Not a single brute, from an elephant to an animated speck, but is eventually the worse if it fall within the circuit of human government. Let us endeavour to make our maleadministration as easy and as little mischievous to them as we can.

Man is supposed to have been originally indebted for several leading hints, in points of considerable usefulness and importance, to the birds of the air, and to the beasts of the field. Nor is it beneath the dignity of human rank to derive instruction from nature [i. e. from infinite wisdom at second hand], under whatever mode or form her exertions may appear. Unerring authority bids us, on some occasions, learn of insects themselves: Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways, and be wise.

It seems extremely probable, for instance, that spiders and silk worms gave the primitive housewives a notion of spinning. That birds and fishes suggested the practicability of sailing, in vessels constructed similarly to the shape of those animals. And that the hippopotamus (*a*) or river-horse (which, when overcharged with too great a quantity of blood, strikes himself against the point of a sharp reed until he has bled sufficiently, and then rolls in a particular kind of mud

(*a*) See Chambers's Dictionary, on the word bleeding.

until the bleeding is stanched), supplied the ancients with the original idea of phlebotomy. One of our best (*b*) cosmographers observes, that the cynocephalus, a species of monkey very common in Africa, is said to have furnished the first hint of dividing the day and night into twenty-four hours; this creature having been observed to make water, with a mechanical exactness, twenty-four times regularly, and at equal intervals, in the course of a day and night, when the sun is in the equinox.

A goat is by no means considered as an animal of bright intellects. And yet some things are related of him which indicate no small share of rationality. Luther's (*c*) story is well known: who relates that two goats, meeting on a narrow plank over a deep river, it being impossible for them to pass abreast, one of them very prudently couched, that so, the other walking over him, neither of them might be in danger of falling into the stream. A memento to men of precipitate dispositions; who, by a discreet self-restraint, and by well-timed moderation, meekness, and condescension, may prevent much inward and outward evil from accruing to themselves and to the Church of God.

If a goat knows how to conduct himself with prudence when cases of difficulty and danger call for the exercise of that talent, he can also prove himself no contemptible adept in the art of war, when either his own safety, or that of his family and friends, requires him to repel force by force. An instance of this occurs in the narrative of Lord Anson's Voyage; (*d*) nor can I better express it than in the words of that authentic and well-written performance: premising only that the theatre of the following unsuccessful invasion was the Island of Juan Fernandez, in Spanish West India:—"We once had an opportunity of observing a remarkable dispute betwixt a herd of these animals [i. e. of goats] and a number of dogs. For, going in our boat into the eastern bay, we perceived some dogs running very eagerly upon the foot, and being willing to discover what game they were after, we lay upon our oars some time to view them, and at last saw them take to a hill, where, looking a little further, we observed upon the ridge of it a herd of goats, which seemed drawn up for their reception. There was a very narrow path, skirted on each side by precipices, on which the master of the herd posted himself, fronting the enemy; the rest of the goats being all behind him, where the ground was more open. As this spot was inaccessible by any other path, excepting where this champion had placed himself, the dogs, though they ran up hill with great alacrity, yet, when they came within about twenty yards of him, they found they dared not encounter with him (for he would infallibly have driven them down the precipice), but gave over the chace, and quietly laid themselves down, panting at a great rate." Could any commanding officer on the face of the globe have displayed more military skill in taking all possible advantage of his ground, and more resolute prowess in maintaining it, than this Leonidas of the herd? And, on the other hand, were not the invaders equally judicious in sounding a timely retreat, and in not attempting to storm a fortress which both the nature of the place, and the discreet valour of the defendants, concurred to render impregnable? It is no impeachment of courage, but an argument of superior wisdom, to desist, in due season, from designs that are found to be impracticable.

Plutarch relates, in his Life of Themistocles, that when the Athenians, in order to avoid falling into the hands of Xerxes the First, were forced to quit their city, and embark on board their ships; even the domestic animals were evidently sensible of the public distress. They read calamity and sorrow in the faces and conduct of their masters, though it was impossible for them to understand the cause. The melancholy notes of the fowls, the disconsolate mewing of the cats, and the universal howlings of the dogs, attracted the observation and heightened the grief of the departing inhabitants. It is particularly added, concerning a dog which belonged to Xantippus, the father of Pericles, that no sooner did the vessel in which his master sailed push from shore, than the faithful animal, who had been left behind, plunged himself into the sea, and swam by the side of the ship until he reached the Isle of Salamis, where, quite exhausted with fatigue, he fell down and expired. Fidelity and gratitude are virtues, in whatever rank of beings they appear; and the ancients (to their honour be it said) were famous for setting a just value on the good qualities of brutes. Xantippus's dog received a respectful interment, and his grave communicated its name to the adjoining part of the island, which, so low down as the time of Plutarch (who flourished about six hundred years afterwards), retained the appellation of "the dog's burying-place."

Plutarch, that nice observer of nature, in his entertaining dialogue concerning the different wisdom of aqueous and of land animals, adduces many pertinent examples, strongly tending to corroborate his hypo-

(*b*) Complete System of Geography, vol. ii. p. 385.
(*c*) See Mr. Steel's Sermon (*i. e.* the third sermon) in the fourth volume of the Morning Exercise, p. 50.
(*d*) See that work, p. 121, 122. Quarto edit.

thesis, that an inward intelligent principle of action is by no means the exclusive prerogative of men. I shall here select some of the most striking instances he brings; not marshalling them, according to the exact routine of methodical arrangement, but introducing them (for the most part) just as they occur in the disquisitions of the Greek philosopher; taking the liberty, however, for the sake of connection, and of spiritual or moral improvement, to intersperse a few occasional remarks, obviously suggested by the instances themselves.

1. The cock-pigeon may stand as a pattern to husbands of a far more exalted species. This amiable bird does, in his way, give honour and assistance to his wife, as to the more elegant and more tender vessel. During the session of the hen upon her eggs, he has no objection to alleviating the rigours of her confinement, by kindly brooding on the nest, in her stead, as often as want of exercise or of refreshment inclines her to fly abroad. Nor will he quit his trust until his mate's return, when he recommits the future family to her patient and affectionate care. After the young are hatched, he is very diligent in providing for his household. While the female keeps guard at home, he goes to market, or, if you please, sallies out in search of forage, which he distributes, with much impartiality and discretion, among his hungry offspring. Sometimes the business of seeking provision devolves, by mutual consent, on the hen; in which case, if she happen to tarry out longer than necessity seems to require, the male bird will go in quest of her, and express his displeasure by a significant chattering, and by mildly chastising her with his bill. As much as to say: I know how to temper my tenderness with a few grains of gentle authority. Why are you thus gadding about and carelessly taking your pleasure, when you ought to be thinking on household affairs, and to be collecting a breakfast or dinner for the little folks at home? The female generally takes these conjugal expostulations very patiently; and after softly chattering, for a moment or two, in her own vindication, either pursues the business for which she set out, or flies back to the nest, if her husband choose to take the office of caterer on himself. When they meet a few minutes after, they salute as affectionately as ever, and all their petty differences are forgot.

2. The swallow is an excellent housewife, and has a high sense of cleanliness and decency. Hence, as her modest ambition aspires but to one apartment, which serves her

For chamber, and parlour, and kitchen, and hall,

she is very solicitous to preserve it extremely neat and unsullied. She therefore teaches her offspring so to arrange themselves, at certain times, as that every thing indelicate may fall over the outside of the nest, without any annoyance to the purity of the common habitation. The care she takes of her house is the less to be wondered at, when we remember she was at the pains of building it herself. And her skill as an architect is admirable. Aware how much depends on laying a solid foundation, she places the larger and stronger stubble at the bottom of the intended edifice, and disposes the slenderer and slighter materials upon that. The interstices are plastered up with mud, which, when hardened by the air and sun, is quite inoffensive to any of the senses, and answers every purpose of comfortable warmth. If the season proves so dry that ready-prepared mud cannot be obtained, she remedies this inconvenience by dipping the edges of her wings in some adjacent pond or brook, and then shaking off the drops upon the ground, mixes the moistened dust into mortar with her bill, and conveys it to the place of destination. The style or form of the structure is nearly spherical; which figure is, at once, the most capacious and the most durable. And she contrives the entrance with so much judgment as equally to guard against the access of enemies and of cold.

3. If the wisdom and goodness of Providence are so eminent in the endowments of smaller animals, it may be reasonably expected that creatures of larger size, and whose wants are consequently greater, should discover a proportionable extent of acuteness and sagacity. Hence the wild boar will whet his tusks before a combat; and the bull, when going to encounter an adversary, previously throws himself into such an attitude, either of attack or defence, as may give him the best advantage over his antagonist.—The lion seems to be sensible that the track of feet so remarkable as his own would expose him to a double inconvenience: it would serve the huntsman as a clue to his haunts, and put inferior beasts on their guard from coming in his way. The former might be ruinous to his personal safety; the latter would greatly curtail his means of subsistence. To obviate both those difficulties, he sheaths his claws when he walks on a yielding soil, and contracts his feet into as narrow a compass as he can. This artful precaution frequently sets the hunter at a loss, and betrays many an unsuspecting quadruped into a false and fatal security.—The ichneumon, in order that he may become more hateful and formidable to his natural enemy, the crocodile, will roll himself all over in mud; which often proves a better defence from the fury of so unequal a foe, than if the ichneumon was armed with

weapons, or clad in a coat of impenetrable mail.

4. Of the following incident, Plutarch affirms that he himself was an eye-witness. Being once on ship-board, he observed a jar which was about half filled with oil. A dog was very desirous of paying his addresses to the contents; but the oil was too low in the containing vessel for him to get at it. The seamen were all engaged different ways; and the dog, willing to make the most of the favourable opportunity, took up successively a number of stones which were stowed in that part of the ship, and dropping them, one by one, into the jar, the oil at last rose within his reach, and he lapped as much of it as he pleased. I was astonished, says Plutarch, by what means the dog could know that the immission of heavier substances would cause the lighter substance to ascend.—After this, we need hardly be surprised at what is related concerning the cranes of Lybia: viz. that, when impelled by thirst, if they can meet with no water high enough to be conveniently reached by their bills, they will drop in a sufficient quantity of stones until it rises to the height they wish. Plutarch, indeed, expresses some doubt as to the certainty of this instance; but, I think, without sufficient reason. Especially, as he admits that similar artifices were, in cases of similar exigency, known to be made use of by the geese of Cilicia, and by the bees in Crete. Nor are the prudence and foresight of the last-mentioned species confined merely to matters of subsistence. The Cretan bees, conscious of their natural inability to fly, with due steadiness and equipoise, when the wind is boisterous, have been observed to clasp a small piece of gravel, on each side, under their wings, that their light and slender bodies, thus judiciously ballasted, might preserve a due weight, and maintain a power of self-command.—The heights and recesses in Mount Taurus are said to be much occupied by eagles, who are never better pleased than when they can pick the bones of a crane. Cranes are very prone to cackle and make a noise (Isa. xxxviii. 14); and particularly so while they are flying. The sound of their voice rouses the eagles, who spring at the signal, and often make the talkative itinerants pay dear for their imprudent loquacity. The older and more experienced cranes, sensible of their besetting foible, and of the peril to which it exposes them, take care, before they venture on the wing, to arm themselves each with a stone, large enough to fill the cavity of their mouths, and consequently to impose inevitable silence on their tongues.

Self-distrust is an infallible mark of wisdom, and (under the efficacy of Providence and of grace) the truest ground of security. To know our weak side, and there to plant the strongest guard; to shun, so far as in us lies, the very possibility of temptation; and to put it out of our own power to transgress, by avoiding the remotest occasions and opportunities of evil, are among the means which God vouchsafes to bless, for the preservation of his frail and fallible people in the path of duty and happiness. I could mention the name of a late very opulent and very valuable person who, though naturally avaricious in the extreme, was liberal and beneficent to a proverb. He was aware of his constitutional sin; and God gave him victory over it, by enabling him to run away from it. Lest the dormant love of money should awake and stir in his heart, he would not, for many years before his death, trust himself with the sight of his revenues. He kept, indeed, his accounts as clearly and exactly as any man in the world; but he dared not receive, because he dared not look at, that gold which he feared would prove a snare to his affections. His stewards received all, and retained all in their own hands, until they received orders how to dispose of it. From the same excellent motive, Scipio refused to see a beautiful princess, whom the event of war had subjected to his power, lest her charms might prove either a source of uneasiness, if he had fortitude enough to resist them; or a source of guilt, if his fortitude should relax. Generally speaking, they are the most virtuous who dread to put their virtues to too severe a trial. He that trusteth his own heart is a fool; but whoso walketh (e) wisely, he shall be delivered. Prov. xxxviii. 26

5. In fine serene weather cranes (like professing Christians, in a time of worldly sunshine) are not very observant of social ceremony; but will fly abroad singly, without praying much attention to each other. The case is different if necessity oblige them to make excursions under a lowering sky, and to cut their way through boisterous, opposing winds. They then form themselves into regular companies, and fly in large flocks of triangular figure: whose sharp point moves foremost when they sail against the wind, in order that they may more easily penetrate the tempestuous air, and preserve their ranks unbroken.—Sometimes they will sleep all night on the ground. To prevent surprize, a competent number of them are stationed by way of advanced guard to the camp, because of fear in the night. These, on the first approach of danger, sound the note of alarm;

(e) Qui propriis diffidens viribus, semper ducem quærit: tum Deum, tum præceptores, amicos, &c.—GELLIUS.

and the whole regiment starting from their slumbers, soar into the air without delay. Lest the centinels should sleep, when they ought to watch, each stands (says Plutarch) on one leg, and grasps a stone in the claw of the other foot. The uneasiness of which situation has a tendency to keep them awake; and if they happen to dose, the noise made by the falling of the stone, admonishes them to be less negligent.—— Let men learn of cranes to be vigilant in their stations, and faithful to their trust. Above all, let ministers of Christ not sleep as do others; but watch as those that must give account of their stewardship to the Judge of quick and dead. It is said of Aristotle that, lest he should impede his progress in his philosophical studies by over-sleeping himself, he usually slept with one hand out of bed, and held a brass ball in it, over a vessel of the same metal: that the noise, which the ball must occasion when it fell from his hand, might awake him to what he deemed the principal business of human life. In how many respects may heathen diligence put Christian slothfulness to the blush!

6. The ant seems of all others to have been Plutarch's favourite insect. He even pronounces her a wise and virtuous animal: and in my opinion he proves his point. Friendship, fortitude, continency, patience, justice, and industry, are among the moral qualities which he deservedly places to her account.

A company of these creatures (says this philosopher) visited a neighbouring ant-hill, carrying with them a dead ant, which evidently seemed to have been an inhabitant of the colony to which his remains were now conveyed. On the arrival of so many strangers, several emmets ascended from their holes, and after a short communication returned into the hill, to apprize the community below of the business on which the unexpected visitants were come. After two or three passings and repassings in this manner, the negociation appeared to be finally settled. A deputation of ants, from within the hill, at last lugged up a worm from their under-ground stores, which the others accepted of; and, delivering the dead emmet to his friends, went away highly satisfied with the recompense they had received.

When a loaded ant is met by others which have no burden, they courteously stand on one side, or move another way, that they may not incommode an individual who is toiling for the public good. If a labouring ant is carrying or dragging a heavier load than she is well able to manage, this is no sooner perceived by the rest than as many volunteers as are necessary run to her assistance, and cheerfully set their mouths or shoulders to the work. If the material be very cumbersome, and will conveniently admit of a partition, they will bite it into several pieces; and each moves homewards with as much as he is able to carry. After their subterraneous magazines are sufficiently stored with provisions, they carefully select such as begin to putrify or decay; and, bringing them out to the surface of the hill, expose them to the air or sun until properly dried; taking care to turn them regularly, and to re-convey them into the common repository on the appearance of rain, or at the approach of night. Lest their hoarded corn should germinate, and so defeat the purpose for which they lay it up, they carefully bite off those parts of the grain from which the root strikes and the blade shoots.

Plutarch's humanity does honour to his philosophy. He laments the cruelty of those who, for the sake of gratifying their own speculations, exceedingly distress if not totally ruin whole societies of these (*f*) harmless and laborious insects, by digging up their hills. Certainly this is buying information, and indulging curiosity at too dear, because at a very unmerciful rate. They, however, who have examined the interior structure of their residence with the utmost nicety of attention, tell us that the passages into it are not perpendicular, but sloping; and, like a labyrinth, are intersected by many cross paths, and diversified with many turnings and windings. These terminate in three principal halls, or cavities. In one the members of this perfect republic, who have all things in common, assemble to feed and converse. The second is the grand repository, where the hope of the year (*i. e.* their food) is laid up. And the third is the vault where they deposit their dead.

7. The ancient Thracians, when they were desirous of passing a frozen river, but were dubious whether it was sufficiently firm, used, among other experiments, to turn a fox loose upon the ice: it being the custom of this shrewd and wary animal to move very cautiously on such hazardous ground, laying his ear to the ice every step he went; that if the surface began to crack, or if the frost was so moderate as to admit of his hearing the water flow beneath, he might be able to retreat back in due season. If after the most exquisite observation, he

(*f*) I call them harmless, because I have been assured that on the nicest observation they are not found to injure the fruit-trees on which they frequently climb. They are, it seems, allured thither, not by the fruit, which they never hurt; but by a sort of sweetish dew, which they are very fond of, and which we are rather obliged to them for diminishing: as the particular dew which they are most desirous of, is deemed very detrimental both to leaves and fruit.

perceived no danger, his fears would gradually wear off, and he advanced with boldness to the opposite bank. Plutarch's reflections on this conduct are extremely just. Here is, says he, no less than a sillogistical conclusion, from premises furnished by the senses. And the fox's chain of argumentation amounts to no less than this: "There can be no noise without motion. That which is easily moved cannot be firmly frozen. Water not firmly frozen retains a degree of fluidity. And a fluid cannot support a body heavier than itself."

8. The stupidity and obstinacy of mules are proverbial. But when Pericles was building a temple in Athens, one of these animals entitled himself to what he received, *viz.* the applauses and rewards of the public. This creature, who had been an old and useful servant to his employers, was exempted from farther toil on account of his age and past services. While the abovementioned temple was erecting, stones were continually brought from a considerable distance in carriages drawn by mules. The old mule, though dismissed from work, took every opportunity of attending the carts as a voluntary spectator; and cheerfully ambled both to and from the keramicon by the side of his harnessed brethren, as though he meant to encourage and quicken them in the duty they were performing. The people were surprized and pleased at the zealous attachment which the merry old quadruped shewed to his former occupation; and by an unanimous vote ordered him to be maintained during life at the public expense.

A company of elephants were brought to Rome, to entertain the populace with an exhibition of the various and uncommon postures into which they had been taught to throw themselves. One of these creatures, who was not so ready at these difficult exercises as the rest, received, in recompense of his dulness, continual and severe chastisement from his keeper. The poor animal soon gave proof that his slow proficiency was the effect rather of natural unwieldiness than of idleness or obstinacy: for he was observed by night, when the moon shone, and when nobody was with him, to be carefully practising the lessons which had been given him; that he might escape farther correction by acquitting himself with more agility and expertness on the morrow.

A Syrian elephant was entrusted to the care of a dishonest servant, who usually gave him but half his allowance of corn. One day the elephant's owner happened to come into the stable at feeding time: and the servant, in consequence, poured out to the animal his full measure of barley. But instead of falling to, the elephant divided the heap into two equal parts with his trunk; and by the significancy of his motions gave his master to understand that if he had not been present his servant had not proved so liberal.

The keeper of an elephant used sometimes, by way of frolic, to mix stones and dirt with his provender. This ill-natured jest was seriously though humourously revenged. For one day the elephant being within reach of a vessel in which his keeper's dinner was boiling, repaid him in his own coin by filling his trunk with ashes, and discharging them into the pot.

When a number of these animals (in their untamed state) are desirous of passing a river, they very prudently sound the depth of the stream by deputing the least elephant to take the lead, before any of the larger ones venture from the bank; knowing that if the water be so shallow that the smallest of the company can wade across, the rest may follow without danger. If the harbinger who tries this experiment begins to lose his footing, and to be higher than his neck in the water, he immediately turns back again, and the adventurers go in quest of a more fordable place.

When Porus, one of the kings of India, gave battle to Alexander, the former received several wounds by the missive weapons of the enemy. An elephant on which he sometimes rode, and which attended him with all the affectionate solicitude of a bosom friend, perceiving his royal master occasionally wounded, watched every opportunity of drawing out (with his trunk) the darts that fastened: and the faithful creature performed these operations with all the judgment and tenderness imaginable. At last, finding that Porus was sinking to the ground (though he soon recovered, and was afterwards restored to his dominions) through fatigue and loss of blood, the elephant gave another proof of his sympathy and care, by so supporting the king with his trunk as to break the force of his fall, and to let him gently down.

We have noticed, in a foregoing page, that it is usual with those who employ themselves in taking elephants, to trepan them into deep pits, whose surfaces are so disguised as to resemble firm ground. On these occasions the ensnared elephant sets up a lamentable cry. If the coast is clear his wild associates, on hearing him roar, hasten (but with cautious tread) to the edges of the pit: and, if any such materials are at hand, will assist to facilitate his deliverance by throwing in a large quantity of timber and stones, which the prisoner erecting into a sort of stair-case below, he is thus sometimes able to accomplish his escape.—I was of opinion that these additional examples, adduced by so excellent a writer as Plutarch, and which obviously

suggest so many moral lessons to man, deserved to stand as a supplement to what has been already observed concerning elephants.

The dead body of a Roman soldier who had been killed in a domestic tumult was carefully watched and guarded by his dog, who would not permit any person to touch the remains of his departed master. Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, happening to pass that way, took notice of so striking a spectacle, and enquired into the circumstances of the case. On being informed that the man had been slain three days before, and that the dog in all that time had neither stirred from the body, nor taken any food, the king ordered the corpse to be interred, and the dog to be taken care of, and brought to him. The creature soon grew fond of Pyrrhus: who, shortly after, ordering his forces to be mustered, the soldiers passed before him in review. During this ceremony, the dog for some time lay quietly at his feet; until seeing those soldiers march by who had murdered his late master, he sprung at them with such rage and fierceness, and turned himself to Pyrrhus with such meaning in his looks and gestures, that the men were sent to prison on suspicion of having committed the crime with which the dog seemed to charge them. Being strictly examined, they confessed themselves guilty, and were accordingly executed.

The temple of Æsculapius, at Athens, was furnished with many rich ornaments and utensils of gold and silver. A robber who was desirous of paying his compliments to some of this wealth, accomplished his design with such art and secrecy, that he supposed all discovery of the offender to be impossible. A dog, indeed, belonging to some of those whose office it was to watch the temple, had done his duty, by barking incessantly; but the sextons either did not, or would not, take the alarm. The honest animal, faithful and steady to his purpose, pursued the thief, who in vain attempted to keep him at bay. He pelted him with stones; but the dog still followed. He tried to bribe him by throwing him pieces of meat; but the dog refused to touch them. The pursuer still kept the criminal in view, nor lost sight of him, until he had watched him to his place of habitation (which was at some distance from Athens), where he posted himself as sentinel at the door. Whenever the culprit ventured from home, Cipparus (for so the dog was called) still haunted him. The news of the robbery was soon made public, but the robber still remained undetected; until information being given that Cipparus, the temple-dog, was at such a place, and perpetually harassing such a person, though fawning on every body else; proper officers were dispatched, who took the suspicious man into custody. While they were conducting him to examination the dog, conscious of the distinguished part he had borne in bringing the miscreant to justice, ran before them all the way, jumping and giving every demonstration of joy. The Athenian people recompensed the zeal, faithfulness, and assiduity of Cipparus, by assigning him to the care of the priests who officiated in the Æsculapian temple, and by voting him a supply from the public stores for his maintenance.

Among the many useful inferences deducible from such instances as these, one which Plutarch himself suggests must not be omitted. "They," says this valuable philosopher, "who suppose that there are no such things as gratitude and justice due from us to animals of inferior rank, must be understood in reference to such animals only as are absolutely untamable; and particularly to those that live in the sea and occupy the recesses of the deep. For the sea produces no creature that is capable of contracting friendship with man, and all its inhabitants are incurably wild. But the person who insists that moral obligation has nothing to do in regulating our treatment of land animals (especially domestic ones), proclaims himself to be no better than a savage and a brute, in the worst sense of those terms. Was no respect due to the Hyrcanian dog who, when he saw his master's corpse burning on the funeral pile, jumped into the flames, and was consumed with it? Nor to the dog of one Pyrrhus (not the king), who gave his deceased master the same testimony of affection?"

SOLAR SYSTEM.

1. In the centre of our mundane system, and at a just distance from the circumvolving planets, is fixed that most magnificent and beneficial orb of fluid fire, the sun; designed and formed by gracious and Almighty Wisdom, to be the grand unfailing dispenser of light and heat to the animal, the mineral, and the vegetable worlds.

So essentially important are its communications to the earth and her sister planets, that the adorable Saviour of sinners is in Scripture figuratively shadowed forth to our conceptions by an idea taken from this brightest of visible objects. "The Lord God is a sun and shield: he will give to his chosen people the light and warmth of grace below, and crown that grace with perfection of glory, in the heaven of heavens above (Psal. lxxxiv. 11)." And the Father's endearing promise, made

and fulfilled to each spiritually awakened sinner is, " To you that fear my name shall the sun of righteousness arise, with healing in his beams." Mal. iv. 2.

2. How extremely small the material sun appears, in comparison of its real (*g*) magnitude! Who that is guided merely by the naked eye would suppose that luminary to be, what in fact it is, not less than a million of times larger than our whole extensive globe of earth and seas? When purblind reason takes upon her to sit in judgment on the mysterious nature, decrees, and dispensations of God, she resembles the short-sighted optics of an unlettered Indian, who estimating the size of the sun by his own inadequate perceptions, imagines it to be of much less circumference than the floor of his hut; and, was a philosopher to apprise him of his mistake, would ask, with an unbelieving stare, if not with a contemptuous smile, How can these things be? Between the sun's real and apparent dimensions some, though exceeding little, proportion obtains. But when the second person in the godhead deigned to clothe himself with mortality, his appearance bore no proportion to his infinite and essential dignity. Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary? was the decision of unilluminated reason. The eye of supernatural faith alone was able to see through the human veil, discern the latent Deity, and behold his glory as the glory of the Only Begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.

3. What a diminutive figure would our earth make if seen from the sun by eyes so constructed as ours! It would appear a million of times smaller than the sun now seems to us: *i. e.* it would be hardly, if at all, visible. Why is the sun no larger in our sight? Because of our extreme (*h*) distance from it? The earth why so large? Because we are resident upon it. And, wherefore, O my soul, are the glorious things of God, and the important concerns of futurity, no greater in thy view? Because the remains of original corruption still keep thee at some distance from thy master; and hinder thee from seeing eternal realities in the momentous light they deserve. Why do the perishing interests of time appear so great? Because we are immediately conversant with them; and they have naturally too deep a place in our vile affections. Milton represents the seraph Uriel, as dwelling in the sun. Was this in a spiritual sense our case; were our hearts right with God, and could we constantly walk in the near, uninterrupted light of his blessed countenance, how would the world dwindle in our esteem? What a speck, what a comparative nothing would it appear!

4. The presence of the solar beams constitutes day-light; and stars which, during our recess from the sun, spangled the sable canopy of night, and glittered to the view of gazing nations, not only cease to dazzle, but even forbear to twinkle, and become quite invisible, when the lucid monarch of the sky re-gilds our hemisphere with his gladdening smile. The superior lustre absorbs the inferior; and those shining drops, which so lately attracted our admiration, are lost, absolutely lost, in one vast magnificent ocean of light. Such is the fate of human righteousness, when Christ, in his fulness of mediatorial beauty and grandeur, rises on the soul of a benighted sinner. In our pharisaical and unconverted state (a state of tenfold deeper than Egyptian darkness), our good works, as we are apt flatteringly to style them, charms us with their petty, evanid radiance,

" As stars, from absent suns, have leave to shine."

But no sooner is Jesus, by the internal agency of his spirit, revealed in our hearts, and his completely finished obedience discovered to the eye of faith, than we cease going about to establish our own righteousness, and joyfully submit to the imputed righteousness of the incarnate God. Self-excellence and self-dependance vanish, in that blessed moment: and the language of the soul is, " Thy merits, O thou Redeemer of the lost, are all my salvation; and an interest in thee is all my desire."

5. The atmosphere, or that body of air which encompasses our globe forty-five miles every way, is equally important to the life of animals, and to the vegetation of plants. But it would quickly cease to answer these valuable ends, were it not for the additional influence of the sun. Whereas, in subordination to that, and as a medium between that and us, it ministers every moment, to our best temporal interests. Thus the ordinances of the gospel are to be numbered among those streams which gladden the Church of God, if, and when, he makes

(*g*) The sun's diameter, or width from edge to edge, is no fewer than eight hundred and twenty-two thousand one hundred and forty-eight miles; and its circumference, two millions five hundred and eighty-two thousand miles. The diameter of the earth is not quite eight thousand.

(*h*) A line extended from the surface of the earth to that of the sun would be eight hundred and sixty millions fifty-one thousand three hundred and ninety eight miles in length.

Mr. Derham (see his Phys. Theo. book i. chap. 4.) computes that a bullet, discharged from a large gun, would not (even supposing it to travel with its utmost, unabated velocity) reach the sun in less time than thirty-two years and a half.

them the vehicles of his own presence and power to the soul. Abstracted from the converting and cherishing operations of the Holy Ghost, the best means of grace would infallibly leave us (as a sunless atmosphere would leave the earth) no less cold and unanimated than they found us.

6. To the sun are owing the jewels and the metals that enrich the bowels of our globe; together with every herb, flower, and tree, that beautify its surface.

"'Tis Phœbus warms the rip'ning ore to gold:"

It is the solar influence which gives brilliancy to the diamond, verdure to the leaf, tints to the flower, and flavour to fruits. So, the shinings of Christ's presence on the soul give existence and gradual maturity to the inward graces that enrich the heart, and to the peaceable works of righteousness which adorn the life of every true believer in his name.

7. Many of the ancients supposed that the sun moves round the earth; whereas, on the contrary, nothing is more demonstrable than that the earth is carried round the sun. The Arminians (like those mistaken people of antiquity) would persuade us that God regulates his decrees by the free-will (or, in a yet more impious phrase of theirs, by the self determined conduct) of the creatures he has made. This is just as absurd in theology, as it would be false in philosophy, to assert that the sun dances round the earth, instead of the earth's circuiting the sun. Scripture expressly assures us that the way of man is not in himself; neither is it in man that walketh to direct his own steps. Jer. x. 23. God does not, like a dependent lackey in a livery, adjust his motions by ours; but human conduct is adjusted and regulated (either permissively or effectively, according to the nature of the case) by the wise determinations of his sovereign and undefeatable will. He, as an uncreated and all-pervading sun, is the centre of the universal system; while the whole choir of created beings, without a single exception, perform their allotted planetary revolutions to the ultimate glory of that God "whose never-failing providence (as the Church of England finely expresses it) ordereth all things, both in heaven and earth."

8. Though the sun constantly occupies the same part of space, and is, in that respect, fixed and immoveable, it yet turns upon its own axis, and completes its central rotation in about 25 days and 6 hours. This regular and perpetual actuosity contributes, probably, to that amazing force and swiftness with which its rays are thrown off towards the distant worlds that revolve around. —Thus God is, necessarily and essentially, fixed and unchangeable in his will. He is of one mind; who can turn him? and what his soul desireth, even that he doth. Job xxiii. 13. This divine immutability is, however, connected with incessant, omnipotent, and universal activity; governing (*i*) all beings and events by his absolute providence; and diffusing sacred light and heat through the entire world of his converted people by the energy of his grace. His own sovereign decree is the axis on which he moves, and the only rule by which he regulates the whole of his effective and permissive conduct.

9. Modern astronomers have discovered what are commonly called *maculæ solares*; *i. e.* certain spots which hover near the surface of the sun. Sometimes a considerable number of these are visible at once; and very often none at all. Philosophers are greatly divided as to the nature and cause of these solar spots; though it is generally agreed that they are not adherent to the sun's disk, but suspended at some distance from it: and there is reasonable ground to believe that, after a temporary suspension, they fall into the body of that grand luminary, and are instantaneously transmuted into one splendid mass with itself. Whether those reputed spots be really in the sun or not, thus much is infallibly certain, that God is light, and in him is no darkness at all: no error, no impurity, no defect. The afflictive distributions of his providence, and the limited communications of his grace may, to the benighted eye of unregenerated reason, appear like the transitory spots which sometimes seem to disfigure the beauty and to impair the lustre of the sun. "I am afflicted beyond measure, and without cause," cries a child of unbelief while smarting under a providential rod. "God is partial and unjust, in converting some to holiness and leaving others to perish in their sins," say the unhumbled disciples of Arminius. On the contrary, the faith of God's elect teaches its happy subjects to give their heavenly Father unlimited credit for being perfectly wise and just and good, and to wait the end of his dispensations, when every seeming spot shall vanish, and God will make his righteousness as evident as the light, and his just dealing as the noon-day.

(*i*) Hence that noble confession of Sir Isaac Newton: "Æternus est [Deus], et infinitus, omnipotens and omniscions. Omnia regit, et omnia cognoscit, quæ fiunt, aut scirì possunt. In ipso continentur et moventur universa, sed absque mutua passione.—Deus nihil patitur, ex corporum motibus: illa nullam sentiunt resistentiam, ex omnipræsentiâ Dei. Deus, sine dominio, providentiâ, et causis finalibus, nihil aliud est quam fatum et natura."—Principia, sage. finem.

In proof of which this prince of philosophers appeals, among other texts, to Acts xvii. 27, 28.

10. Is it at all wonderful that the sun's transcendent brightness, if too intently surveyed, should dazzle and confuse the unassisted organs of human sight? Can it be otherwise, while that is so potent, and these so feeble? Go, then, thou pretended rationalist! and say, consistently with reason, if thou canst, that "Where mystery begins, religion ends." (*k*) Say rather, religion ends where mystery does not begin. If thou art unable with thy naked eye to look stedfastly at the material sun when shining in the fulness of its strength, who among the children of men is sufficient to comprehend the nature, the purposes, and the disposals of him before whose insufferable glory Gabriel and Raphael cover their faces with their wings?

"But fools rush in where angels fear to tread."

11. How astonishingly rapid is the transmission of light from the sun to our planet! I cannot display this so well as in the words of the accomplished Mr. Derham. (*l*) "It is a very great act of the providence of God that such a benefit as light is not long in its passage from place to place. For was its motion no swifter than the motion of the swiftest bodies upon earth (such as of a (*m*) bullet out of a great gun, or even of (*n*) sound, which, next to light, is the swiftest motion we have), in this case light would take up, in its progress from the sun to us, above thirty-two years at the rate of the first, and above seventeen years at the rate of the latter motion. The inconveniencies of which would be: 1. Its energy and vigour would be greatly cooled and abated; 2. Its rays would be less penetrant; and 3. Darkness would with greater difficulty and tardiness be dissipated, especially by the fainter lights of our sublunary luminous bodies.

"But passing with such prodigious velocity, with nearly the instantaneous swiftness of almost two hundred thousand miles in one second of time, or (which is the same thing) being but about seven or eight minutes of an hour in coming from the sun to us; therefore it is that, with all security and speed, we receive the kindly effects and influences of that noble and useful creature of God. Now, forasmuch as the distance between the sun and the earth is 860 millions, 51 thousand, 3 hundred and 98 miles, therefore, at the rate of 7 minutes and a half, or 450 seconds, in passing the sun, light will be found to fly above 191 thousand, 2 hundred and 25 miles in one second of time."

Truly wonderful as these considerations are, they yet afford but a very inadequate illustration of the power and swiftness with which the convincing arrows of the Holy Ghost are often found to pierce and illuminate the soul of an elect sinner. How was the energy of his arm revealed; how mightily and how rapidly did the meltings of his grace catch from heart to heart, when no fewer than three thousand rebels were savingly subdued and born again under a single sermon! Acts ii. 41.—What instantaneous and irresistible lightning issued from the eye of Jesus when he looked his revolted apostle into repentance unto life! —And, to enumerate no more instances, how great was the glory of that light which (in a moment, or in less time, if less can be) struck the bloody pharisee of Tarsus to the ground, transformed the furious lion into a passive lamb, and compelled a blaspheming persecutor to groan, from the inmost of his heart, Lord, what wouldst thou have me to do? Nor is less power from on high exerted in the soul of any man who is effectually turned to God. The same omnipotence which conquered Paul, yea, the same omnipotence which raised Jesus himself from the dead, has actually been put forth in thee, O reader, if thou hast experienced the renewing operation of the Holy Spirit. 1 Tim. i. 16. Eph. i. 19, 20.

Do we wonder at the account which philosophy gives concerning the speedy transmission of this lovely element from its created fountain to the earth? Let us rather value and admire that infinitely transcendant and more important blessing which the following golden passage so charmingly describes:—God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the person of Jesus Christ. 2 Cor. vi. 6.

Once more, light does not travel from the sun so swiftly as the quickened bodies of the saints shall rise into glory, honour, and immortality, when the Saviour of men shall

(*k*) These are the very words of a late Arminian author.

(*l*) Physico-Theology, b. i. chap. 4.

(*m*) According to the observations of Mersennus, a bullet shot out of a large gun flies 92 fathoms in a second of time, which are equal to 580 English feet and a half: and according to the computation of Mr. Huygens, it would be 25 years in passing from the earth to the sun. But, according to my own observations, made with one of her late Majesty's sakers and a very accurate pendulum chronometer, a bullet, at its first discharge, flies 510 yards in 5 half-seconds; which are a mile in little above 17 half-seconds; and a bullet would be 32 years and a half in flying, with its utmost velocity, to the sun.

(*n*) "As to the velocity of sounds, I made divers nice experiments with good instruments, by which I found that the medium of their flight is at the rate of a mile in nine half-seconds and a quarter, or 1142 feet in one second of time. According to which rate, a sound would be near 17 years and a half in flying as far as the distance is from the earth to the sun." —Derham.

appear, and the Archangel's trumpet sound. In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed.

12. Summer is usually the season of (*o*) heat, and winter of cold. Yet nothing is more certainly true than that the sun is much (*p*) nearer to us in winter than in summer. The annual path which the earth describes around the sun is not exactly circular, but eliptical, *i. e.* of a figure somewhat oval; whence it follows that our distance from that luminary is not always the same. For the reasons assigned in the first note below, we do not feel the solar heat during the keener months, though, in reality, we are less remote from the great source of light and warmth than at those times when its influence is more sensibly enjoyed. The believer, too, has his winter seasons of providential affliction and of spiritual distress. At such periods his views are occasionally dark, and his comforts liable to a temporary chill. Yet if the God of love is ever peculiarly near to his people for good, it is when his arrows stick fast in them, and when his hand presseth them sore. Behold, God is in this place, and I knew it not, was the retrospective experience of Jacob. While the spiritual winter lasts, be it thy endeavour to exercise what a late excellent person terms "The winter graces of faith and patience." At the time appointed thy consolations shall return as the clear shining after rain; and thy joy be as the sun when it goeth forth in its might. Then will be realized that elegant and reviving delineation of inward summer and prosperity of soul: the winter [of doubts and darkness, of pain and sorrow, of affliction and temptation, of coldness and barrenness, of storm and tossing] is past: the rain [of weeping and distress] is over and gone. The flowers [of peace and holy rejoicing] appear on the earth: the time of the singing of birds [when thy graces shall be all alert and lively, and thou shalt pray and praise with enlargement] is come: and the voice of the turtle [the still, small music of the Holy Spirit's voice, whispering peace to the conscience] is heard in our land. The fig tree putteth forth her green figs [fruitfulness in every good word and work shall evidence thy revival in grace], and the vines, with the tender grapes, impart their fragrancy: thy amiable and benevolent tempers, accompanied by all the other lovely effects of communion with God, shall justify thy faith to the world, and visibly adorn thy profession of the Gospel of Christ. —Cantic. ii. 11—13.

Yet though favoured with this happy and glorious experience, you must not expect (at least, it is not the lot of every believer) to enjoy summer all the year round. But however this be an eternity is coming, when thy sun shall no more go down, neither shall thy moon withdraw itself; for the Lord shall be thy everlasting light, and the days of thy mourning shall be ended. Isa. lx. 20.

13. The sun may in some sense be justly styled, *anima mundi*, or the soul of our revolving world. So universally pervading is its influence, that nothing is totally hid from the heat thereof: Psalm xix. 6. In a greater or less degree, it permeates the whole region of air, penetrates the inmost recesses of the earth, and distributes a competent portion of its beams through the vast expanse of waters. Hence, in and on our planet, there is no such thing as absolute darkness, truly and strictly so called. If our eyes were constructed in the same manner as those of subterraneous animals, we should, like them, be able to see without artificial help, at any distance below the surface of the earth, and by night as well as day. Not less universal than the solar agency is the all-directing providence of God. Nothing is exempted from its notice; nothing is excepted from its control. Chance, like absolute darkness, has no real existence. If some events seem fortuitous, it is because we have not a sufficiency of knowledge, by which to trace the chain of combinations that necessarily produced them: just as some places and some seasons seem totally dark to us, because our optic system is so framed and attempered, that on various occasions the human eye is unable to collect those scattered and proportionably expanded rays, from which no place whatever is entirely secluded.

14. In common conversation we frequently speak of solar eclipses. But what is called an eclipse of the sun is, in fact, an eclipse of the earth; occasioned by the

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(*o*) "There are two causes of the great difference between the heat and the cold in summer and winter: 1. The shorter or longer continuance of the sun above our horizon. In summer, long, which increases the heat as much as it lengthens the day. In winter, short, which diminishes heat as it shortens the day, and augments the cold as it lengthens the night. 2. The other cause is, the oblique or perpendicular direction of the sun's rays, the oblique being weaker than the perpendicular."—Astro-Theo. b. iv. ch. iv.

In summer the rays fall more perpendicularly upon the earth than in the winter; and, consequently, with more vivid and forcible effect. In winter they fall obliquely; and, therefore, with feebler and less sensible impression.

(*p*) "The sun's greater proximity to us in winter is manifest, from the increment of its apparent diameter to 32'. 47".; and the decrement thereof in summer to 31'. 40".

"Moreover its swifter motion in winter about the solstice, by a fifteenth part, is an argument of its being then nearer the earth. Whence it comes to pass that, from the vernal to the autumnal equinox, there are about eight days more than from the autumnal to the vernal."—Astro-Theology, u. s.

moon's interference, or transit between the sun and us. This circumstance makes no alteration in the sun itself; but only intercepts our view of it for a time. Whence does darkness of soul, even darkness that may be felt, usually originate? Never from any changeableness in our covenant God, the glory of whose unvarying faithfulness and love shines the same and can suffer no eclipse. It is when the world, with its fascinating honours, or wealth, or pleasure, gets between our Lord and us; that the light of his countenance is obstructed, and our rejoicing in him suffers a temporary eclipse.

15. Mists and vapours rising from the earth, sometimes operate as a vail, and hide the sun from our eyes; until the superior influence of its beams overpower the ascending nuisance, and dissipate the noxious steams. Thus do the remaining corruptions of a regenerated heart dim the prospect of salvation, and damp the fervour of inherent grace. Nothing can again brighten the former, and warm the latter into lively exercise, but the splendour of God's repeated rising on the soul. Happy it is for his benighted people, that as mists and clouds may seem to obscure the sun, but cannot extinguish him; nor even hinder the access of his rays beyond a certain time; so that faithful Jehovah, who knows what is in man, and who is still (*q*) greater [in mercy and power] than our hearts can be in point of sinful depravation, will finally subdue our iniquities, shine away our fears, purify us from all our dross and perfectly conform us to the image of his holiness.

16. The sun is commonly said to rise and set. This however is spoken merely in complaisance to appearances. The truth is that when the horizon of the earth gets below the sun, we then perceive his beams: and when the horizon gets above it we lose sight of them. Here remember as before that in all our varying frames of soul, the variations are not in God, but in ourselves. Remember too that you must lie low at his feet, if you would bask in the shinings of his face. Get above his word and ordinances, and no wonder if the horror of a great darkness fall upon you.

17. The sun possesses in a very supereminent degree, the two contrary powers of attraction and repulsion. By the former the circuiting planets are retained, each in its proper orbit; by the latter they are prohibited from approaching him too nearly. A faint emblem of God's paternal attributes on one hand; and of his terrific perfections on the other. Those encourage us to draw nigh to him as the everlasting lover of our souls; these restrain us from presumptuous familiarities, and from taking undue liberties with him who is glorious in holiness, fearful in praise, and whose greatness knows no limit.

18. The sun-beams, though unspeakably beneficent in their distributive capacity, yet if collected to a point, would be almost infinitely ruinous in their operation. The power of God considered as exerted in and for his believing people, becomes a gracious medium of their present and eternal felicity. But that same adorable attribute, when set in array against reprobate angels and men, burns as a fire which none can quench. Who knoweth the power of thy wrath? And oh, how irresistibly will that power be made manifest, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that believeth not the gospel!

19. How preferable is the original, durable, and vivifying light of the sun, to the borrowed, evanid, unanimating lustre of the moon! The former, while it illuminates the eye and uncovers the elegant scenes of creation, warms the earth and makes it fruitful; diffuses cheerfulness and imparts enrichment to no fewer than six primary, and ten secondary worlds.—As great is the difference between a cool historical faith, that floats in a contemplative head; and the faith of God's elect, which warms, invigorates and purifies the heart. The former is a mere moon-light faith, which however clear so far as it goes, yet leaves us as cold and as barren as it found us. The latter, like the solar communications, enlivens and fertilizes the soul; filling it with joy and peace, through the power of the Holy Ghost; and adorning it with the gems and flowers and fruits of grace.

20. St. Paul finely illustrates the eternal generation of Christ by a grand idea taken from the material sun. The passage I refer to is Heb. i. 3. where our adorable Surety is styled Απαυγασμα, *i. e.* the forth-beaming of the Father's glory. Perhaps no other object in the whole compass of nature could have supplied the apostle with a piece of imagery equally majestic, delicate and just. Light proceeds from the sun, and yet the sun never existed without light. Christ is at once the begotten of the Father and coeternal with him. The sun's rays, or unintermitting efflux of light, are of the same nature with the sun itself: and Christ is εν μορφη (Phil. ii.) *i. e.* a person in the same essence with the Father Almighty, and joint partaker of all his lovely, glorious and infinite attributes. Could light be exterminated from the sun, the sun itself as such, would inevitably be destroyed: and to deny the deity of Jesus, is virtually to deny the existence of God. For whosoever denieth

(*q*) 1 John iii. 20.

the Son, hath not the Father; but he that acknowledgeth the Son hath the Father also.

Sixteen planets, or moving worlds, describe their revolutions round the sun. They are distinguished, (1.) into primary and secondary; (2.) into superior and inferior.

(1.) The primary planets are six; and make their circuits in the following order. Nearest to the sun rolls Mercury. Beyond the orbit of Mercury is that of Venus: who though she maintains her lively dance with unremitting speed, yet cannot complete her rotation in so short a time, as the first-mentioned planet; because her path being exterior to his she has a greater portion of space to measure than he. In the third (and consequently in a still more extensive) circle moves the earth; accompanied like a genteel traveller by a single, but faithful and steady servant the Moon. Beyond the earth, Mars fetches a yet larger and proportionably longer circuit. Next Jupiter rides in state like a person of dignity and opulence, adorned with three beautiful zones or belts, and attended by a retinue of four obsequious moons. Lastly Saturn the outermost (*i. e.* the farthest from the sun and from the earth) of all the rest pursues his majestic and long career: encompassed (but at a respectful distance, without touching his surface) by a magnificent arch commonly termed his ring, and waited on by five moons.—Such are the names, which for distinction's sake, astronomers have affixed to the primaries.——The secondary planets are the ten forementioned satellites, or attending moons: which revolve around three of their primaries; and at the same time accompany their masters in their periodic journey round the sun.

(2.) Those planets are called superior which are farther from the sun than ourselves: *viz.* Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. The inferior planets are those two which are nearer to the sun than we; *i. e.* whose orbits are between the sun and us: *viz.* Mercury and Venus.

Before we give each of these revolving worlds a distinct and particular consideration, let us pause for a moment, and view them collectively through the Scripture-glass.

1. A plurality of worlds is more than intimated by the apostle Paul. In concert with his eternal Son, God the Father made the worlds: Heb. i. 2. And hence, on the credit of divine information through faith we understand, that the worlds were framed by the word of God. Heb. xi. 3. Nor was the co-equal spirit unactive on the great occasion: for as by his agency life was breathed into man (Job xxxiii. 4); so by his commanding power, he garnished the heavens with beauty, grandeur and light: Job xxvi. 13.

2. By whom are the planets supported? and whose hand impels them with never-ceasing rapidity, round the central ocean of fire? They are supported and impelled, by that very person whose human soul was made an offering for sin; and whose hands were nailed to the ignominius tree. By him, all things consist, or are held together: Col. i. 17.—He both sustains and carries [φερων] all things by the word of his own power (Heb. i. 3.): he upholds the entire universe of suns and worlds; and by the omnipotency of his sovereign will he carries the rolling worlds round their respective suns.

3. It has already been noticed, that some of the planets finish their rotations in much less time than others. The nearer they are to the sun the more speedily they revolve. Mercury, for instance, is not quite 88 days in accomplishing his year: while Saturn takes up considerably more than 29 of our years in circuiting the same common centre.————Thus some of God's converted people are soon matured for glory, by their nearness to, and intimate communion with, the sun of righteousness These are frequently known to out-run their brethren, and (like John at the tomb of our Lord) to reach the sepulchre, finish their course, and ascend to their master's joy, at a very early period. While other saints, who either do not ripen so fast, or who have a larger field of usefulness to occupy on earth, are detained from their crown, until they are full of years and good works. Each of these is gathered, as a shock of corn, in its season. O believer, if thy God summon thee away betimes, his spirit will first perfect that which concerneth thee; nor will Providence apply the sickle until grace has made thee white for the harvest. Or, if he lengthened thy thread, having much for thee to do, and much to suffer; he will shew himself the God of thy old age, and not forsake thee when thou art grey-headed: for he hath inviolably declared, Even to your old age I am he; and even to hoary hairs will I carry you: I have made, and I will bear; even I will carry, and will deliver you. Isa. xlvi. 4. Remember, to thy great and endless comfort, that

> "His ev'ry word of grace is strong,
> As that which built the skies:
> The voice that rolls the stars along,
> Speaks all the promises." (r)

4. How amicably and how regularly do the various planets move! In a series of

(r) Watts.

almost 6000 years there has been no interference, no collision, no subversion of order, no deficiency of service, no cessation of activity. Each is made to comport itself, as though each knew its allotted line of duty, and were determined that nothing should divert it from its course. The secondary orbs, without weariness and without complaint, minister to the greater; while these, without boasting and without upbraiding, as cheerfully (*s*) repay, with accumulated interest, the kind offices they receive.————Thus let inferiors serve; and thus let superiors requite!

5. The primary planets take the secondaries along with them, in their passage round the sun; and the secondaries attend them, with the most perfect and unrepining readiness.————Thus should parents, tutors, and masters of families, train their children, their pupils, and their dependents, in the knowledge and admonition of the Lord; and labour to take as many with them to heaven as they can. Blessed are the guides, who exert their influence to purposes so unspeakably important: and blessed are the ears, which listen joyfully to the instruction that maketh wise unto salvation.

6. As all the planets perform their revolutions without intermission; so, they make the end of one revolution the beginning of another. They are never languid, never fatigued. They renew their beauteous toil again and again; nor will ever stop until the archangel swears, by Him who liveth from eternity to eternity, that time shall be no longer.—Equally intense, uninterrupted, and unwearied, the obedience of Adam was ere sin profaned the temple of the soul. Such, too, the obedience of the elect angels has been, and is to this very moment. Such, moreover, the true believer on earth wishes (but wishes, alas, in vain) to pay his Lord. And such shall the obedience, both of saints and of angels, for ever be in the paradise of God.

> "Then shall we sing, and never tire,
> In that blest house above;
> Where sin, and fear, and pain expire,
> Cast out by perfect love.
> Then not the sun shall, more than I,
> His Maker's will perform:
> Nor shine with brighter purity,
> Nor burn with zeal so warm."

1. Of all the planets, Mercury, as already hinted, revolves nearest to the sun. His diameter (*t*) amounts to 2748 English miles: and his whole globe, is to our's, as 2 to 5. The orbit or path which he describes round the sun, measures 66,621,000 English miles: (*u*) and yet he moves with such prodigious velocity (*viz.* at the rate of (*x*) almost 100,000 miles an hour; which is nearly as swift again as the motion of our earth), that he completes his year, or solar rotation, in about 7 days and 23 hours. His distance from the sun, is not quite 32 millions of miles; and he is about 18 millions of miles distant from us.

The venerable and ingenious Mr. Browne has given us a comprehensive and pleasing description of this planet in the compass of four lines:

> "First, verging on the lucid fount of day,
> Bright Mercury directs his circling way:
> In three short months he rounds the solar sphere,
> His seasons shifts, and ends the transient year." (*y*)

2. Mercury's proximity to the sun, renders him, except at a few particular seasons, invisible to the inhabitants of our world. From the vast exuberance of light in which he is almost lost in our view, astronomers have, I believe, been hitherto unable to ascertain the period of his diurnal motion on his own axis; or even to pronounce with certainty, whether he have any diurnal motion, or not.—Similar are many secret acts of prayer, praise, faith, love, and humiliation, which true believers exercise towards their heavenly Father. Remote from the prying eye of man, they pour out their souls into the bosom of the Lord, and, wrapt in the comforts of his presence (like Mercury in the beams of the sun), the curiosity of others wishes in vain to know the whole of what passes between God and them. As, on one hand, there are occasions, when it is our bounden duty, for the honour of our master and for the edification of our neighbour, to let our light shine before men; there are at times also, when it behoves us to enter into our closets, and to shut the door about us, and hold sequestered communion with him who sees in secret. This distinction reminds me of a little anecdote, not entirely foreign from the subject. A late prelate in the North of England, had conceived some illiberal prejudices against a clergyman of his diocese. With intent to embarrass the divine, his lordship thus addressed him, at a public visitation: "Mr. ——, you give away a great deal to the poor; but your charity is of the ostentatious kind. You are too public, in the distribution of your bounty, I do not hear of any private good you do. It is all with sound of trumpet." The answer was sensible and pertinent: "My lord, I care not how much you hear of my

(*s*) The earth, for example, communicates a much greater quantity of light to the moon, than the moon can possibly reflect to the earth. Admitting the moon to be fifteen times smaller than our own planet; the latter must impart fifteen times more light to her, than she to us.

(*t*) Derham's Astro. Theol. p. 11. edit. 1719.
(*u*) Derham, ibid. p. 20. book iii.
(*x*) Brown's Ess. on the Universe.
(*y*) Essay, u. s

public charities, nor how little you hear of my private ones."

3. Mercury, though rarely discernible, is sometimes seen, like a dark spot on the sun's disk, as he passes between him and us. (*z*) The transit of this planet is said to have been first observed by Gassendi, in the year 1632.—Thus the illumined side of Mercury commonly eludes our notice: but his dark hemisphere excites our attention, and strikes our view. We too frequently act a similar part by each other. A fellow Christian, or any conspicuous character, may shine unregarded: whereas, if his brightness become in any respect clouded and over-cast, our telescopes are up, our eyes in full employ, our tongues proclaim his defects; and it is well, if magnifying and multiplying glasses do not lend their assistance on the occasion.

4. Not a single moon, or secondary orb, accompanies Mercury in his progress. He pursues his solitary journey without a servant, without a companion. Yet in no wise discouraged by this circumstance, he cheerfully speeds his rapid course, and rather flies than rolls round the vivifying centre of light and heat. The sun is, to him, in the stead of every other friend; and more than supplies the absence of a thousand attendants.—Providence may, perhaps, cast your lot, O Christian, in a place, or fix you in a family, where you may not find any with whom you can take sweet religious counsel, and walk in the house of God as brethren. Be not, however, disheartened; neither dejectly ask, Who will shew me any good? but make the psalmist's prayer your own: Lord lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon me! If you experience continual nearness of God through the Spirit; and are as Mercury, *in sole positus*, irradiated and warmed by direct communion with Christ, no matter whether you travel to heaven in company or alone. In the best sense of the word, you are sure of not being alone; for all the persons in the godhead, and angels who minister to the heirs of salvation, are your companions and guardians, your guides and familiar friends. Nor will they cease to watch over you for good, and to keep you in all your ways, until you enter the celestial house not made with hands; where you will, to all eternity, associate with the innumerable assembly and church of the first-born, who were written in heaven.

5. The solar light and heat are supposed to strike the surface of Mercury with seven-fold greater intenseness, than is experienced on the surface of our earth at the hottest seasons. If this be the case, and if the inhabitants of that planet are embodied beings, their eyes must be differently constructed from ours, to sustain such excess of light; and their whole corporeal system differently constituted, to endure such extremity of heat. But shall we conclude, that Mercury is not inhabited, because, according to our present temperament, we should probably be unable to live there, on account of its vicinity to the sun? A Mercurian might with equal propriety pronounce the earth (*a*) uninhabitable, because of its comparative remoteness from the grand luminary. After all, to adopt the reasoning of an elegant and profound philosopher, "As the animal constitution with respect to heat and cold may be widely different on the same planet; so there may not be such a difference of the degrees of heat and cold, on the planets nearer to and more distant from the sun, as we imagine. The nature of an atmosphere, and the alterations happening in it, produce sometimes sultry heat, and sometimes piercing cold, contrary to what should be the effect of the sun's rays separately considered: so that heat and cold do not absolutely depend on a planet's nearness to, or distance from, the sun; but, together with these on some other causes. We are considerably farther from the sun in the summer months than in the winter: yet our weather is then generally much warmer.—Though Saturn has but about the hundredth part of the

(*z*) Baxter's Matho. vol. i. p. 71.

(*a*) "Some fancy, should the planetary train
A race of living animals contain,
Those fix'd in Mercury's too splendid seat
Must sink, oppress'd, beneath the fervent heat;
Or, by too strong a ray, the tortur'd sight
Fail, quite o'erpower'd with unabating light.
"Allow me this, what disputants maintain:
Nor will it render our opinion vain,
The same of us, might the Mercurials hold,
A planet uninhabitably cold!
And those, reverse, in Saturn's icy seat,
Suppose us scorch'd with more than Ætna's heat.
Each by their world comparing our's, might deem
Their reasons firm, and err in wide extreme.
"But let th' objection stand. Some orbs, suppose,
Scorch'd with hot rays, or chill'd by pris'ning snows.
No doubt the Almighty could his worlds replete
With creatures suited to their various seat;
Intense degrees of cold or heat to bear,
Of light or gloom a pleasing proper share:
To them agreeable, by nature blest,
Painful howe'er imagin'd by the rest.
"Of this, on earth, similitude we find;
Each place to fit inhabitants assign'd,
The bird of Jove, with an undazzled sight,
Kens the clear sun, and tow'rs to reach his light:
While the benighted bat, and owl obscene,
Attend the chariot of the shadowy queen,
Upward the feath'ry nations all repair,
And range, at large, th' extensive fields of air
To firmer earth the grosser kinds adhere,
And watery realms the finny natives cheer.
The ant and mole their downward courses guide;
And deep intrench'd, a gloomy race reside:
And bees their artful palaces contrive
In the close cavern of their darksome hive.
"Pleas'd, to his destined mansion each is prone;
Form'd best to suit, and best approve, his own."

See Browne's Essay, u. s. where the argument for the habitability of the planets is very ingeniously pleaded; and, in my opinion, satisfactorily proved.

sun's heat which we feel, I am not sure whether the hundredth part of our heat will amount to any degree of positive or real cold, without the co-efficiency of some other positive and real cause; and it is not difficult, I think, to conceive that the constitution of his atmosphere may be such as to make that planet a mild and temperate clime. And if there be any weight in this reasoning, it will not be hard to apply it to the inferior planets, Mercury and Venus. For we sometimes feel the heat of our summer as much qualified by some different cause as the rigour of our winter." (*b*)

6. Mercury being very considerably nigher the sun than we, the dusk of that illustrious object, viewed by a Mercurian spectator, appears (as is computed) seven times larger than it does to us.——Thus, the nearer we spiritually dwell to God, the more glorious does Christ, both as a divine person and as a Mediator, shine to the eye of faith. They who unhappily entertain low and degrading ideas of Jesus, give but too infallible demonstration that they themselves are far, extremely far, removed from the light of Jehovah's truth, and from the warmth of Jehovah's grace.

7. Mercury's appearances (like those of our moon) are (*c*) various, according to his situation in respect of the sun. Sometimes he seems quite dark; at others falcated, or horned; and sometimes shining fully, or with a hemisphere entirely illuminated.—In the present stages of spiritual experience, the believer's interior comfort and his exterior lustre greatly depend on the position of his heart toward the uncreated sun of righteousness. How obscure and benighted are our views, and how languid our exercise of grace, when an unbelieving, a worldly, or a careless spirit interrupts our walk with God! But if the out-goings of our souls are to him, and if the in-pourings of his blessed influence be felt, we glow, we kindle, we burn, we shine. This may be called (to borrow an astronomical phrase) our superior conjunction with the sun; and at those distinguished seasons of peace and joy in the Holy Ghost,

> Clearly we see and win our way,
> Shining unto the perfect day,
> And more than conquer all."

1. Next beyond the orbit of Mercury is that of Venus, a planet not so respectable for her magnitude as for her beauty, arising from the brilliancy, the clearness, and the steadiness of her light. A very accomplished (*d*) astronomer observes that "Venus is the brightest when she is about 40 degrees removed from the sun; at which time only a part of her lucid disk is to be seen from the earth. In this situation Venus has been many times seen in the day-time, and even in full sun-shine. This beauty and brightness of Venus are very admirable, who, having no native light of her own, and only enjoying the borrowed light of the sun, should yet break forth into so great a lustre, that the like is not to be observed in Jupiter, nor even in our moon when she is in the same elevation from the sun. It is true the moon's light is (to our view) much greater, on account of her apparent magnitude, than that of Venus, yet it is but a dull and, as it were, a dead light, which has nothing in it of the vigour and briskness that always accompany the beams of Venus."—Thus should the ministers of Christ shine with gospel-light derived from him, and irradiate the visible church with the purest and most vivid beams of celestial truth. In allusion to this part of their character, our Lord styles his messengers the light of the world, the candles in the midst of the churches, and the stars which he holds in his right hand. In point of steadiness and of consistency, and of communicativeness to others, they should resemble the suns, or fixed stars, which never deviate from their spheres, but impart unwavering and unremitting light to all around them. In point of zeal, and of activity, and of indefatigableness in their holy calling, they should, like the planetary globes, without cessation and without weariness, pursue their shining course, and, conformably to the maxim of Julius Cæsar,

"Think nothing done while aught remains to do." (*e*)

2. In this respect Venus is a pattern both to ministers and to private believers. She rolls round the sun in about 225 days, which constitute her year, and at the rate of 70,000 miles an hour; which exceeds the velocity of the earth's annual motion by about 10,000 miles an hour. Thus this exemplary planet connects the most pleasing graces of lustre and delicacy with all the ardour of diligence and rapidity; like some elegant and industrious lady, who crowns the charms of personal beauty with the still more valuable services of domestic housewifery.

(*b*) Baxter's Matho. vol. ii. p. 120—122.

(*c*) Mercurium et Venerem circa solem revolvi, ex eorum phasibus lunaribus demonstratur. Plena facie lucentes, ultra solem siti sunt; dimidiatâ, è regione solis; falcata, cis solem: per discum ejus, ad modum macularum, non-nunquam transeuntes.—Newtoni Princip. p. 360.

(*d*) Dr. Edmund Halley. See Keill's Astronomical Lectures, Lect. xv.

(*e*) Nil actum reputans, dum quid superesset agendum

3. Besides her yearly tour around the sun, it is more than probable that Venus performs a regular revolution about her own axis. From the *maculæ*, or spots, which, in the years 1665 and 1666, Cassini and Campani discovered on her surface, (*f*) those two philosophers have ascertained the reality of her diurnal motion, which diurnal motion she accomplishes in about 23 days; so that one of her days is equal to 23 of ours. One duty should not be permitted to supersede another. There are personal duties which we owe to ourselves, no less than relative duties which we ought to exercise toward our neighbours. Connect the two together in your own practice, and you will exhibit a moral exemplification of the harmony with which Venus and the other moving spheres accomplish their compound (*i. e.* their annual and diurnal) rotations, without any shadow of competition or interference.

"On their own axis as the planets run,
Yet make at once their circle round the sun;
So two consistent motions act the soul,
And one regards itself, and one the whole." (*g*)

But be it carefully remembered, that as the sun is the ultimate and common centre of all the planetary movements, so we shall never be able to discharge our various personal and social duties acceptably to God, in spirit and in truth, until his glory is the grand and sole end of all the works and duties we perform, whether immediately referrable to ourselves or others. "As unto the Lord, and not [merely] unto men," least of all for the pleasing or aggrandizing of that wretched thing called self, may stand as the universal motto to every virtue that is truly Christian and evangelical.

4. Venus, though so justly admired for her beauty, and celebrated for her lustre, still has her dark side. When this is turned toward our earth, her rays are no longer beheld, and she herself becomes invisible. —As each believer, shine he ever so brightly, is at present sanctified but in part, need we wonder if, on some occasions, the splendour of his gifts and the radiancy of his graces suffer a temporary eclipse? At such times let our candour and forbearance have their perfect work. After a certain period Venus will emerge from the shade and beam forth in all the loveliness of her usual lustre; and when the declining saint has sat his appointed time in darkness, the Lord will again be a light unto him. Happy is that benighted soul whose faith (for it is the peculiar business of faith's eye to see in the dark) can pierce the gloom, anticipate the return of day, and long for a final approximation to the sun of righteousness in that world of glory where no more cloud nor darkness shall obscure our views, tarnish our graces, or damp our joys for ever.

5. The solar light and heat on Venus are estimated to be four times greater than on the planet inhabited by us. Why? Because her distance from the source of both is considerably less than ours.—In like manner bright evidences and warm experiences of our interest in Christ, and of the work of his Spirit upon our souls, are generally the blessed consequences of living near to God, and of walking closely with him in all holy conversation, prayer, and watchful godliness. The joy and liveliness of grace (though not grace itself) may be sinned away. Spiritual comfort is a tender plant, and requires much delicacy of treatment. To be triumphant and alert in the ways of God, you must take equal heed of wandering and of slumbering

6. Venus's orbit, or path of rotation, is, for the most part, extremely regular, hardly any point of it being more remote from the sun than another. Hence this planet is remarkable for always preserving nearly an equal distance from that luminary. Similar is the experience of some believers. They enjoy rather an even and settled peace, than any exuberant overflowings of consolation. Their habitation is mostly on the middle region of Mount Tabor, instead of being now elevated to the summit, and anon turned down into the valley below. The manner is not always exactly the same in which the Holy Spirit trains his disciples to a meetness for their heavenly inheritance. Like a judicious and careful tutor, he wisely and condescendingly adapts his modes of instruction to the genius and to the particular improvement of each individual pupil, until, having taken their appointed degree in grace, they ascend, one by one, to their glorious home above.

7. Venus is in size somewhat less than our earth, and yet contains about the same quantity of matter, though in a smaller compass. In other words, the body of Venus is denser than that of the earth, as being so much nearer the sun. Appearances are not the invariable standard of intrinsic worth. Our globe, which is undeniably larger, or occupies more space than Venus, is not more wealthy, in constituent particles, than she. Her's lie closer together than our's, and therefore make less show. Our's are less compact, or compressed, than her's, and therefore swell into a greater visible magnitude.

8. It is probable that Venus, like Mercury, has no attending satellite, or moon. Cassini, indeed, in the last century, thought

(*f*) See Chambers, on the word Venus.

(*g*) Pope's Essay on Man, Epist. 3.

he had discovered one; but he seems to have been mistaken. Venus's vicinity to the sun seems to render the contrast of both a comparative commonness. Just as, in the works of the heavens, the events will need no commentary of our words, our other means of grace, because they will then walk in the light of the Lamb, and, with open face, behold the glory of the Lord.

5. Towards the beginning of the present century, Monsieur De la Hire detected some mountains in Venus, which, on accurate investigation, he found to be considerably longer, not only than the largest on earth, but than even the largest mountains hitherto discovered in the moon itself. Dion say unto me, "Wherefore, and for the accommodation of what intelligent beings is the surface of Venus, like those of the earth or the moon, diversified with mountains, valleys, and plains?" The only answer which can, at present be returned is, that the Almighty Creator hath wrought and continueth to order all things according to the counsel of his own will, which will is but another name for infinite certitude and unerring wisdom, operating, by universal and omnipotent power, through the fittest means, and to the noblest ends.

6. During part of the year Venus strikes us with morning star, conspicuous in which capacity she was called by the Greeks, Phosphorus, and by the Latins, Lucifer, both which appellations signify a brighter light. She never acts to this character, nor retains this appellation, except when she is retiring to the westward of the sun, and consequently rises before his rays. Thus, and then only, it is that the sparkles in the mild and benevolent harbinger of the day. When she is in the eastward of the sun, and sets after his disappearance, she retires to her dawn vespertine regency, and shines by the name of Hesperus, or the evening-star. Milton has given us a fine description of her under this title:—

> "——— Now glow'd the firmament
> "With living sapphires: Hesperus, that led
> "The starry host, rode brightest, till the moon
> "Rising in clouded majesty, at length
> "Apparent queen, unveil'd her peerless light,
> "And o'er the dark her silver mantle threw."

Again:

> "The sun was sunk, and after him the star
> "Of Hesperus, whose office is to bring
> "Twilight upon the earth, short arbiter
> "Between day and night."

Thus the lesser planet, like a ready and faithful friend, hastens to bring us the good news of approaching sunshine; and at other times, like a disinterested brother, that is born to soften our adversity, stays with us when the sun has left us, exerting the utmost of its light, to cheer the withered earth, and to brighten the gloom of the surrounding shades.

11. There is another particular, whereby Venus preaches an important lesson to the followers of Christ, viz. that the world was never yet known to unite interests, her and the sun. Whence the languor and the spiritual declensions, the darkness, and the soul distresses of many a child of light? Come they not, very frequently, from giving way to earthly cares, earthly joys, and earthly pursuits? No wonder that we must heavily and walk in the dark, while we cultivate that friendship with this world which is enmity with God. But if, on the contrary, our affections are set on the things above; if our treasure and our hearts are with Christ in heaven, we shall gradually walk in the light, as he is in the light, and enjoy an abiding perception of interest in his precious blood, which cleanseth from all sin. With regard to our worldly accommodations, if we kind particularly, must-rules to give us a competency to enjoy-rules as to pay tenpence, and to do some good to others, as we travel through the wilderness, we are rich, amply rich, to all the real purposes of rational happiness.

OBSERVATIONS AND REFLECTIONS

ABASEMENT

THE sweetest seasons on this side heaven are, when the soul sinks as into nothing before the face of God, and is absorbed in the sight of Christ and the sins of the flesh, which we feel the pressure of Deity, and divinely what we have, at the foot of the cross.

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1. "The lunar mountains are found higher in proportion to the body of the moon, than any terrestrial upon our globe; for the proportion we take the height of them to readily as they can find the measure of a mountain upon our earth. The height of St. Katherine's Hill in the moon is eight miles, which is three miles higher than the tops of the highest hills on earth." Keill, Lect. x.

For the manner in which the height of the lunar mountains is ascertained and demonstrated see Keill, ibid., and also Derham's Astro-Theology, book v. chap. ii. Note.

2. This year 1787. Venus was the evening star until June 7, from which day to the 30th she was the morning star. Ed.

3. Paradise Lost, book iv. l. 604, book ix. l. 46.

4. Paradise Lost, book v. l. 166.

5. These considerations by Mr. Ingram, and the estimate we arranged under their respective points (however never appear as objects of worship), are valuable. Sometimes when planets, in conjunction, [illegible] are called [illegible] and sometimes [illegible] Even these brilliant [illegible] Editor.

with weeping eyes, melting affections, and bleeding hearts.

When Christ entered into Jerusalem, the people spread their garments in the way. When he enters into our hearts, we pull off our own righteousness, and not only lay it under Christ's feet, but even trample upon it ourselves.

ACCEPTANCE.

What coming and what returning sinner need despair of acceptance? No man can be worse than St. Paul was before his conversion; and no man can be worse than St. Peter was after his conversion.

ACTIONS.

Where scripture is totally silent concerning the lawfulness or unlawfulness of any action, consult the book of your own conscience, and follow its dictates. Observe also, what does, or does not, tend to take off from your mind that exquisite sense of divine love which a believer would ever wish to cultivate and cherish.

AFFECTIONS.

A believer's affections are, too often, like a cascade, or waterfall, that flows downward; instead of being like a fountain, which rises and shoots upwards toward heaven.

AFFLICTIONS.

If you thoroughly exhaust a vessel of the air it contains, the pressure of the air on the outside will break that vessel into (perhaps) millions of pieces; because there is not a sufficiency of air within to resist and counteract the weight of the atmosphere from without. A person who is exercised by severe affliction, and who does not experience the divine comforts and supports in his soul, resembles the exhausted receiver above described; and it is no wonder if he yields, and is broken to shivers, under the weight of God's providential hand. But affliction to one who is sustained by the inward presence of the Holy Ghost, resembles the aërial pressure on the outer surface of an unexhausted vessel. There is that within which supports it, and which preserves it from being destroyed by the incumbent pressure from without.

Some persons are apt to walk in their sleep. They are said to be effectually cured of this dangerous habit by only once horse-whipping them soundly until they awake. God's people are apt to dose, and run themselves into danger; on which Providence takes the horsewhip of affliction, and brings them to themselves. Was he to spare the rod, his children would be spoiled.

The world is a sea of glass, affliction scatters our path with sand and ashes and gravel, in order to keep our feet from sliding.

In a long sunshine of outward prosperity, the dust of our inward corruptions is apt to fly about and lift itself up. Sanctified affliction, like seasonable rain, lays the dust, and softens the soul, and keeps us from carrying our heads too high.

The earth must be ploughed, and sown, and harrowed, and weeded, and endure many frosty nights and scorching days, in order to its being made and preserved fruitful. Gentle showers, soft dews, and moderate sun-shine will not suffice always. So it is with the soul of a fruitful Christian.

A person was lately observing of some fine ornamental china on his chimney-piece, that the "elegance of its figures, and the perpetuity of its colours were owing to its having been consolidated by passing through the fire." Is not the same remark applicable to the afflicted people of God?

ANTINOMIANS.

Christ is still crucified between two thieves; Antinomianism and Pharisaism.

ARMINIANS.

I much question whether the man that dies an Arminian can go to heaven. But certainly he will not be an Arminian when he is in heaven. The employ of the blessed is to cast their crowns at the feet of God and the Lamb, and to sing, "Not unto us, O Lord."

Should it be thought harsh to question the salvation of one who dies under the blindness of Arminianism; as if a man who only robs God in part might miss of glory; let it be considered that, even on earth, if a person robs me only of my watch, or of a single guinea, he has forfeited his life to the law, as much as if he had robbed me of all I am worth.

The old Arminians mentioned in scripture are blamed for thinking wickedly that God was such an one as themselves; but our new Arminians out-sin their predecessors, and actually represent God as a being in many respects considerably inferior to themselves. They suppose him both to form schemes with less wisdom, and to execute them with less power, spirit, and success, than a prime minister of common sense forms and executes his. They dare ascribe to God such impotence, blunders, imperfections and disappointments, as they would blush to ascribe to a Ximenes, or a Sully.

Arminians consider the grace that is inspired into a true believer's heart, as a text of scripture written upon a pane of glass, liable to be demolished by the first hand that flings a stone at it.

All the disputes between us and the Arminians may be reduced to these two questions: 1. Is God dependant on man, or is man dependant on God? 2. Is man a debtor to God, or God a debtor to man?

When the Arminians foolishly affirm concerning the will of an unregenerate man, *viz.*, that "its liberty consists in an indifference to good or evil, like a balance in equal poise;" holds true of a regenerate man in some circumstances, and in some respect, *viz.*, that a person who is happily resigned to God's providential disposals, may (in point of absolute acquiescence) be said to have his will in *equilibrio*, *i. e.* he wishes to be quite conformed to the divine pleasure, and to incline neither to prosperity nor adversity, life nor death, but is desirous that God's own hand may incline the scale. We are never truly contented, nor of (course) truly happy, until God and we have but one will between us.

The Arminians think, that in conversion God does little or nothing for men, but gives them a pull by the elbow, to awake them from their sleep. Rather, he acts as maritime officers do by their sailors; he cuts down the hammock of carnal security in which the elect are; down they fall, and the bruises and surprise they receive awaken them from their death in sin, and bring them to themselves whether they will or no.

According to Arminianism, grace has the name, but free-will has the game.

Arminians suppose God to give us heaven, as the king grants a brief for building a church. The brief runs, "We have granted our most gracious letters patent." But these same most gracious letters are amply paid for before they are granted. No fee, no brief.

Some people (especially the Arminians) seem to speak of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Established Church, as if those articles were like Mr. Van Bushel's newly-invented elastic garters, which are so contrived by springs, that they will accommodate and fit themselves to any leg that should wear them.

Arminians will ask, "Where's the use of preaching the doctrines of grace, even supposing them to be true? since we may go to heaven without a clear knowledge of them." And a man may go to heaven with broken bones; yet it is better to go thither in a whole skin. A man may get to his journey's end, though it rain and thunder all the way; yet it is more comfortable to travel in fair weather. You or I might make a better shift to live upon a scanty allowance of bread and water; yet, surely, an easy fortune, and a decent table are, in themselves, abundantly preferable to poverty and short commons. Who would wish to go upon thorns when his way may be strewed with roses?

Where is the difference between Arminianism and Epicurism? To suppose a fortuitous concourse of incidents is no less Atheistical than to suppose a fortuitous concourse of atoms.

I can compare some ranting Arminian preachers, who represent salvation as a matter of chance, and press men to help forward their own conversion, upon pain of damnation, to none so well as to auctioneers; who, with the hammer in their hands, are always bawling out, "Now is your time; now is your time: a-going, a-going, a-going."

Such a method is equally inconsistent with the analogy of faith, and subversive of the majesty of the gospel. Shall I order a dead soul to awake, and raise itself to life? Let me rather address the living God, and say, "Awake, and put on thy strength, O arm of the Lord! Breathe on these slain, that they may live!"

ASSURANCE.

It is not deemed presumptuous for the favourites of an earthly king to know and be conscious that they are so; and why should it be deemed presumptuous for the favourites of God to be assured of his love?

BELIEVER.

A truly enlightened believer (*i. e.* one who has a clear view of gospel privileges, and makes conscience of gospel duties), stands between two fires; the pharisees call him an Antinomian, and the real Antinomians call him a pharisee.

There is a true and sound sense in which we may say that a true believer may live as he will; for it is the prevailing will and desire of every real believer to life only to the glory of God. He is not a Christian who doth not delight in the law of God, after the inner man.

BIBLE.

To unconverted persons, a great part of the Bible resembles a letter written in cypher. The blessed Spirit's office is to act as God's decypherer by letting his people into the secret of celestial experience, as the key and clue to those sweet mysteries of grace, which were before as a garden shut up, or as a fountain sealed, or as a book written in an unknown character.

Whenever I preach from any passage in the Book of Canticles, or in the Book of Revelation, I consider myself as standing on ground peculiarly consecrated and mysterious. The scripture in general may be considered as the temple at large: but these two books as the holy of holies.

The most convincing argument, and most infallible demonstration that the scriptures are indeed the word of God, is to feel their enlivening, enlightening, and transforming power in our hearts.

BIGOTS.

Bigots are stiff, straitened, and confined; like Egyptian mummies, which are bound round with thousands of yards of ribbon.

Bigots are like some trees that grow by the sea shore, which do not spread their branches equally on all sides, but are blown awry, and stand entirely one way.

Bigots (like Nebuchadnezzar), if you fall not down at the word of command, before whatever image they set up, consign you at once to the burning fiery furnace.

CALL.

The largeness of the gospel (more properly termed, the ministerial) call does by no means imply the universality of grace. A fisher throws his net into the sea at large; not from an expectation of catching all the fishes that are in the sea, but with a view of catching as many as he can. And this is the end of indefinitively preaching to all.

CAPTIOUS HEARERS.

Wherever there is a Paul to preach, there will be a Tertullus to find fault.

CAVILLING.

Some people can no more help cavilling at the doctrines of grace, than some dogs can help howling at the sound of a trumpet.

CHRIST ALONE.

The house that is built partly on a rock, and partly on the sand, will fall; and the sinner who rests his hope of salvation partly on Christ, and partly on his own works, will be damned.

You may as well trust in the supposed merits and pretended intercession of the Virgin Mary, or other saints departed, as trust in your own good works, prayers, or any thing you can do and suffer, either as a compensation to God's justice for your sins, or as conducive toward your acceptance and salvation.

CHRIST S PURCHASE.

It is a common saying, that "He who buys land, buys stones," and all the weeds and rubbish which belong to the soil.—When Christ accepted of us in the decree of election (when the Father gave and made us over to him), and when he bought us afterwards with his blood; he took us with all our imperfections and wretchedness, for better for worse, as a bridegroom takes his bride, and as a purchaser buys an estate.

CHRISTIAN GRACES.

Wrap up ever so good a flint in silk or satin, and not a spark of its latent fire will appear. But bruise it with a hammer, or strike it with a steel, the dormant sparks will shew themselves. In prosperity the graces of a saint too often lie hid. In adversity they shine forth with light and heat, like a flint in collision with a steel.

CONFIDENCE.

If a merchant of incontestible opulence and honesty gives me his note of hand binding himself to pay me so much money; I have no reason to fear a failure of payment. "Mr. ——— is a person of vast wealth, and of as great integrity: my money, therefore, is as sure as if I had it in my pocket." Thus we reason concerning human things.

Give the same implicit credit to God's promises. We have it in his own writing, under his own hand and seal, that "Every one who believeth shall have everlasting life;" and "Whoso cometh unto me, I will in no wise cast out," &c. &c. Do not dishonour God's note of hand, by letting unbelief question either his ability or his veracity. Do not withhold from the God of heaven and earth that confidence which, in many cases, you cannot withhold from man.

CONSEQUENCES.

I am resolved, in the strength of grace, to preach all the truths of the gospel so far as I know them; and leave God to take care of consequences.

CONTEMPT.

To expose ourselves to worldly contempt and persecution for Christ's sake, is like going into the cold bath. At first it gives us a shock; but it grows easier and easier every time; until, by degrees, it ceases to be disagreeable.

CONTROVERSY.

It is in the Church as it is with nations: war must sometimes be carried on, in order to establish a sound and durable peace at last.

One moment's communion with God is worth all the controversial volumes in the world

CONVERSE.

A Christian too conversant with people of the world, resembles a bright piece of plate too much exposed to the air: which though in reality it continues plate still, yet grows tarnished and loses its fine burnish, and needs a fresh cleansing and rubbing up.

DARKNESS.

When a saint is in darkness all his expedients for delivering himself out of it are vain: they are literally dark lanterns, and will not afford him a single gleam to see by. The day will not dawn nor the shadows flee away until the sun of righteousness arises with healing in his wings. And we can no more command the rising of the spiritual sun within, than we can that of the natural sun without. We can only, like Paul's mariners, cast anchor and wish for day.

DEATH.

Believers should not have a slavish dread of death. Where is the infant that is afraid to go to sleep in its nurse's arms?

In those countries that are the seat of war, it is common to see a fine field of standing corn flourishing one hour and laid waste the next; when a party of the enemy have cut down, with their swords, what was ripening for the sickle, and given that to their horses for fodder which the husbandman hoped would repay him for his toil. —So does death, sickness or unforeseen disappointment, frequently disconcert our worldly schemes; and blast our expectations in a moment. Man turneth to his dust, and then all his thoughts perish.

To a true believer, death is but going to Church: from the Church below to the Church above.

A man would not be sorry to be ejected from a cottage in order to his living in a palace: and yet how apt we are to fear death, which to a child of God is but the writ of ejectment that turns him out of a prison, and transmits him to his apartments at court!

I have known many a believer go weeping to the river of death; but I never knew a believer go weeping all the way through it.

Even an earthly parent is particularly tender and careful of a dying child. Much more will the great and gracious Father of the elect support, cherish and defend his own children in the hour of death.

The world is a nursery of elect sinners. At death God transplants them, one by one, into the garden above; and fills up their places below with a fresh succession of spiritual trees.

The Church of the elect, which is partly militant on earth, and partly triumphant in heaven, resembles a city built on both sides of a river. There is but the stream of death between grace and glory.

Death to God's people is but a ferry-boat. Every day and every hour the boat pushes off with some of the saints, and returns for more.

DENOMINATIONS.

You may have seen the children of some fruitful family walking to church all clothed in a different colour. Yet are they all children of one parent; all brothers and sisters. So the various denominations of God's believing people.

DEPENDENCE.

The best watchfulness I know of is a continued looking to, and dependence on the grace of God's Holy Spirit, from moment to moment.

DIGNITY of the Children of GOD.

God's people below are kings incog. They are travelling disguised like pilgrims to their dominions above.—Once a king unto God always so: God does not make kings for the devil to unmake at his pleasure.—If you are spiritual kings, be holy. Should I meet a person all in dirt and rags, I should be mad was I to take that person for a king or a queen. Nor can I believe you to be royally descended, or crowned for the skies, unless you carry the marks of royalty in your life and conversation.—If any of God's anointed kings so far forget their dignity as to live in sin; their throne will shake; the crown will tremble on their heads; they will be driven from their palace for a time, like David, when he fled from Absalom, and went weeping over the brook Kidron. But like David, they shall be brought back again to Jerusalem (for Christ will not lose the purchase of his blood): though not until they have severely smarted for it.

God's people are kings and priests, Rev. i. 6.

1. As kings they are (1.) ordained to a kingdom of glory; and in the mean while, have an internal kingdom of holiness and happiness. (2.) They are anointed with the Holy Ghost. (3.) They are crowned. The doctrines of the gospel are the Church's crown and ornament. Rev. iii. 11. and xii. 1. (4.) They have the sceptre of God's strength to lean upon. (5.) And a globe also. They only truly enjoy even present life. Earthly kings hold a globe in their hands; but the spiritual kings have the globe under their feet. (6.) They have robes. The inner robe of sanctification; and the outer robe of Christ's righteousness for justification before God, Psalm xlv. (7.)

They have their guards: angels, grace, providence.

Before conversion they are *reges designati*, kings elect; after it *reges de facto*, actual kings.

2. As priests, they are devoted to God, and set apart for his service by a spiritual ordination. Here is a truly indelible character conferred: when the Holy Ghost lays the hand of his grace, not only upon the sinner's head, but upon the sinner's heart.—They offer up spiritual and moral sacrifices.—They pray.—They are blessers both in will and in act.

Inward holiness and eternal glory are the crown with which God adorns and dignifies his elect. But they are not the cause of election. A king is not made a king by the royal robes he wears, and by the crown that encircles his brow: but he therefore wears his robes, and puts on his crown because he is a king.

DISCRIMINATING GRACE.

Many pharisaical censures have been passed on such of God's ministers and people as have rejoiced at the indubitable, though late, conversion of Mr. D——s. (*o*) Let those unfeeling professors who carp and murmur at that, and similar displays of the Holy Spirit's condescending goodness and power, remember that they themselves, with their entire mock trappings of imaginary excellence and inherent perfection must be unfrocked of all, and trust in the above righteousness of Jesus with brokenness of heart, or they will never enter the paradise of God; the holiest saint stands exactly on the same level with the vilest of mankind, in point of merit, and has just as much righteousness (*i. e.* absolutely none at all) to qualify him for an interest in Christ, and for justification with the Father.

May not God have mercy on whom he willeth to have mercy, without asking leave of men or angels? Is not his grace totally and infinitely free? and may not he bestow his own blessing when and where he pleases? Let not our eye then be evil and envious because his is gracious? Away, then, with these anti-christian bickerings, and let none who call themselves believers, be sorry for that which makes angels glad.

DISPOSITIONS.

Some believers are very rude and very ignorant. Grace, in the hearts of sou., unpolished people, resembles a jewel of gold in a swine's snout.

DISPUTANTS.

Disputing, captious, bigotted people, do but pump themselves dry.

Unfair disputants are ever for dwelling on the most unfavourable side of an argument; like the blundering painter, who being to take the profile of a lady that had lost an eye, very injudiciously drew her blind side.

Cavilling publications are not always to be regarded. Who would be at the pains to kill an insect of a day? Let the poor creature alone, and it will soon die of itself. Do not make it considerable by taking notice of it. If a child of four years old comes against me with a straw, that is no reason I should knock him down with the poker.

DIVINE LOVE.

The terrors of the law have much the same effect on our duties and obedience as frost has on a stream: it hardens, cools, and stagnates. Whereas, let the shining of divine love rise upon the soul; repentance will then flow, our hardness and coldness thaw and melt away, and all the blooming fruits of godliness flourish and abound.

DIVINE JUSTICE.

To the humble, self-emptied, self-renouncing sinner, even the sword of Divine Justice is a curtana, a sword of mercy, a sword without a point.

DYING.

As the setting of the sun appears of greater magnitude, and his beams of richer gold, than when he is in his meridian; so a dying believer is usually richer in experience, stronger in grace, and brighter in his evidences for heaven, than a living one.

When a person is going into a foreign land where he never was before, it is comfortable for him to consider, "Though I am embarking for an unknown country, yet it is a place where I have many friends, who are already settled there: so that I shall be, in fact, at home the instant I get thither."—How sweet for a dying believer to reflect that, though he is yet a stranger in the world of spirits, still the world of spirits are no strangers to him. God, his Father, is there. Christ, his Saviour, is there.—Angels, his elect brethren, are there. Saints, who got home before him, are there; and more will follow him every day. He has the blood and righteousness of Christ for his letters of recommendation, and the Holy Spirit for his introducer. He also goes upon express invitation from the King of the country.

ELECTION.

The book of life, or decree of election,

(*o*) A person executed for forgery.

is the marriage-register of the saints; in which their everlasting espousal to Christ stands indelibly recorded by the pen of God's free and eternal love.

As the bullion of which money is made is the king's property even before it is struck into coin, and before it visibly bears the royal image and superscription; so the unregenerate elect are God's own heritage, though they do not appear to be such, until the Holy Spirit has made them pass through the mint of effectual calling, and actually stamped them into current coin for the kingdom of heaven.

The elect were betrothed to Christ from everlasting in the covenant of grace; they are actually married to him, and join hands with him, in conversion; but they are not taken home to the bridegroom's house until death dismisses them from the body.

ENVY.

Poor people envy the rich, and rich people envy the poor. Why? Because neither of them are privy to the troubles of the other. Unconverted persons (*i. e.* the far greater part of mankind) go on envying each other's imaginary happiness, and smarting under their own crosses. And so the world goes round.

EPITAPH.

Little more can be said concerning the generality of men, than that they lived, and sinned, and died. But concerning all God's people it may be said that they lived, were converted, preserved to the end, and went to heaven.

EVIDENCE.

Many of the enemies to God's truths, when they are silenced by the force of evidence, do, like a snail provoked, draw in their horns and spit.

EXPERIENCES.

If a person who has been long in possession of a large estate comes, in process of time to have his title disputed, he rummages every corner of his scrutore, and of his strong boxes, to find the original deeds; which, having found, he appeals to as authentic vouchers.

Thus past experiences of the grace of God, though not proper to be rested in, may yet be recollected with comfort, and referred to with advantage, by a deserted saint in an hour of doubt and darkness.

We cannot heartily love the distinguishing truths of the gospel, without experiencing them, and we cannot experience them without loving them.

FAITH.

Faith in God's promises may be compared to a bank note; full and felt possession of the blessings promised is like ready cash. The man who has bank-notes to any given value, looks upon himself as possessed of so much money, though, in reality, it is only so much paper. Thus faith is as satisfied, and rests with as great complacency in the promises of Jehovah, as if it had all the blessings of grace and glory in hand. In faith's estimation, God's note is current coin.

Weak faith says, "God can save me if he will." Strong faith says, "God both can and will save me." See Dan. iii. 17.

What can be more feeble than the ivy, the jessamine, or the vine? Yet these, by the assistance of their tendrils, or claspers, rise and are supported until they sometimes mount as high as the tree or the wall that sustains them. So the weak believer, laying hold on Jesus by the tendril of faith, rises into the fulness of God, defies the invading storm, and becomes as a fruitful vine upon the wall of an house.

Under the influence of the blessed Spirit, faith produces holiness, and holiness strengthens faith. Faith, like a fruitful parent, is plenteous in all good works; and good works, like dutiful children, confirm and add to the support of faith.

Faith is the eye of the soul, and the Holy Spirit's influence is the light by which it sees.

FEARS.

In the hands of a skilful husbandman even weeds are turned to good account. When rooted up and burnt, they are good manure, and conduce to fertilize the land they annoyed before. So the doubts and fears, and the infirmities of the elect are overruled by Almighty grace, to their present and eternal good: as conducing to keep us humble at God's footstool, to endear the merits of Jesus, and to make us feel our weakness and dependance, and to render us watchful unto prayer.

I have known several wealthy persons who, contrary to all sense and reason, have teazed and harassed themselves with a fear that they should at last come to want. Equally, nay, infinitely more absurd and groundless, are the doubts of those who have fled to the righteousness and blood of Christ for salvation. Such must be in a state of grace; they must and infallibly are accepted of God; and they certainly shall persevere to the end. They who think themselves the poorest in spiritual things, are immensely rich, without knowing it. But such is the state of man below, that if God does not lay crosses upon us we are sure to create crosses for ourselves.

FLATTERY.

Flattery is nectar and ambrosia to little minds. They drink it in, and enjoy it, like an old woman sucking metheglin through a quill.

FORBEARANCE.

As I would not throw away my watch for varying a few minutes from the exact point of time; so neither would I disclaim a regenerate person for his not in every thing exactly thinking with me. Christians are no more infallible than watches.

FREE GIFTS.

If a person of exalted rank and vast opulence desires you to make his house your home, and you avail yourself of the invitation, would it not affront him, if you was to offer at paying him for the accommodations? What greater affront can be offered to the majesty of God, than to imagine that he sets his favours to sale, and that you must pay him for admitting you into the kingdom of grace and glory?

Christ has received gifts for men, and bestows the gifts he has received. God grant, that we may, if I may so speak, give him continual receipts for these gifts, from time to time, in large returns of love and duty, thankfulness and obedience!

"Get grace—get faith—get an interest in Christ," say the Arminians. When, in truth, grace is not of man's getting, but of God's giving; nor is faith of man's acquisition, but of God's operation.

FREE-WILL.

A man's free-will cannot cure him even of the tooth ache, or of a sore finger; and yet he madly thinks it is in its power to cure his soul

The greatest judgment which God himself can, in the present life, inflict upon a man is, to leave him in the hand of his own boasted free-will.

Look where you will, and you will generally find that free-willers are very free livers.

GENEROSITY.

Even among men, if a generous antagonist has his adversary down, he will spare his life. If God, O sinner, has humbled thee, and thrown thee down, he will not kill thee, but spare thee, and give thee quarter, raise thee up, and save thee.

GOD AS A FATHER.

God, who knows the unfaithfulness of the human heart, will not trust his grace to the keeping of his own people; if he did, they would soon make havock of it, like the prodigal son. He therefore acts by them as a prudent father would make provision for an extravagant child, *viz.* not by giving them the stock to manage for themselves; but by leaving it in trust, to be dealt out to them, from time to time, by stated allowance.

GOD ALL SUFFICIENT.

We will suppose that some opulent person makes the tour of Europe. If his money falls short, he comforts himself with reflecting, that he has a sufficient stock in bank, which he can draw out at any time by writing to his cashiers. This is just the case, spiritually, with God's people. They are travellers in a foreign land, remote from home. Their treasure is in heaven, and God himself is their banker. When their graces seem to be almost spent and exhausted, when the barrel of meal and the cruise of oil appear to be failing; they need but draw upon God by prayer and faith and humble waiting. The Holy Spirit will honour their bill at sight; and issue to them, from time to time, sufficient remittances to carry them to their journey's end.

GOD'S SOVEREIGNTY.

A Practical Discourse, by ELISHA COLES.

It would be entirely needless, to say any thing in favour of a book which has given such profitable and universal satisfaction to God's people, of all denominations, for almost a century past: it will, and must ever be considered, as one of the choicest treasures which the God of infinite wisdom has vouchsafed to his Church. Since the days of the Apostles, it is a work calculated for the instruction, establishment, and consolation of little children, of young men, and of fathers in Christ. Would the newly awakened penitent, the advanced convert, and the repenting saint, wish to read merely for the sake of seeing the light of truth, of feeling the warmth of grace, and of rising into the holy image of God, let them make Elisha Coles their companion, their guide, and their own familiar friend

O ye believers in Jesus, whom God has intrusted with any thing above a bare sufficiency of this world's good, seize the opportunity of furnishing the poor and needy with a book, the best calculated of almost any other to extend the knowledge of gospel salvation, to diffuse the fragrance of gospel comfort, to elevate the glorious standard of gospel grace, and to promote the vital interests of gospel holiness and good works.

GOOD WORKS.

Good works, like the golden ear-rings of the Israelites, are valuable in themselves;

but if once exalted into a golden calf, to be worshipped and relied upon, are damningly pernicious.

GOSPEL.

The bite of the tarantula (an Italian spider) can only be cured by music. Nor can any thing heal the wounds which sin and Satan have made in the soul, but the music of the gospel; the sweet, harmonious, and joyful sound of free salvation by the blood and righteousness of Jesus Christ alone.

GRACE.

A true believer lives upon free grace as his necessary food. And, indeed, he who has really tasted the sweetness of grace, can live upon nothing else.

There is no difference between the brightest archangel in glory and the blackest apostate spirit in hell, but what free-grace has made.

If I might not have both, I would rather have grace without learning, than learning without grace. I would infinitely rather be a Bunyan than a Grotius.

Grace cannot be severed from its fruits. If God gives you St. Paul's faith, you will soon have St. James's works.

The graces of God's Spirit in our hearts resemble, during the present life, the citrons and other noble fruits imported from abroad: we have them, but not in perfection. Our graces will ever be defective, until we get to heaven, the country where they grow.

Gifts may differ: but grace, as such, is the same in all God's people. Just as some pieces of money are of gold, some of silver, others of copper; but they all agree in bearing the king's image and inscription.

The way to heaven lies, not over a toll-bridge, but over a free-bridge: even the unmerited grace of God in Christ Jesus.

We may not be proud of grace, but we ought to be glad of grace.

Good works cannot go before regeneration. Effectual grace is that which builds the soul into an habitation of God. Holy tempers and holy obedience are the furniture of the house. And a house must be built before it can be furnished.

Grace finds us beggars, and always leaves us debtors.

GRACE AND GLORY.

Inherent grace below resembles silver in the ore, which, though genuine silver, is mingled with much earth and dross: glory above resembles silver refined to its proper standard, and wrought into vessels of the most exquisite workmanship.

GREEK TESTAMENT.

The Greek Testament is, beyond all competition, the most important volume in the world. The inexhaustible richness of its contents, and its unequalled beauties as a composition, are such as must for ever exalt its worth infinitely above that of all other books which have appeared, or which will appear, while heaven and earth remain. Every judicious attempt, therefore, to lead us into a deeper and clearer acquaintance with this inestimable magna charta of our salvation, and to unlock its heavenly treasures, has a direct tendency to advance the glory of God, by promoting the knowledge, the happiness, and the sanctification of men.

HEARING.

Some people hear the gospel as a butterfly settles upon a flower, without being at all the better for it. Others hear the gospel as a bee settles upon a flower; they enjoy its fragrance, they imbibe its honey, and return home richly laden with its sweets. And some hear the gospel as a spider visits a flower: they would, if possible, extract poison from the rose of Sharon.

HEAVEN.

Even on earth the "joy of harvest" is great; but what infinite joy will ensue when the number of the elect is accomplished,—when the bodies of the saints are all retrieved from the grave, and Christ celebrates his "harvest-home!"

The kingdom of heaven is elective, to which men are chosen by God; and yet, at the same time, it goes by indefeasible, hereditary right: it proceeds in the line of election and the line of regeneration.

HOLY SPIRIT

When the rays of the sun fall on the surface of a material object, part of those rays are absorbed, part of them are reflected back in strait lines, and part of them refracted, this way and that, in various directions. When the Holy Ghost shines upon our souls, part of the grace he inspires is absorbed to our own particular comfort, part of it reflected back in acts of love and joy and prayer and praise, and part of it refracted every way, in acts of benevolence, beneficence, and all moral and social duty

The most correct and lively description of the sun cannot convey either the light, the warmth, the cheerfulness, or the fruitfulness which the actual shining of that luminary conveys; neither can the most laboured and accurate dissertations on grace and spiritual things impart a true idea of

them without an experience of the Holy Spirit's work on the heart.

In vain do the inhabitants of London go to their conduits for supply, unless the man who has the master-key turns the water on. And in vain do we seek to quench our thirst at ordinances, unless God communicates the living water of his Spirit.

Scripture can be savingly understood only in and by the inward illumination of the Holy Ghost. The gospel is a picture of God's free grace to sinners. Were we in a room hung with the finest paintings, and adorned with the most exquisite statues, we could not see one of them if all light was excluded. Now the blessed Spirit's irradiation is the same to the mind that outward light is to the bodily eyes.

As the sails of a ship carry it into the harbour, so prayer carries us to the throne and bosom of God. But as the sails cannot of themselves speed the progress of a vessel, unless filled with a favourable breeze, so the Holy Spirit must breathe upon our hearts, or our prayers will be motionless and lifeless.

An excellent divine of the last century, Mr. Thomas Cole, compared "the Scriptures to a seal, and the heart of man to wax." I would add that the Holy Ghost is the fire that warms, and penetrates, and softens the wax, in order to its becoming susceptible of impression.

The word of God will not avail to salvation without the Spirit of God. A compass is of no use to a mariner unless he has light to see it by.

A house uninhabited soon comes to ruin; and a soul uninhabited by the Holy Spirit of God verges faster and faster to destruction.

HOLINESS.

The progress of holiness is sometimes like the lengthening of day-light after the days are past the shortest. The difference is for some time imperceptible, but still it is real, and in due season becomes undeniably visible.

In one of Mr. Pope's letters (if I mistake not) mention is made of an eastern fable to this effect:—"On a time the owls and bats joined in a petition to Jupiter against the sun, setting forth that his beams were so insufferably troublesome that the petitioners could not fly abroad with comfort, but were kept prisoners at home for at least twelve hours out of the twenty-four. Jupiter seeing Apollo shortly after, informed him of the application he had received, adding, I shall, however, take no notice of the petition; and for you, do you be revenged by shining." O believers, when Papists and Arminians charge the doctrines of grace with a tendency to licentiousness, let your lives be a confutation of the falsehood. Be revenged by shining.

HUMILITY.

It is a great thing to have gospel humility. If you know you want it, it is a sign you are not quite without it.

Children much indulged are apt to take liberties. To keep us humble, God must sometimes seem to frown.

HUSBANDS.

Many husbands are like some members of parliament, all complaisance, humility, and fair speeches beforehand, but no sooner in possession of the desired object than the supple candidate becomes a haughty master.

HYPOCRITES.

There is sometimes on trees and flowers what florists call a false blossom: how many such do we see in the world of professing Christians!

Different members of the body have different offices and are some of greater, others of less importance; but they all belong to the body. Hypocrites are not real members, but excrescences of the Church, like falling hair, or the parings of the nails.

IDEAS.

Definitions, or accurate ascertainments of the precise ideas which we mean to convey, by particular terms and phrases, are of great consequence in disembarrassing a question, and in shortening a debate.

IGNORANCE.

Men adopt vice and error for want of knowing the true deformity of both: as in Russia, where unmarried women constantly wear veils, it is frequent for the bridegroom never to see his wife's face until after marriage.

ILLUMINATION

The Holy Ghost must shine upon your graces, or you will not be able to see them and your good works must shine upon your faith, or your neighbours will not be able to see it.

IMPERFECTION.

If I build a house, it is ten thousand to one if I do not afterwards find it defective in some respect or other: there is continually something to add, or something to alter, and something that may be improved for the better.—If I write a book, I find it imperfect. Some errata of the printer,

some defects in the language, something to add, or something to retrench. So it is with all human works. The work of Christ's righteousness and redemption is the only finished, the only perfect work that ever was wrought among men. God give me faith in it!

IMPUTED RIGHTEOUSNESS.

The form of salutation in some countries is by respectfully touching or lifting up the corner of the person's garment you would address; but to kiss his vest is the highest token of reverence.—And the highest instance of regard you can show Christ is by embracing the robe of his imputed righteousness.

INCOMPETENCY.

Man, even in his most enlightened state, can no more form a competent idea of the wisdom that lies at the bottom of God's effective and permissive decrees, than an earth-worm or a beetle can enter into the political views which actuate the movements of a prime minister.

INNOVATION.

I have known an unskilful weeder pull up and destroy flower-roots and herbs under the notion of their being weeds. Just such would be the conduct of the present restless enemies to the Church of England, if their innovating wishes were to take effect. (1772.)

INTEREST IN CHRIST.

Our interest in Christ does not depend on our sanctification, but our sanctification depends on our interest in Christ.

INTREPIDITY.

Go to heaven boldly, let men say what they will. Use yourself to the weather: a little rain will not melt you. The more you wrap up, the more liable you will be to take cold.

JUSTICE.

Some harbours have bars of sand which lie across the entrance and prohibit the access of ships at low water.—There is a bar, not of sand, but of adamantine rock, the bar of Divine Justice, which lies between a sinner and heaven. Christ's righteousness is the high-water that carries a believing sinner over this bar, and transmits him safe to the land of eternal rest. Our own righteousness is the low-water, which will fail us in our greatest need, and will ever leave us short of the heavenly Canaan.

JUSTIFICATION.

Antiquarians set an inestimable value on uniques, *i. e.* on such curiosities of which there is but one of a sort in the world. Justification is in the number of the believer's uniques. There is but one justification (properly so called) in the whole universe, and it equally belongs, through grace, to all the children of God, and the Christian wishes to be viewing it every moment.

Christ's sheep do not contribute any part of their own wool to their own cloathing. They wear, and are justified by, the fine linen of Christ's obedience only.

KNOWLEDGE IN THEORY.

I am acquainted with a lady who is a thorough mistress of music as a science, and can play the harpsichord with great judgment; but though she understands it, she does not love it, and never plays if she can avoid it. Too strong a picture of some who know the gospel in theory, but neither love it in sincerity, nor practice its precepts with a good will!

LANGUAGE.

It were to be wished that the advocates for the best of causes would, with Solomon, seek out acceptable words. I acknowledge that genteel drapery adds nothing to the value, but it adds much to the agreeableness of truth, which is not the better received for appearing in dishabille, much less for being attired like a sloven. If we do not decorate her with what Lord Chesterfield terms "lace and embroidery," that is, with rich metaphors and refinement of style, yet an author should not permit her to walk abroad either in sluttish negligence, or in the garb of a shabby old gentlewoman fallen to decay.

LAW.

The terrors of the law have much the same effect on our duties and obedience as frost has on a stream; it hardens, cools, and stagnates. Whereas, let the shining of divine love rise upon the soul, repentance will then flow, our hardness and coldness thaw.

LIFE OF CHRIST.

The life of Christ on earth may be compared to the garden of Eden before Adam fell, in which was no plant growing but such as were beautiful and salutary, none that was either useless or hurtful.

LORD'S DAY.

It is certainly no small point gained to prove, that what is now generally considered as the first day of the week is, in reality, and in order of rotation from the beginning, the seventh or primeval Sabbath, and that God incarnate rose from

the tomb on that very day in succession on which God absolute ceased from the works of creation. Indeed, the compilers of our Liturgy seem to have had some light into this matter, else they would hardly have engrafted the fourth commandment (which expressly and peremptorily enjoins the sanctification of the seventh day) into the communion service, and directed all the members of the Church to unite in prayer to God for grace to keep that law.

LOVE TO GOD.

The people of Christ are not merit-mongers. Love to the captain of their salvation ranks them under his banner. They are not like the Swiss, who fight for pay.

As fruits artificially raised or forced in a hot-house, have not the exquisite flavour of those fruits which grow naturally and in their due season; so that obedience which is forced by the terrors of the law, wants the genuine flavour and sweetness of that obedience which springs forth from a heart warmed and meliorated with the love of God in Christ Jesus.

If Christ has your good will, he will certainly have your good word. If you truly love him, you will not be ashamed to speak for him.

MARRIAGE.

When a believer marries an unbeliever, what is it but reviving the old cruel punishment of tying the living and the dead together?

MEMORY.

Many of God's people lament the badness of their memory. And yet, after all, a heart-memory is better than a mere head-memory. Better to carry away a little of the life of God in our souls, than if we were able to repeat every word of every sermon we have heard.

MINISTERS.

Gospel ministers should not be too hasty and eager to wipe off every aspersion that is cast on them falsely for Christ's sake. Dirt on the character (if unjustly thrown), like dirt on the clothes, should be let alone for a while, until it dries; and then it will rub off easily enough.

Ministers then only draw the bow successfully, when God's Holy Spirit sharpens the gospel arrow, and wings it to the hearts of them that hear.

Gregory Nazianzen says, in his eulogium on Basil, Βρουτη σειω λογος αστεροση δε βιος; "thy word was thunder and thy life was lightning." Such should the preaching and the conversation of every minister be.

The weight of opposition will always fall heaviest on those who sound the gospel trumpet loudest.

Gospel ministers do, indeed, in some sense, turn the world upside-down. The fall of Adam has turned human nature upside-down long ago; and converting grace must turn us upside-down again, in order to bring us right.

Gospel ministers are usually, in will and desire at least, employed for God to the last moment of their lives. Their work being accomplished, they are called from labour to heaven; as Cincinnatus was found at the plough when he received his call to the dictatorship of Rome.

Among the great variety of preachers, some give the pure gospel wine, unadulterated and undashed. Others give wine and water. Some give mere cold water, without a drop of wine among it.

Were evangelical preachers and writers to stop, and give a lash to every spiteful noisy cur that yelps at them in their way to the kingdom of God, they would have enough to do before they got to their journey's end.

Next to being a true believer, it is the hardest thing in the world to be a faithful minister.

Ministers are the bow: the law is the arrow. God must bend the bow by the impulse of his own arm, and wing the arrow, or it will never hit a sinner's heart.

I have read of some harbour abroad, where salt water and fresh run together in one amicable stream, but without mingling. Such should be the case of God's ministers. They are to preach both law and gospel; but without mixing or confounding them together.

The best clock in the world will be spoiled, if you are perpetually moving the hand backwards and forwards, and altering it in order to make it keep time with a variety of other clocks; it will hardly ever go regularly and well. So a minister, who shapes and accommodates his sentiments and discourses to the tastes and humours and opinions of other people, will never be happy, respectable, or useful.

Different ministers are sent of God to different persons. Just as a great man who keeps many servants, sends them with letters or messages to such or such particular people.

A minister can only lay on the caustic; God alone can make the hearers feel it

MORALITY.

To amuse fallen sinners with lectures on morality is like going to an hospital and

haranguing to a company of sick folks on the advantages of health. Rather let us labour to cure them of their diseases, and then they will know the value and comforts of health without our giving them a dissertation upon it. Lead sinners to Christ and to the Holy Spirit, and then they will love and practise morality as naturally as sparks fly upward.

Morality not flowing from faith in Christ resembles an artificial flower; which has the appearance, but neither the life, the beauty, nor the fragrance of a real one.

I have no more conception of a true believer without morality, than of a river without water, or of a sun without light and heat.

NATIONAL CONCERNS.

National matters at present carry a very gloomy aspect. But it is in things civil as well is spiritual; and I regard my country and myself in a similar view. Considered in myself, I am a most unworthy and sinful creature; considered in Christ, I am without fault before the throne of God. Consider the state of public affairs as they are in themselves; and hardly any thing can be more threatening, cloudy, or unfavourable. Consider them in a providential view, and whatever is, is right. This is my sheet anchor, concerning that black and dismal storm which now seems to be bursting over the English empire. A. T. Bath, Aug. 4. 1775.

NEGLIGENCE.

When persons loiter on a journey they are sometimes benighted afterwards: and when believers are not diligent in the use of ordinances, and in the performance of good works, no wonder if they walk in darkness.

NEW BIRTH.

All God's children are still-born. They come spiritually dead into the world. And dead they continue till they are born again of the Holy Ghost.

Every believer has four births. A natural birth into the world; a spiritual birth into the kingdom of grace, at regeneration; a birth into glory at death; and a new birth of his body from the grave at the resurrection.

No man can remember the day of his natural birth; but most of God's people can remember the day when they were born again.

OBLOQUY.

The times are such that it is almost impossible for a man to go to heaven without getting a nickname by the way. But it is better to go to heaven with a nick name, than to go to hell without one. If I must either give up the truths of God, or lose my character; then farewell character, and welcome the truths of God.

OLD AND NEW MAN.

Old Adam never was a saint yet, and never will be; Rom. vii. On the other hand, the new man, or principle of grace in the heart, never sinned, and never can; Rom. vii. 1 John.

ONE CHURCH.

Take a mass of quicksilver, let it fall to the floor, and it will split itself into a vast number of distinct globulas. Gather them up, and put them together again, and they coalesce into one body, as before. Thus God's elect below are sometimes crumbled and distinguished into various parties, though they are all, in fact, members of one and the same mystic body. But, when taken up from the world, and put together in heaven, they will constitute one glorious undivided church, for ever and ever.

In North America have been lately reckoned no fewer than seventy-five religious denominations. And were there seventy-five thousand it would not signify seven pins heads. Denomination is nothing.—Grace is grace in every converted person. There is but one Church after all.

ORIGINAL SIN.

Before the fall, man's will was free to good, and burned with a pure celestial flame. Original sin acted as an extinguisher; and leaves the soul in the dark, until lighted again by the fire of God's Spirit.

PERSECUTION.

Some harbours are fenced with massy chains of iron, reaching from side to side, to obstruct the access of shipping. Similar is the profession of Christ and his cause in persecuting times. But as a ship has often been able to force its way into the port, and burst the chains that oppose its entrance by the aid of a favourable tide and a strong breeze, so persecution is nothing to a believing soul whose sails are filled with the breathings of the Holy Ghost, and the full tide of whose affections is turned by grace to God and Christ and heaven.

PHARISEES.

Pharisees are pharisees in all ages and all countries. What is the difference between a pharisee in Judea and a pharisee in England?

Nothing but the lancet of God's law in the hand of the Spirit can let out the proud

blood of a pharisee, and reduce the swellings of self-righteousness.

PILGRIM'S PROGRESS.

Some time after the commencement of the 17th century, a singularly ingenious piece of spiritual allegory was published under the following title: "The Isle of Man, or the legal Proceeding in Manshire against Sin." The author was the Rev. Mr. Richard Bernard, rector of Batcombe, in Somersetshire. This performance seems to have had a great run: my copy is of the eighth edition, printed at London, A. D. 1632.

The above work, in all probability, suggested to Mr. John Bunyan the first idea of his "Pilgrim's Progress," and of his "Holy War." The former of these is, perhaps, the finest allegorical work extant, describing every stage of a believer's experience, from conversion to glorification, in the most artless simplicity of language, yet peculiarly rich with spiritual unction, and glowing with the most vivid, just, and well-conducted machinery throughout: it is, in short, a master-piece of piety and genius, and will, I doubt not, be of standing use to the people of God so long as the sun and moon endure. It has been affirmed, and I believe with truth, that no book in the English tongue has gone through so many editions, the Bible and Common Prayer alone excepted.

POWER.

It is a saying that kings have long hands. This is eminently true of Christ, the king of saints. He has a long hand to reach his enemies in a way of judgment, and a long hand to lay hold on his elect, and to bring nigh those who once stood afar off from him and his righteousness.

PRAYER.

The longer we neglect writing to an absent friend, the less mind we have to set about it. So the more we neglect private prayer and closet communion with God, the more shy we grow in our approaches to him. Nothing breeds a greater strangeness between the soul and God than the restraining of prayer before him. And nothing would renew the blessed intimacy if God himself, the neglected party, did not, as it were, send us a letter of expostulation from heaven, and sweetly chide us for our negligence. Then we melt, then we kindle, and the blissful intercourse gradually opens as usual.

David would not have been so often upon his knees in prayer if affliction had not weighed him down.—There are, I believe, more prayers in the writings of David and of Jeremiah than in any other portion of Scripture.

The longer you are with God on the mount of private prayer and secret communion with him, the brighter will your face shine when you come down.

We may pray spiritually by a form, and we may pray formally and coldly without one.—Suppose I was to say to a converted dissenter, "Sir, you do not sing the praises of God spiritually." He would ask, "Why not?" Was I to answer, "Because you sing by a form: Dr. Watts's psalms and hymns are all precomposed: they are forms in the strictest sense of the word;" the good man would reply, "True: they are precomposed forms; but I can sing them very spiritually for all that." I should rejoin, "And I can pray in the words of the Liturgy as spiritually as you can sing in the words of Dr. Watts."

PREACHING

Mere moral preaching only tells people how the house ought to be built. Gospel preaching does more, for it actually builds the house.

Was I a layman, and Providence was to cast me in a place where I could not possibly hear the gospel preached, but should be forced to hear either an Arian or an Arminian ministry if I heard any at all, I should much rather choose to spend my Lord's days at home in reading and praying privately. By the same rule that I would rather stay within, and take such a dinner as my own house affords, than go abroad to dine where I should be sure of sitting down (at best) to a dish of gravel or sand, if not of arsenic.—See Ezek. xi. 16.

PRESENCE OF GOD.

If you go to Court, you know whether you have seen the king, and whether he has spoke to you or not. And when you attend an ordinance, you know whether you have enjoyed the presence of God or not.

PRESERVATION.

If God had not chosen thee in his Son, he would not have called thee by his Spirit; and he that called thee by his Spirit will preserve thee to his kingdom.

If a coach or waggon be likely to run over us, we exert all our strength and speed to get out of its way. If a storm overtakes us, we look out for a place of shelter. O that we were equally sedulous to flee from the wrath to come!

PROFESSORS.

People who profess to believe the doctrines of the gospel, and yet do not experi-

ence the power of those doctrines unto sanctification, resemble a man who looks over a hedge into a garden without going into it.

Some professors pass for very meek, good-natured people until you displease them. They resemble a pool or pond which, while you let it alone, looks clean and limpid, but if you put in a stick and stir the bottom, the rising sediment soon discovers the impurity that lurks beneath.

As the most florid people do not always enjoy the firmest state of health, so the most shewy professors are not always the holiest and most substantial believers.

There is a set of fellows in the present age jocosely called Jessamies and Maccaronies, who affect to dress as fine as butterflies, and to be squeamishly delicate and elegant; so that you would almost take a maccaroni to be a Semiramis or a Cleopatra in men's clothes. But there are spiritual maccaronies as well as worldly ones. And who are those? Your self-righteous people, and perfectionists above all; who surveying themselves, not in the unflattering glass of God's law, but in the delusive mirror and through the false medium of self-conceit, fall in love with their own image (like Narcissus), and think themselves to be spiritually rich and beautiful, though all the while they are wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked. Christ's imputed righteousness constitutes the best dress, and sanctification by his Spirit constitutes the real beauty of the soul. And if we have not his righteousness to wear, and his grace to make us holy, we are but paltry maccaronies, be our profession ever so splendid.

PROMISES.

All the promises of man to man ought to be conditional. It is only for God to make absolute promises, for he alone is unchangeable and omnipotent.

POOR PERSONS.

If our Lord was upon earth, and there were in the same street two persons, the one rich and the other poor, but both equally desirous of his company, I verily believe that he would visit the poor man first.

PROSPERITY.

Too much wealth, like a suit of cloths too heavily embroidered, doesobut encumber and weigh us down, instead of answering the solid purposes of usefulness and convenience.

Generally speaking, the sun-shine of too much worldly favour weakens and relaxes our spiritual nerves; as weather too intensely hot relaxes those of the body. A degree of seasonable opposition, like a fine dry frost, strengthens and invigorates and braces up.

PUSILLANIMITY.

I have no notion of a timid, sneaking profession of Christ. Such preachers and professors are like a rat playing at hide and seek behind a wainscot, who pops his head through a hole to see if the coast is clear, and ventures out if nobody is in the way, but slinks back again when danger appears. We cannot be honest to Christ except we are bold for him. He is either worth all we can lose for him, or he is worth nothing.

REASON

Reason is God's candle in man. But as a candle must first be lighted ere it will enlighten, so reason must be illuminated by divine grace ere it can savingly discern spiritual things.

REDEMPTION.

The covenant of redemption, which is a covenant of absolute grace to us, was to Christ a covenant of works and a covenant of sufferings.

REFORMATION.

Mere reformation differs just as much from regeneration as white-washing an old rotten house differs from taking it down and building it anew.

REGENERATION.

Some people laugh at regeneration by the Spirit of God, and think there is nothing in it. A plain sign that they themselves are quite without it. If a man was to come and tell me that there is no such thing in the world as money, I should take it for granted that he therefore thinks so because he himself never had any.

RIGHTEOUSNESS OF CHRIST.

A celebrated heathen said, *Meâ virtute me involvo*; "I wrap myself up in my own virtue." A true believer has something infinitely better to wrap himself up in. When Satan says — thou hast yielded to my suggestions — when conscience says, thou hast turned a deaf ear to my admonitions—when the law of God says, thou hast broke me—when the gospel says, thou hast neglected me—when justice says, thou hast insulted me—when mercy says, thou hast slighted me—faith can say, all this is too true; but *Christi justitiâ me involvo*, I wrap myself up in the righteousness of Jesus Christ.

The gates of heaven fly open before the righteousness of Christ, as certainly as the

door of Lydia's heart flew open under the hand of God's regenerating Spirit.

By nature we are all weavers and spinners. We shut our eyes against the garment ready wrought: and, like silk-worms, we shall die and perish in our own web, if the Spirit of God does not unravel it for us, and lead us to the righteousness of Christ.

SAFETY.

We may safely go as far as the candle of God's word goes before.

SALVATION.

We should be in a bad condition indeed, if our salvation was suspended on conditions of our own performing.

God's everlasting love, his decree of election, and eternal covenant of redemption, are the three hinges on which the door of man's salvation turns. When man fell from God, infinite justice put a lock upon the door: a lock which nothing but the golden key of Christ's blood and righteousness can open. The Holy Ghost (if I may venture to use so familiar a comparison) is, as it were, the omniscient keeper of the door; and he lets no souls in but such as he himself has washed and justified and sanctified in the name of our Lord Jesus, and by his own efficacious grace.

I should as soon expect to be saved by my sins as to be saved by my good works.

SAYING.

An old proverb says, "They who are not handsome at twenty, will never be handsome: they who are not strong at thirty, will never strong: they who are not wise at forty, will never be wise: and they who are not rich at fifty, will never be rich." However this may generally be, yet the grace of God is free, and not bound to time or place. Some come to Christ in childhood; some in youth; some in maturer age; and some who go unconverted to a dying bed, rise converted from a dying bed to heaven. Happy they who are effectually caught by grace; whether at the first, the third, the sixth, the ninth, or the eleventh hour! Our law says, *nullum tempus occurrit regi*: and I am sure it is the case with God.

SCRIBBLERS.

When I have been in a post-chaise, I have often seen a dog pursue it with much noise and self-importance. The poor animal thought the carriage was running away from him; whereas, in truth, it was going at an equal rate long enough before he appeared, and continued to do so long after he was out of hearing. When public persons are attacked by wretched scribblers too mean to answer; the scribblers affect to think that the omission is owing to their own superiority in argument. While, in fact, they are too scurrilous and unimportant to be noticed.

SELF-RIGHTEOUS.

Self-righteous people are like a man who has run up a very slight house for his own residence; in which, while he sits or sleeps securely, a sudden storm arises, and blows down the whole fabric, and buries the builder in the ruins. God will either bring us out of our self-righteous castle, or crush us with its fall.

SENSIBLE COMFORT.

A believer, with regard to spiritual enjoyments, resembles a barometer. As the silver in this instrument rises when the sun shines and the weather is fine; but sinks when the air is heavy and loaded with damps; so the Christian's sensible comfort rises when the Holy Spirit's countenance shines upon his soul, but subsides when left to the evil workings of his own heart.

SIGHT.

It is in grace as it is in nature. Some have a sharp sight, some are near-sighted. Some can clearly see their interest in Christ; some can hardly discern it at all. Some have likewise a clear view of gospel doctrines: some a confused one.

SIMILARITY.

It is a peculiar happiness to observe, that in matters of spiritual concern, the philosopher and ploughman (if truly regenerate) have the same feelings, and speak the same language; they all eat of the same spiritual meat, and drink of the same spiritual rock which follows them, and that rock is Christ. Hence that similitude of experience, or to speak figuratively, that strong and striking family likeness which obtains among the converted people of God, in every period of time, and in every nation under heaven. They all, without exception, feel themselves totally ruined by original sin; they all, without exception, take refuge in the righteousness and cross of Christ, and unite in ascribing the whole praise of their salvation to the alone free grace and sovereign mercy of Father, Son, and Spirit.

SIN.

Suppose a loving and beloved husband dies a violent death. Can his widow love and admire and value the sword or the pistol by which her husband lost his life? As little can true believers love sin; for by it Christ, the bridegroom of their souls, was put to death.

If a person fall and break his leg, or be burnt out of his house, most people pity and symphathize with him. But if a man live in sin, where are the neighbours that feel for his danger and labour to reclaim him? Or, if a believer be overtaken by a fault, how few professors will commiserate his case, and endeavour to restore him in the spirit of meekness?

Our corrupt hearts are like gunpowder, apt to kindle at every spark of temptation. The Spirit of God must be continually throwing water upon the soul in order to preserve it from taking fire.

SINNER.

Nothing but Christ will do for a dying sinner; and why should we dream that any thing else will do for a living sinner?

Sin cannot enter into heaven; but a sinner may.

SUCCESSION.

I know but of two uninterrupted successions. 1. Of sinners, ever since the fall of Adam. 2. Of saints; for God always had, and will always have, a seed to serve him.

SPIRITUAL ADVANTAGE.

Want of spiritual comfort is often attended with spiritual advantage. A person who walks in the dark is usually the more cautious and careful where and how he treads.

SPIRITUAL NUMBNESS.

It is with our souls as it is with our bodies; we sometimes catch cold we know not how.

STRICTNESS.

How many people deceive themselves under a profession of extraordinary strictness! The Capuchin friars make a vow never to touch any piece of money whatever while they live. Offer them a shilling, or a guinea, they will refuse to take it; but wrap it up in a bit of paper, and they will receive and pocket it without scruple.

SUBMISSION.

God knows best what to do with us. We are not qualified to choose for ourselves. The patient ought not to prescribe for the physician, but the physician for the patient.

SUPPLIES.

When Hagar was quite disconsolate with fatigue of body and distress of mind, there was a fountain by her, though she knew it not. So the weeping believer has relief at hand which he cannot see. God's word, God's Spirit, and God's ministers, are the angels that direct and lead his afflicted people to the fountain opened.

The acts of breathing which I performed yesterday will not keep me alive to-day. I must continue to breathe afresh every moment, in order to my enjoying the consolations, and to my working the works of God

TIME.

Was a man, every day, to throw a purse of money, or even a single guinea, into the sea, he would be looked upon as a mad man, and his friends would soon confine him for such. But a man who throws away that which is of more value than gold, than mines, than the whole world; even his health, his peace, his time, and his soul; such a one is admired, esteemed, and applauded by the greater part of mankind.

TEMPTATION.

Worms and other insects take up their habitation under the surface of the earth. A plat of ground may be, outwardly, verdant with grass, and decorated with flowers. But take a spade in your hand, and turn up the mould, and you soon have a sample of the vermin that lurk beneath. Temptation is the spade which breaks up the ground of a believer's heart, and helps to discover the corruptions of his fallen nature.

TRUST.

Trust the promise, and God will make good the performance.

We can never be truly easy and happy until we are enabled to trust God for all things: and the more we are enabled to trust him, the more gracious and faithful we shall find him.

A good king carefully observes the law. Christ, the king of Zion, kept the divine law in all respects; and his converted subjects first trust in him as a law-fulfiller ere they can obey him acceptably as a law-giver.

Many turnpike-gates bear this inscription in large capital letters, "No trust here." This is the very language of our own unbelieving hearts. We do not trust God. We do not give him credit. Hence all murmurings, anxiety, &c.

UNDETERMINATE.

People of fluctuating principles resemble what is fabled of Mahomet's iron coffin suspended in the air between two large loadstones, but without touching either of them.

UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE.

Some have entertained a chimerical idea of a universal language. There is, indeed, spiritually speaking, a language common to all the converted, of every age and country. The language of Canaan is understood all the world over, by every one who is taught of God.

UNFRUITFUL.

It is a common thing in London, when a house is uninhabited and shut up, for boys to write in chalk on the window-shutters and door "Empty." When a person professes godliness, and does not bring forth good works in his practice, we too may write the word "Empty" on all the profession he makes.

UNIVERSALITY

"Universality," say the Papists, "is a mark of the true Church. There are some Catholics in every country under heaven." But if this be a just mark, the Jews will bid the fairest of any for being the true Church. For they are sifted among all nations.

UNREGENERACY.

It is said of the original Indians of Florida that, when they could not pay their debts, they took a short method of settling the account by knocking their creditors on the head. Sinners, in a state of unregeneracy, though partly sensible that they do not keep the law of God, yet think to knock God's justice on the head by pleading absolute mercy.

An unregenerate man is absolutely dead in a spiritual sense. He has no hearing of the promises; no sight of his own misery, of the holiness of God, of the purity of the law, nor of Christ as covenanting, obeying, dying, and interceding; no taste of God's love in Christ, and the sweetness of communion with him by the Spirit; no feeling of conviction in a way of grace, humiliation, and self-renunciation; no scent after God and glory; no hungerings and thirstings after spiritual consolations and assurance; no motion toward divine enjoyments and evangelical holiness.

VICISSITUDE.

God's people are travellers. Sometimes they are in dark lanes and deep vallies; sometimes on the hills of joy, where all is light and cheerful.

WORKS.

Mount Sinai, or the hope of being saved (in part at least) by our own works, may be compared to a dreary rock. Satan is the monster that gapes to devour. Christ is Perseus, who, by the sword of his Spirit, slays the monster's power, breaks the legal chain, and sets the awakened soul at liberty.

Mount Sinai (*i. e.* salvation by works), is labour-in-vain hill. Do all you can, you will never get up to the top of it, not so much as half way up.

The business of Christ's blood is to wash our bad works out, and to wash our good works clean.

WRITINGS.

Some mens' writings resemble a dark night, enlivened by a few occasional flashes of lightning.

I was lately asked what my opinion is of Mr. John Fletcher's writings: my answer was, that in the very few pages which I had perused, the serious passages were dulness double condensed; and the lighter passages impudence double distilled.

YOUNG CONVERTS.

Young converts are generally great bigots. When we are first converted to God, our brotherly affection too often resembles the narrowness of a river at its first setting out. But as we advance nearer to the great ocean of all good, the channel widens, and our hearts expand more and more, until death perfectly unites us to the source of uncreated love.

EXCELLENT PASSAGES FROM EMINENT PERSONS. (*p*)

ACCEPTANCE.

It is a fallacy of Satan's, to argue, from the sinfulness of our duties, to the non-acceptance of them. "Will God," says he, "take such broken groats at thy hand? Is he not a holy God?"—Learn, here, to distinguish. There is a two-fold acceptance. 1. A thing may be accepted as a payment of a debt; or, 2. As a proof

(*p*) In the course of various readings, these judicious extracts are professedly transcribed by our author from the writings of several Protestant divines of the last (and a few of the present) age; they will be perused with pleasure and peculiar advantage by those who have a prevailing regard for dignity of sense and plain truth, delivered in honest and open language, unlike the delicate race of our refined preachers, who "scorn to mention hell to ears polite." These selections are a specimen of the subjects that employed the tongues and pens of those intrepid champions in the cause of God who, having fought the good fight, and exemplarily executed the commission received from their Lord and Master, are now set down in the kingdom of heaven, crowned with glory and immortality. EDITOR.

of love. — God, who will not accept of broken money in a way of payment will, nevertheless, kindly accept of it from his friends as a testimony of gratitude.

It is true, O Christian, the debt thou owest to God must be paid in good and lawful money: but here, for thy comfort, Christ, and Christ only, is thy pay-master. Send Satan to him; bid him bring his charge against Christ, who is ready at God's right hand to produce a clear account, and shew his receipt in full for the whole debt.—As to thy performances and obedience, they fall under a quite contrary class; as mere tokens of thy love and thankfulness to God. And so gracious is thy heavenly Father, that he accepts thy bent sixpence, and will not throw away thy crooked, broken mite. Love refuses nothing that love sends *Gurnall.*

ACTIVITY.

Industry on our parts is not superseded by the greatness and freeness of God's grace. As when a schoolmaster teaches a boy gratis, the youth cannot attain to learning without some application of his own; and yet it doth not therefore cease to be free, on the teacher's part, because attention is required from the learner; so it is here. *Arrowsmith.*

AFFLICTIONS.

Sanctified afflictions are spiritual promotions. *Dr. Dodd of the last cent.*

There is no affliction so small but we should sink under it if God upheld us not: and there is no sin so great but we should commit it if God restrained us not. *ibid.*

A good old Scotch minister used to say to any of his flock when they were labouring under affliction, "Time is short: and, if your cross is heavy you have not far to carry it."

When the grace of an afflicted saint is in exercise, his heart is like a garden of roses, or a well of rose-water, which, the more moved and agitated they are, the sweeter is the fragrance they exhale. *Anon.*

As no temporal blessing is good enough to be a sign of eternal election; so no temporal affliction is bad enough to be an evidence of reprobation: for the dearest Son of God's love was a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief. *Dr. Arrowsmith.*

Afflictions scour us of our rust. Adversity, like winter weather, is of use to kill those vermin which the summer of prosperity is apt to produce and nourish. *ibid.*

Every vessel of mercy must be scoured in order to brightness. And however trees in the wilderness may grow without culture; trees in the garden must be pruned to be made friutful: and corn-fields must be broken up, when barren heaths are left untouched. *Dr. Arrowsmith.*

The Church below is often in a suffering state. Christ himself was a man of sorrows: nor should his bride be a wife of pleasures. *ibid.*

God may cast thee down, but he will not cast thee off. *Mr. Case.*

Afflictions are blessings to us when we can bless God for affliction. *Dyer.*

God had a Son without sin, but none without sorrow; he had one Son without corruption, but no Son without correction. *ibid.*

Christian, hath not God taught thee, by his word and Spirit, how to read the short-hand of his providence! Dost thou not know that the saint's afflictions stand for blessings? *Gurnall.*

Those whom God loves he takes to pieces; and then puts them together again. *Anon.*

Through Christ's satisfaction for sin, the very nature of affliction is changed, with regard to believers. As death, which was at first the wages of sin, is now become a bed of rest (they shall rest upon their beds, saith the prophet); so afflictions are not the rod of God's anger, but the gentle physic of a tender Father. *Dr. Crisp.*

All the afflictions that a saint is exercised with are neither too numerous nor too sharp. A great deal of rust requires a rough file.

Mr. Moses Browne, in conversation, Oct. 24, 1769.

If we have the kingdom at last, it is no great matter what we suffer by the way. *Dr. Manton.*

Nothing can reconcile the soul to afflictive allotments, but looking on them as covenant-dispensations. *Mr. William Mason.*

David's pen never wrote more sweetly than when dipt in the ink of affliction. *ibid.*

When you see the refiner cast his gold into the furnace, do you think he is angry with the gold and means to cast it away? No. He sits as a refiner. He stands warily over the fire, and over the gold, and looks to it, that not one grain be lost. And when the dross is severed, he will out with it presently; it shall be no longer there. *Crisp*

Crosses and afflictions are God's call to examine our hearts and our lives. *Richardson.*

No affliction would trouble a child of God, if he but knew God's reason for sending it. *ibid.*

Afflictions are as needful for our souls as food is for our bodies. *ibid.*

The Lord's wise love feeds us with hunger, and makes us fat with wants and desertions. *Rutherfoord.*

It is a good sign when the Lord blows

off the blossoms of our forward hopes in this life, and lops the branches of our worldly joys to the very root, on purpose that they should not thrive. Lord, spoil my fool's heaven in this life, that I may be saved for ever! *Rutherfoord.*

ALL-MIGHTY.

"Esto diabolus magnipotens; nunquam erit omnipotens," saith Luther: I confess the Devil is all-mighty, but he will never be all-mighty, as my God and Saviour is. *Arrowsmith.*

ARMINIANS.

Arminians represent the universe as the governess of God, instead of representing God as the governor of the universe. *Mr. R. Hill, in con. March* 6, 1770.

The Pelagians and Arminians are for making nature find its legs. They persuade man that he can go alone to Christ; or, at least, with a little external help of a hand to lead, or an argument to excite, without any creating work in the soul. Alas, for the blindness of nature! How false is all this stuff, and yet how glibly it goes down! *Gurnall.*

ASSURANCE.

Assurance of pardon is a free gift of God, as much as faith, or pardon itself. *Arrowsmith.*

Nothing more inflames a Christian's love to God than a firm belief of his personal election from eternity; after he hath been enabled to evidence the writing of his name in heaven by the experience of a heavenly calling and of a heavenly conversation. When the Spirit of God (whose proper work it is to assure, as it was the Father's to elect, and the Son's to redeem) hath written the law of life in a Christian's heart, and caused him to know assuredly that his name is in the book of life, he cannot but melt in sweet flames of holy affection. *ibid.*

ATTRACTION.

The loadstone draws all the iron and steel that comes near it, and also communicates of its own virtue to the iron it draws. Such a loadstone is Christ. He draws many after him, and when he has drawn them communicates his own virtue to them, so that they become useful to others; as a magnetic needle attracts other needles, by virtue of the power itself has received.

AVENGE.

When true grace is under the foot of a temptation, it will even then stir up a vehement desire of revenge, like a prisoner in the enemy's hand, who is thinking and plotting how to get out; waiting and longing every moment for an opportunity of deliverance, that he may again take up arms. "O God, remember me," saith Samson, "this once, I pray thee; and strengthen me, that I may be avenged on the Philistines for my two eyes," Judges xvi. 27. Thus prays the gracious soul, that God would spare him and strengthen him, that he may be avenged for his pride, unbelief, and all those sins by which he has dishonoured God. *Gurnall.*

BANISHMENT.

There goes a rumour that I am to be banished. And let it come, if God so will. The other side of the sea is my Father's ground as well as this side. *Rutherfoord.*

BELIEVER.

The weakest believer shall partake of such hidden things, such excellencies of Christ, as all the world shall never be able to dive into, reach, nor comprehend. *Crisp.*

A believer, in a poor condition, resembles a fine and valuable picture in a broken frame. *Jenkin.*

Men are believers because they are elected; not elected because they are believers. *Sladen.*

[Believers do, in general, wish to experience little else but the sweetness and comforts of religion; whence Mr. Rutherfoord says of himself,]

I am like a child that hath a golden book, and playeth chiefly with the ribbons, and the gilding, and the picture in the first page; instead of reading the more profitable contents.

BELIEVING.

To believe the gospel is but to give God credit for being wiser than ourselves. *Madan.*

Believing is the most wonderful thing in the world. Put any thing of thy own to it and thou spoilest it. *Wilcox.*

BESTOWMENT.

God is not only the rewarder, but is himself the reward of his. A king may enrich his subjects with gratuities; but he bestows himself upon his queen. *Cripplegate Lecture.*

BIBLE.

When a believer is in a state of comfort and prosperity, he can read other books beside the Bible: but when he is in temptation, or burdened with distress, he betakes himself to the Bible alone. He wants pure wine without any mixture of water.—This shews the worth of the Bible above all other books.

Mr. Searl in con. at B. Hemb. Idem. Aug. 28.

When you experience on your soul the happy energy of the Scriptures, every attempt to stagger your belief, or withdraw your veneration from the Bible, will be like an attempt to shatter the rock in pieces with a bubble, or to pierce the adamant with a feather. *Mr. Hervey.*

The page, of Scriptures like the productions of nature, will not only endure the test but improve upon the trial. The application of the microscope to the one, and a repeated meditation on the other, are sure to display new beauties and present us with higher attractives. *ibid.*

Without the powerful agency of the blessed Spirit to enlighten our understandings and to apply the doctrines of the Bible to our hearts; we shall be, even with the word of light and life in our hands, somewhat like blind Bartimæus sitting amidst the beams of day; or like the withered arm with invaluable treasures before it. *ibid.*

By the blessed influences of God's holy Spirit, our understandings are opened to know, and our hearts opened to receive, the Scriptures; to understand them in all the fulness of their heavenly meaning; to receive them in all the force of their transforming power. *ibid.*

Of most other things it may be said, "Vanity of vanities; all is vanity:" but of the Scriptures, "Verity of verities, all is verity." *Arrowsmith.*

In the Scriptures, there are Επινικια, songs of victory; but such as exalt not the prowess of man, but the glory of God. So Exod. xv.

Επικηδια, or funeral songs; but such as celebrate Christ's death, and the good-will of God therein. So Psalm xxii. and Isa. liii.

Ερωτικα, songs of love: but such as set forth the love of Christ to his spouse the Church, and her mutual affection to him. So Psalm xlv. and the Book of Canticles. There are also

Βικολικα, sacred pastorals: but such as magnify no other shepherd but God alone. Yea.

Γεωργικα too, or songs relative to husbandry: but such as ascribe all to him. Let Virgil be asked, "*Quid faciat lætas segetes,*" or what makes a good harvest? And he will wholly insist on this or that secondary cause of fertility.—Ask David, he presently falls in his georgics, upon praising God as the author of all fruitfulness: "Thou visitest the earth and blessest it; thou makest it very plenteous. Thou makest it soft with the showers of rain, and blessest the increase of it Thou crownest the year with thy goodness, and thy clouds drop fatness," Psa. lvi. *ibid.*

The two Testaments, Old and New, like the two breasts of the same person, give the same milk. *ibid.*

[Grace is the same as to principle in all God's children, how various soever it may seem]. If you draw water out of one and the same well, with vessels of different metal; one of brass, the other of tin, a third of earth; the water may seem at first to be of a different colour; but when the vessels are brought near the eye, this diversity of colour vanishes, and the water in each, when tasted of, has the same relish. —The same remark may likewise be accommodated to the several styles in which the penmen of Holy Scripture have respectively written. *Arrowsmith.*

Let such as choose it make their boast of other things, for which England is famous; as fine churches, bridges, wool, &c. If I was asked, "What advantage have Englishmen, and what profit is there of living in this island?" My answer should be, "Much every way: but chiefly because to us are committed the oracles of God, and liberty to read our Father's mind in our mother's-tongue." *ibid.*

We are generally desirous to have fair and well-printed Bibles: but the fairest and finest impression of the Bible, is to have it well printed on the reader's heart. *ibid.*

Quaint notions, philosophical speculations, and strains of wit, if set in competition with the oracles of God, are but as so many spiders' webs to catch flies; fitter for the taking of fancies than the saving of souls *ibid.*

Other books may render men learned unto ostentation; but the Bible only can make them really wise unto salvation. *ibid.*

The dust or the finery about your Bibles is a witness now, and will at the last day be a witness of the enmity of your hearts against Christ as a prophet. *Boston.*

Do not you teach the Bible, but let the Bible teach you. *A saying of the late Mr. Fanch, of Romsey, Hants.*

BIGOT.

For wolves to devour sheep is no wonder; but for sheep to devour one another, is monstrous and astonishing. *Anon*

BLOOD OF CHRIST.

The fountain of Christ's blood is always open. We sin daily; and every day we sue out our discharge in Christ's name. The best of God's children make but too much work for pardoning mercy. We contract new filth by walking up and down in a dirty defiling world. *Dr. Manton.*

It is said of the diamond;

Incidit gemmas, sed non inciditur ipse:
Hircino tantùm sanguine mollis erit.

i. e. "It cuts other jewels; but is itself cut of none: nothing will soften it but steeping it in the blood of goats."

Nor will man's adamantine heart be

softened to purpose, until steeped in the blood of Christ, the true scape-goat.
Arrowsmith.

Nothing but the blood of God can satisfy the justice of God, or calm the awakened conscience.
A saying of the Rev. Mr. Walter Chapman's.

If thou hast not the blood of Christ at the root of thy profession, thy profession will wither and prove but painted pageantry to go to hell in. *Wilcox.*

Without the blood of Christ upon thy conscience, all thy services are dead. *ibid.*

I may be ashamed to think that, in the midst of so much profession, I know so little of the blood of Christ, which is the main thing in the gospel. *ibid.*

[The works of men], without the blood of sprinkling will be but as a withered leaf amidst the inextinguishable burning.
Hervey.

Happy the people on whom the blood of Christ is sprinkled! this will screen and protect them like the mark which the man, clothed with linen, set on the foreheads of God's chosen ones, Ezek. ix. 6. or, like the line of scarlet thread, which Rahab bound to the window of her house, Josh. ii. 18, 19. *ibid.*

BLASPHEMOUS SUGGESTIONS.

[Blasphemous suggestions] will be charged on the tempter alone, if they be not consented to; and will no more be laid to the charge of the tempted party, than a bastard laid down at a chaste man's door will fix guilt upon him. [It may indeed give him trouble and vexation, but still he is not the father.] *Anon.*

BODY.

My soul, thou art now as a bird in the shell; in a shell of flesh which will shortly break and let thee go. This feeble vessel of the body will certainly ere long be split on the rock of death; and then must thou, its present pilot, forsake it, and swim to the shore of eternity. Therefore, O everlasting creature, see and be sure thou content not thyself with a transitory portion. *Arrowsmith.*

CALLING.

God's gracious biddings are effectual enablings. *Wilcox.*

CAUTION.

Were saints their own carvers they would soon cut their own fingers. *Dyer.*

When thou art enlarged in duty, supported and most assisted in thy Christian course, remember that thy strength lies in God, not in thyself. When thou hast thy best suit on, thy best suit of spirituality and strength, remember who made it, who paid for it, and who gave it thee. Thy grace, thy comfort, is neither the work of thy own hand, nor the price of thy own desert. Be not therefore proud of that which belongs to another, even God. Divine assistance will be suspended if it becomes a nurse to pride. *Gurnall.*

Strong affections make strong afflictions. *Dr. Owen.*

High professor, despise not weak saints. Thou mayest come to wish to be in the condition of the meanest of them. *Wilcox.*

CHURCH MILITANT.

While Israel marched through the wilderness, the blackest night had a pillar of fire; and the brightest day a pillar of cloud. So in this world, things never goes so well with God's Israel, but they have still something to groan under; nor so ill but they have still comfort to be thankful for. In the Church militant, as in the ark of old, there are both a rod and a pot of manna.
Arrowsmith.

CHARACTERS.

Every man has two characters: a good one from his friends; and a bad one from his enemies. The best way perhaps for us to form a just estimate of any person whatever, is by mixing his two characters together and making one of both.

My uncle, Francis Toplady, in Conversation at Rochester, May 18, 1770.

CHILDREN.

I write my blessing to your child. You have borrowed him from God: for he is no heritage to you but a loan. Love him as folks do borrowed things. *Rutherfoord.*

[To one who had lost several children, Mr. Rutherfoord writes]

They are got into the lee of the harbour before the storm comes on. They are not lost to you, but laid up in Christ's treasury above. You shall meet them again. They are not sent away but sent before.

CHRIST.

Whoever hath Christ, cannot be poor; whoever wants him cannot be rich. *Dyer.*

If Christ be not thy Jacob's staff, to guide thee to heaven, he will never be thy Jacob's ladder, to lift thee thither. *ibid.*

The Lord Jesus is as a strong arm that draws a bow. The greater the strength of the arm is, the swifter is the flight of the arrow, and the farther the arrow goes. Christ being the strength of all believing souls, he draws the bow for them with a mighty arm. *Dr. Crisp*

Though men of the lowest stations have generally the fewest troubles; yet it was not so with Christ. His case was alike remote both from the grandeur of princes, and from the tranquillity of the vulgar.

Pre-eminence in the vast multitude of his sorrows, and the first place among the afflicted and oppressed was his distinction.

CHRIST THE WAY.

Merchants go to sea.. The end of their voyage is it may be the Indies: but they have also business in France, Holland, Spain, or Turkey; and they accordingly put in there. Now their business is not their way to the end; but it is something they have to do in the way before they come to their journey's end. Thus all our obedience and righteousness are but so many several businesses here, which we are to dispatch while we are in Christ (who is our only way) towards heaven: and Christ himself being our way, he so provides for us that our business goes on. *Crisp.*

Believers must and will serve God, in duty and obedience; but they must not expect that their duties and obedience will bring them any thing. It is Christ brings every thing you get. While you look to get by what you do, you will but get a knock; because of so much sinfulness in your duties. If you would have any good, you must get it by Christ. Your obedience is that wherein you are to walk in the world, and before the world, that you may [shew forth the power of faith and] be profitable unto men But as for getting any thing, assure yourself, that while you labour to get by your duties you provoke God, as much as lies in you, to punish you for such presumption, and for the filthiness of the things which you perform. *ibid.*

When men would have any favour from a king, they do not apply to a scullion in the kitchen, but to the favourite; by whom the king has declared he will grant and deliver all things. When the people came to Pharaoh, Pharaoh sent them to Joseph; and as Joseph said, Pharaoh would do. So would you have any thing of God, go to Christ; and by Christ, go to the Father. *ibid.*

CHRIST A SHELTER.

The obedience and atonement of Christ are as sufficient to secure perfectly all sinners that fly by faith under the covert of his wings, as the immeasurable circuit of the sky is roomy enough for a lark to fly in, or as the immense brightness of the sun is lightsome enough for a labourer to work by. *Hervey.*

When the thunders roar and the lightnings flash; when the clouds pour down water, and a horrid storm comes on; all that are in the open air retire under the branches of a thick tree, or fly to some other commodious shelter. [So] the blood and righteousness of Christ are a covert. Hither we may fly and be screened; hither we may fly and be safe. Safe as was Noah, when he entered the ark, and God's own hand closed the door, and God's own eye guided its motions. *Hervey.*

CHRIST A FOUNDATION.

If we are for setting buttresses to the house that is built upon a rock, what is this but a disparagement to the foundation? If the foundation be already firm and good, why are you for endeavouring to strengthen it? So far as you set up any props unto Christ the foundation, who is to bear up all by himself, so far you disparage Christ, so far you bring him down, and give him not the pre-eminence. *Dr. Crisp.*

Christ is a sure foundation. So sure that lay what load you can upon him, he stoops not: and therefore he was excellently typified by the pillars of brass in Solomon's Temple. They were made of brass to shew their strength, whereon the whole weight of the porch of the temple lay. *ibid.*

CHRIST THE HEAD.

You that are believers and are under some particular trial; if you run to any inherent grace, or temper of spirit that is in yourselves, or any qualifications, or any performances that you can tender, and look after all or any of these, as that which will bring you the comfort, the support, or the supplies you want; while you look faintly and coldly upon Christ, and on the freeness and sureness of the grace which Christ brings along with himself; so long you deny unto Christ that pre-eminence which God has given him above all beside. *Dr. Crisp.*

CHRIST A ROCK.

If thou ever sawest Christ, thou sawest him a rock higher than self-righteousness, Satan and sin. And this rock doth follow thee: and there will be a continual dropping of honey and grace out of this rock to satisfy thee. *Wilcox.*

CHRIST A GIFT.

Hast thou but a mind to Christ? Come and take the water of life freely. It is thine. It is given to thee. There is nothing looked for from thee, to take thy portion in Christ. Thine he is as much as any person's under heaven. *Dr. Crisp.*

Dost thou thirst? that is, hast thou a mind really to Christ, that Christ should say really to thy soul, I am thy salvation? It may be thou art suspicious of thyself, and thy heart is apt to say, "Christ is not my portion; I am not fit for Christ; I am a great sinner; I must be holy first." Alas! this is bringing a price to Christ. But you must come without money and without price. And what is it to come without

money or price? It is to take Christ, and the waters of life, merely and simply as a gift. *Dr. Crisp.*

These are the sure mercies of David, when a man receives the things of Christ only because Christ gives them; and not in regard to any action of our's as the ground of taking them. *ibid.*

CHRIST IN THE HEART.

Let men be ever so great enemies to Christ, yet as soon as he sets up himself in their hearts they will love him, own him, serve him, and suffer for him. *Dyer.*

CHRIST'S CROSS.

Seeing Christ hath fastened heaven to the far end of the cross, and he will not loosen the knot himself, and none else can (for when Christ ties a knot, all the world cannot undo it); let us then count it exceeding joy when we fall into divers temptations. *Rutherfoord.*

The noise and expectation of Christ's cross are weightier than the cross itself. *ibid.*

Christ and his cross are two good guests worth entertaining. Men would fain have Christ by himself, and so have him cheap: but the market will not come down. *ibid.*

The cross of Christ is so sweet and profitable, that the saints (such are its gain and glory) might wish it were lawful either to buy or borrow his cross. But it is a mercy that they have it brought to their hand for nothing. *ibid.*

The cross of Christ (or suffering for his sake), is a crabbed tree to look at; but sweet and fair is the fruit it yields. *ibid.*

Welcome the cross of Christ and bear it triumphantly: but see it be indeed Christ's cross, not thy own. *Wilcox.*

A believer studies more how to adorn the cross than how to avoid it. *Dyer.*

Christ with his cross is better than the world with its crown. *ibid.*

CHRIST THE SAVIOUR.

Christ the law-giver will always speak in vain without Christ the Saviour. *Venn.*

CHRIST'S WORK.

If you have been looking at works, duties, and qualifications, instead of looking to Christ, it will cost thee dear. No wonder you go complaining. Graces are no more than evidences: the merits of Christ alone, without thy graces, must be the foundation for thy hope to bottom on. Christ only is the hope of glory. *Wilcox.*

He that builds upon duties, graces, &c. knows not the merits of Christ. This makes believing so hard, and so far above nature. If thou believest thou must every day renounce (from being any part of thy dependance) thy obedience, thy baptism, thy sanctification, thy duties, thy graces, thy tears, thy meltings, thy humblings; and nothing but Christ must be held up. *Wilcox.*

When we come to God, we must bring nothing but Christ with us. Any ingredients or previous qualifications of our own will poison and corrupt faith. *ibid.*

In the highest commands look at Christ, not as an exactor to require, but as a debtor by promise, and as an undertaker to work. *ibid.*

As water, falling on a rocky way, glides off as fast as it falls; whence the way is hard as before the rain fell, and a man may stand as firmly there as before; so all our sinfulness, while we are in the way of Christ, as thick as it falls, passeth off from us to him, and from him also, by virtue of that satisfaction which he hath made to the justice of God. *Crisp.*

As the payment of a great sum all at once, and at a day, is a better payment than by a penny a year, until a thousand years be out; so Christ's satisfying the Father at once, by one sacrifice of himself, is a better satisfaction, then if we should have been infinite days in paying that which his justice requires, and his indignation to sin doth expect. *ibid.*

Let it be observed, that Christ's active obedience to the law for us, and in our room and stead, does not exempt us from personal obedience to it; any more than his sufferings and death exempt us from a corporal death, or suffering for his sake. It is true, indeed, we do not suffer and die, in in the sense he did, to satisfy justice and atone for sin; so neither do we yield obedience to the law, in order to obtain eternal life by it. By Christ's obedience for us we are exempted from obedience to the law, in this sense; but not from obedience to it, as a rule of walk and conversation, by which we may glorify God, and express our thankfulness to him for his abundant mercies. *Dr. Gill.*

It is Christ's work, to take every present sin off the conscience of the believer, by the application of his blood and sacrifice — Hence he is said to be the Lamb of God that taketh away, that continues to take away, the sins of the world. *ibid.*

Before God enlightened me into the righteousness of Christ, and justification by it; I used to wonder how it was that, seeing Christ lived thirty three years and six months upon earth, only his death, or at most, the last week of his life, should be of any avail for the salvation of sinners. But blessed be God, I have long seen that Christ was all that time working out a perfect obedience for my acceptance with the Father. "By the obedience of one shall many be made righteous," is a text that amply accounts

for his having spent above thirty-three years below previous to his crucifixion; and is a truth by which my soul is nourished and fed to life everlasting.

Mr. Romaine, in conversation, July 18, 1769.

If I had the righteousness of a saint, says one, O how happy should I be! If I had the righteousness of an angel, says another, I should fear no evil. But I am bold to say, that the poorest sinner, who believes in Christ, has a righteousness infinitely more excellent than either saints or angels. If the law asks for sinless perfection, it is to be found in Christ, my divine Surety. If the law requires an obedience that may stand before the burning eye of God, behold, it is in Jesus my Mediator. Should the strictest justice arraign me, and the purest holiness make its demands upon me, I remit them both to my dying and obedient Immanuel. With him the Father is always well-pleased; and in him the believer stands complete. *Mr. Hervey.*

Jesus says concerning his people, "If they have sinned, I have taken their sins upon myself. If they have multiplied transgressions as the stars of heaven, my Father hath laid on me the iniquities of them all. They are my redeemed ones; I have bought them with my blood; I cannot lose my purchase. If they are not saved, I am not glorified." *ibid.*

CHRIST'S COMPANY.

While Christ was upon earth, he was more among publicans and sinners, than among scribes and pharisees; for these were self-righteous [and so, not fit company for him who came to seek and to save the lost]. *Wilcox.*

CHRIST'S LIBERALITY.

Christ is not more rich himself, than he is liberal to contribute of his treasures. He makes his people sharers to the uttermost of all that he has. *Crisp.*

CHRIST'S PRESENCE.

I know the sun will overcloud and eclipse, and I shall again be put to walk in the shade. But Christ must be welcome to come and go as he thinketh meet. Yet his coming would be more welcome to me than his going. *Rutherfoord.*

Christ is ever present in and with his people: and while he is on board, the ship cannot sink. He may, indeed, seem to sleep, for a time; and to disregard both the vessel and the storm. Do you awake him by prayer and supplication.

Dr. Giffard, Dec. 24. 1775.

CHRIST'S CARE.

A true friend divides the cares and doubles the joys of his brother in affection. Christ does more; for he takes the cares of his people entirely on himself; and not only doubles their joys, but makes all his joys their own. *Anon.*

Suppose a king's son should get out of a besieged city, and leave his wife and children behind, whom he loves as his own soul; would this prince, when arrived at his father's palace, delight himself with the splendour of the court, and forget his family in distress? No: but having their cries and groans always in his ears, he would come post to his father, and entreat him as ever he loved him, that he would send all the force of his kingdom to raise the siege, and save his dear relations from perishing. Nor will Christ, though gone up from the world, and ascended into his glory, forget his children for a moment that are left behind him. *Gurnall.*

CHRIST'S NECESSITIES.

Why was the bread of life hungry, but that if he might feed the hungry with the bread of life? Why was rest itself weary, but to give the weary rest? Why was the prince of peace in trouble, but that the troubled might have peace? None but the image of God could restore us to God's image. None, but the prince of peace, could bring the God of peace, and the peace of God, to poor sinners. *Dyer.*

CHRIST'S PURCHASE.

The whole election of grace, all the children of God scattered about in the world; all the Lord's people that ever have been, are, or shall be; may truly be said to be the pearl of great price, which Christ came into this world to seek for, and found: and finding it, sold all that he had, shed his blood, parted with his life, and gave himself for it, and bought it. *Dr. Gill.*

CHRIST'S SUFFERINGS.

We cannot [fully] understand the sufferings of Christ. God only knows what is in the curse of the law. God alone knows what is the true [and utmost] desert of sin. How, then, do we know what Christ suffered, when the punishment due to our sin, when all our iniquities met on him, [and he had] the curse of the law upon him! God only knows what is in these things.

Dr. Owen.

CHRIST'S LOVE.

It is a peculiar kind of expression Eph. iii. 19. where the apostle prays that, they might "know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge." We may know that experimentally which we cannot know comprehensively; we may know that in its power and effects which we cannot comprehend in its nature and depths. A weary person may receive refreshment from

a spring, who cannot fathom the depth of the ocean whence it proceeds.

Dr. Owen.

I have seen the white side of Christ's cross. How lovely hath he been to his oppressed servant. *ibid.*

How little of the sea can a child carry in his hand! as little do I take away of my great sea, the boundless love of Christ.

Rutherfoord.

[Written from Aberdeen prison by *Rutherfoord.*]

My Lord Jesus is kinder to me than ever he was. It pleaseth him to dine and sup with his afflicted prisoner. The king feasteth me, and his spikenard casteth a sweet smell. Put Christ's love to the trial, and throw all your burdens upon it, and then it will appear love indeed. We employ not his love, and therefore we know it not.

CHRIST'S WILLINGNESS.

It is less injurious to Christ, to doubt even of his existence, than to doubt of his willingness to save a wounded, broken-hearted sinner. *Ryland.*

CHRIST THE ONLY SAVIOUR.

Do not legalise the gospel; as if part remained for you to do and suffer, and Christ were but a half-mediator: or as if you were to bear part of your own sin, and make part satisfaction. Let sin break thy heart, but not thy hope. *Wilcox.*

Christ will be a pure, total Redeemer and Mediator, and thou must be an undone sinner, or Christ and thou will never agree.

CHRIST'S RIGHTEOUSNESS

Sin has stripped man of his moral clothing. Man's own righteousness will not cover his nakedness; and whoever is destitute of Christ's righteousness, is a naked person.

Dr. Gill.

Christ's righteousness is called, The righteousness of the law, Rom. viii. 4. For though righteousness does not come by our obedience to the law, yet it does by Christ's obedience to it as performed by man, no flesh living can be justified; yet by the deeds of the law, as performed by Christ, all the elect are justified. *ibid.*

Christ's righteousness is also called The righteousness of faith, Rom. iv. 13; not as if faith were our righteousness, either in whole or in part, but because faith receives the righteousness of Christ, puts it on, rejoices in it, and boasts of it. *ibid.*

Christ's righteousness is called The best robe, Luke xv. 22; or, as the Greek text hath it, the first robe, *την στολην την πρωτην*. For though Adam's robe of righteousness in innocence was the first in wear, this was first provided in the covenant of grace: this was first in designation, though that was first in use. *ibid.*

We must be declared free from guilt, and invested with a righteousness that will stand before the law of sinless perfection and entitle us to the kingdom of heaven. And if we have it not in ourselves, where must we look for it but as existing solely in the person of Jesus Christ? Dependence therefore upon that righteousness, as wrought out by him for believers, and appointed of God for sinners to trust in, is the gracious faith of the gospel by which the soul is justified.

Satan and the world may ask us, "How can ye be justified by a righteousness which is not your's?" We answer, "The righteousness of Christ is our's, and our's by as great a right as any other thing we possess to wit, by the free gift of God; for it hath pleased him to give us a garment who were naked, and to give us, who had none of our own, a righteousness answerable to justice."

Bp. Cowper.

Men generally think that, besides Christ and his merits, there is something more in the way that leadeth to life, namely, a man's own righteousness, to act in conjunction with Christ: "these together," say they, "are the way to salvation." Alas for such! Christ alone is the way to heaven; and he himself has declared that way to be a narrow one. It is, among other respects, narrow in this regard; that all a man's own righteousness [as a ground, cause, or condition of justification and eternal life] must be clean shut out. It is so narrow that there can be nothing in the way but the righteousness of Christ. When a man's own righteousness is supposed to be a part of the way, we make the way broader than God will allow.

Dr. Crisp.

Whatever comes in when thou goest to God for acceptance, besides Christ, call it antichrist; bid it be gone; make only Christ's righteousness triumphant. All besides that is Babylon, which must fall if Christ stand; and thou shalt rejoice in the day of the fall thereof. *Mr. Wilcox.*

Do as much as thou wilt, but stand with all thy weight upon Christ's righteousness. Take heed of having one foot on thy own righteousness and another on Christ's. *ibid.*

It is the hardest thing in the world to take Christ alone for our righteousness. Join any thing to him of your own, and you unchrist him. *ibid.*

Whatsoever is of nature's spinning must be all unravelled before Christ's righteousness can be put on. *ibid.*

Nothing can kill sin but the beholding of Christ's righteousness *ibid.*

CHRIST'S EXALTATION.

Christ's exalted state in glory does not make him neglectful of poor sinners, nor scornful to them: no, he has the same heart in heaven that he had on earth. He went

through all thy temptations, dejections, sorrows, and desertions. He drank the bitterest of the cup, and left the sweet. The condemnation is out. He drank up all the Father's wrath at one draught, and nothing but salvation is left for thee. *ibid.*

CHRIST'S INTERCESSION.

Christ commands in heaven as he does upon earth. There is nothing he can ask of the Father but it is answered. He never has a nay. If any come to be a suitor to him, to put up a petition for him, he is sure to speed. *Crisp.*

If you would pray but cannot, and so are discouraged, see Christ praying for you, and using his interest with the Father for you. *Wilcox.*

CHRISTIANS.

Thou, who hast seen Christ all, and thyself absolutely nothing; to whom Christ is life, and who art dead to all righteousness besides; thou art a Christian, one highly beloved, and who has found favour with God. *Wilcox.*

None can make a Christian but he that made the world. *Hart.*

The sons of God have much in hand, and more in hope. *Manton.*

God's people are too touchy in looking so much for respect from men. It argues a secret leaven of pride if they murmur when the world doth not esteem them. A Christian is an unknown man in the world, and therefore should not take it ill if he finds himself slighted. *ibid.*

A Christian that roweth against the stream of the flesh and blood is the world's wonder and the world's reproof. *ibid.*

The best of Christians are found in the worst of times.

COMMUNION WITH GOD.

Though a gracious soul may not always enjoy sensible communion with God in the ordinances, yet it has always this good sign, that it cannot be easy and satisfied without it. *Dr. Giffard.*

Have you any reason to believe that you have at any time had communion with God, in private or in public, in your closet or in the family, or in the house of God, under any ordinance, either the ministry of the word, or prayer, or the supper of the Lord? Then you may be assured Christ has made satisfaction for you, or you would never have enjoyed such communion. *Anon.*

CIRCUMSPECTION.

Persons who make a peculiar profession of godliness should be peculiarly circumspect in their moral walk, else they hurt not only their own character, but, above all, the cause of religion itself; and resemble a man who carries fire in one hand and water in the other. *Mrs. Bacon, Feb.* 16, 1770.

COMFORTS.

Of all created comforts God is the lender. You are the borrower, not an owner. *Rutherfoord.*

God's comforts are no dreams. He would not put his seal on blank paper, nor deceive his afflicted ones that trust in him. *ibid.*

If comfort fails, God's faithfulness does not. What though your pitcher is broke? The fountain is still as full as ever.

The Rev. Mr. Williams.

I had rather be a means of comforting one of God's dear children than gain the applause of a nation. *Ryland.*

COMPANY.

Better is it to go with a few to heaven than with a multitude to hell, and be damned for the sake of company. *Parr*

COMPLAINING.

Complaining of God is one thing; complaining to God is another. *Mr. Caser.*

COMPARISON NO CRITERION.

Sometimes perhaps thou hearest another Christian pray with much freedom, fluency, and movingness of expression, while thou canst hardly get out a few broken words in duty. Hence thou art ready to accuse thyself, and to admire him. As if the gilding of the key made it open the door the better. *Gurnall.*

Take heed of judging thyself unconverted, because thou mayest not have felt so much horror as some others in thy first convictions. O believer, that has not heard so much, it may be, of the rattling of the chains of hell, nor, in thy conscience, so much of the outcries of the damned, as to make thy very flesh tremble; but hast thou not seen that, in a bleeding Christ, which hath made thy heart melt, and mourn, and loathe thy lusts? It is strange to hear a patient complain of the physician (when he finds his prescriptions work effectually) merely because the operation did not affect him so violently as in some others. Soul, thou hast the more reason to bless God, if the convictions of his Spirit have wrought so kindly on thee, without those extremities of terror which have cost others so dear. *ibid.*

It may be thou seest another abound with that joy which thou wantest, and art therefore ready to think his grace is more, and thine less, than it really is; while perhaps thou mayest have as much real grace as he, only thou wantest a light to shew thee where it lies. *ibid.*

CONCEIT.

There is a strong resemblance between a pert, overbearing, conceited opinionist and a drunken man. You may see him reeling to and fro; now entertaining this odd conceit, to-morrow that, and the next day a third: unstable in all. Vomiting, too, and casting out scornful reproaches against such as differ from him. Talkative, as drunkards commonly are; prating, and obtruding his own opinions on every body. Self-sufficient, and boasting himself and his party as too hard for all their opposers. Thus, as our proverb saith, "one drunkard is forty men strong."—Whoever attempts to reason with such a dogmatist will soon find him as incapable of conviction as Nabal was of Abigail's narration, until his wine was gone out of him. *Dr. Arrowsmith.*

CONFIDENCE.

Even when a believer sees no light, he may feel some influence; when he cannot close with a promise, he may lay hold on an attribute, and say, "Though both my flesh and my heart fail, yet divine faithfulness and divine compassions fail not. Though I can hardly discern at present either sun, moon, or stars, yet will I cast anchor in the dark, and ride it out until the day break, and the shadows flee away. *Arrowsmith.*

CONSOLATIONS.

Divine consolations are the nearest to us when human assistances are furthest from us. *Cave.*

CONSTITUTION SINS.

Watch against constitution sins. See them in their vileness, and they will never break out into act. *Wilcox.*

CONTENTMENT.

Be willing to want what God is not willing to give. *Dyer.*

Contentment without the world is better than the world without contentment. *ibid.*

Be contented with a mean condition. This is not the time for the manifestation of the sons of God. Though others that are wicked may have a larger portion and allowance than you, yet God doth not misplace his hands (as Joseph thought his father did, Gen. xlviii.), but puts them upon the right head, and assigns temporal blessings to the right persons. Ephraim is not preferred before Manasseh without reason. *Manton.*

Brown bread with the gospel is good fare. *Dodd.*

When the heart is full of God, a little of the world will go a great way with us.

Mr. Storer, in conversation Dec. 15, 1769.

Content is all we aim at with our store:
"if that be had with little, what need more?"

CONTRAST.

As the wicked are hurt by the best things so the godly are bettered by the worst.

CONVERSION.

It is a greater act of grace, for God, to work conversion in a sinner than to crown that conversion with glory. It is more gracious and condescending in a prince to marry a poor damsel, than having married her, to clothe her like a princess. He was free to do the first or not; but his relation to her pleads strongly for the other. God might have chosen whether he would have given thee grace, or no; but having done this, thy relation to him, and his covenant with thee in his Son, do oblige him to add more and more, until he hath fitted thee as a bride for himself in glory. *Gurnall.*

If Satan seeks to puzzle thee about the time of thy conversion, content thyself with this, that thou seest the streams of grace, though, perhaps, the exact time of thy first receiving it (like the head of Nilus) may not easily be found.

You may know the sun is up, though you did not observe when it rose. *ibid.*

Conversion of the soul to God is like changing a kennel of mud into a river of crystal.

Mr. Engleheart, in conversation at London, May 14, 1776.

Since Christ looked upon me in conversation, my heart is not my own: he hath run away with it to heaven.

Mr. Rutherfoord.

CONVERSATION.

A daily conversation in heaven is the surest forerunner of a constant abode there. The Spirit of God, by enabling us hereunto, first brings heaven into the soul, and then conducts the soul to heaven. *Arrowsmith.*

CONVICTION.

Happy conviction of guilt! which performs the same beneficent office the Baptist discharged of old; it prepares the way of the Lord, and renders his salvation inestimably precious to the soul. *Venn.*

The greatness of Christ's merit is not known but to a poor soul at the greatest loss. Slight convictions will occasion but slight prizings of Christ's blood and righteousness. *Anon.*

CORRECTION.

God's corrections are our instructions; his lashes our lessons; and his scourges our school-masters. Whence both in Hebrew and Greek, chastening and teaching are expressed by one word, יסר and παιδεια. *Brookes.*

It is of the Lord's mercy that our affliction is not execution, but correction.

He that hath deserved hanging may be glad to escape with a whipping. *Brookes.*

"If we run away from the Lord, he has a covenant-rod for our backs; but it is a rod in the hand of a father." *A dying Saying of my friend, Mr. Lovett, who went to Heaven, September* 4, 1775.

The correction which you at present consider as an argument of wrath, may be an evidence of love and an act of mercy. God will prune thee, but not hew thee down. The right of his clemency knows what the left hand of his severity is doing. Better for thee to be a chastened son than an undisciplined bastard. *Arrowsmith.*

CREATURE COMFORTS.

Creature comforts are often to the soul what suckers are to a tree; and God takes off those that these may thrive.
Mr. Ryland, in conversation, Dec. 23, 1769.

CRITERION.

When thou gettest no comfort in hearing, nor ease to thy spirit in praying, and yet growest more eager to hear, and art more frequent in prayer; Oh soul, great are thy faith and patience.

Blessed is your condition if you have this testimony in your conscience; that, acknowledging your own natural ignorance and blindness, you call upon the name of the Lord Jesus, to enlighten your mind, to make his way plain before you, and to give you a strong and distinct perception of the great things that concern your eternal peace.

Blessed is your condition if, feeling your utter utter incapacity to procure the favour of God by the best of your duties, reformations, or performances, and confounded in your own sight, for your great defects, you build all your hope of acceptance with God, on what Christ has done and suffered for you. Blessed is your condition, if afflicted with the exceeding great vileness of your natural affections, and longing for victory over them; for a more spiritual mind, and for a farther progress in love both to God and man; you depend on the renewing, sanctifying grace of the Holy Spirit, to work this divine change within you.

This is to believe in the only begotten Son of God without partiality and without hypocrisy. This the word of God pronounces to be that dependance on Christ which shall never be confounded. *Venn.*

DARKNESS OF SOUL.

If you are under darkness of soul, first go to God with it; and then go to some experienced saint of your acquaintance. It is good sometimes to light your candle at a neighbour's fire. *Anon.*

DEAD IN SIN.

Great was the cry in Egypt when the first-born in each family was dead; but are there not many families where all are dead together? *Boston.*

Death is a friend of grace, and the enemy of nature. *Dodd.*

Mankind are like sheep grazing on a common: the butcher comes continually and fetches away one, and another, and another; while the rest feed on unconcerned, until he comes for the last.
Mr. Herne, formerly Rector of Blagdon, Somerset.

The dread and dislike of death do by no means prove that a person is not a child of God. Even a strong believer may be afraid to die. We are not in general, fond of handling a serpent or a viper, even though its sting is drawn, and though we know it to be so.
Mr. John Martin, London, May, 1774.

Though a believer may have his darkness, doubts, and fears, and many conflicts of soul while on his dying-bed; yet usually these are all over and gone before his last moments come, and death does its work and office upon him. From the gracious promises of God, to be with his people even unto death; and from the scriptural accounts of dying saints; and from the observations I have made through the course of my life; I am of opinion, that generally speaking, the people of God die comfortably; their spiritual enemies being made to be as still as a stone, while they pass through Jordan, or the stream of death. *Dr. Gill.*

The consideration of the state of the dead as of persons asleep, should moderate our sorrow for the loss of departed friends. What master of a family can be uneasy at finding his family, his wife, his children, his servants, in a sound fast sleep at midnight? May he not expect that they will rise in the morning well and healthful, and ready to go about any service that may be proper for them? When Christ said, concerning Lazarus, "Our friend Lazarus sleepeth;" "Lord," said the disciples, "if he sleep he shall do well." The saints, who are fallen asleep, must needs do well. They cannot do otherwise than well, who not only sleep but sleep in Jesus. *ibid.*

As a man that takes a walk in his garden, and spying a beautiful full-blown flower crops it, and puts it into his bosom; so the Lord takes his walks in his gardens, the churches; and gathers his lilies, souls fully ripe for glory, and with delight takes them to himself. *ibid.*

There is no way to live with God, in glory, but by dying. Christians would be clothed with a blessed immortality, but they

are loathe to be unclothed for it: they pray, thy kingdom come; and, when God is leading them thither, they are afraid to go. What is there in this valley of tears, that should make us weep to leave it.
Cripplegate Lect.

DECREES OF GOD.

A cockle-fish may as soon crowd the ocean into its narrow shell, as vain man ever comprehend the decrees of God. *Anon.*

DEFAMATION.

How harmless is defamation from a fellow-creature, when the great Creator smiles! *Anon.*

DEISM.

We can never expect to see Deism decline, whilst those principles which support it, are maintained by [professing Christians] themselves. But would Protestants return to their ancient Protestant doctrines, and live and practise accordingly, then would religion flourish; and Atheism, Deism, Arianism, and every other ism sink apace.
Dr. Gill.

DEPRAVITY.

Nature is so corrupted as not to understand its own depravation. *Dr. Owen.*

If we trace man's forgetfulness of God up to its real source, it will afford us the most afflicting evidence of his natural depravity, and prove that he is a despiser of the Lord God Omnipotent. *Venn.*

DEPENDENCE ON CHRIST ALONE.

A lively dependance on the Lord Jesus Christ implies an intimate and most interesting connection between him and the soul; a knowledge of him, affecting to the heart, and full of influence; an application to him, daily and persevering. So that a man who is living in such dependance on the Son of God, might as reasonably call in question the reality of transactions passing between himself and his friends on earth, as whether he is indeed a believer on Jesus. *ibid.*

A Judas may have the sop; the outward privileges of baptism, the Lord's supper, Church-membership, &c. But like John, to lean on Christ's bosom, is the gospel ordinance posture in which we should hear, pray, and perform all duties. *Wilcox.*

Nothing but lying on Christ's bosom will dissolve hardness of heart, and make thee mourn kindly for sin, and humble thee indeed, and make thy soul cordial to Christ, yea, transform the ugliest piece of hell into the image and glory of Christ. *ibid.*

Looking at the natural sun weakens the eye; but the more you look at Christ, the sun of righteousness, the stronger and clearer will the eye of faith be. Look but on Christ, and you will love him and live on him. *Wilcox.*

See Christ, and you see all. Keep your eye steadily fixed on his blood and righteousness; and only look at your graces in the second place. Else, every blast of temptation will shake you. *ibid.*

If you would so see the sinfulness of sin, as to loathe it, and to mourn for it; do not stand looking upon sin, but first look upon Christ as suffering and satisfying. *ibid.*

He who looks upon Christ through his graces, is like one that sees the sun in water; which wavers and moves as the water doth. Look upon Christ, only as shining in the firmament of the Father's grace and love; and there you will see him in his own genuine glory and unspeakable fullness. *ibid.*

He who sets up his sanctification to look at to comfort him, sets up that which will strengthen his doubts and fears. Do but look off Christ, and presently, like Peter, you begin to sink into distress, discouragements, and despondency. *ibid.*

A Christian seldom wants comfort, but by breaking the order and method of the gospel; *i. e.* by looking upon his own righteousness, instead of looking off to the perfect righteousness of Christ. What is this, but choosing rather to live by candle-light, than by the light of the sun? *ibid.*

DESIRE.

Of a small handful of outward things, I am ready to say, it is enough. But that, which I long passionately for, is, a large heart-ful of God in Christ. *Arrowsmith.*

I would rather utter one of those groans the apostle speaks of, Rom. viii. 26. than shed Esau's tears, have Balaam's prophetic spirit, or the joy of the stony-ground hearer. *Boston.*

DESERTS.

Thy deserts are hell, wrath, rejection; Christ's deserts are life, pardon, acceptation. If God hath shewn thee the former, he will give thee the latter. *Wilcox.*

DISAPPOINTMENTS.

When I have been asked to spend an afternoon with gentlemen of learned education and unquestionable ingenuity, I have fancied myself invited to take a turn in some beautiful garden, where I expected to have been treated with a sight of the most delicate flowers, and most amiable forms of nature: when to my surprise, I have been shewn nothing but the most worthless thistles, and contemptible weeds.
Mr. Hervey.

Is a father to be blamed, for striking a cup of poison out of his child's hand? Or

God, for stripping us of those outward comforts which would run away with our hearts from him? *Mr. Madan.*

DISCRIMINATING GRACE.

By nature, there is no difference between the elect and reprobate. Paul was as bloody a persecutor as Domitian, or Julian; Zaccheus as unconscionable and covetous a worldling as was that rich glutton damned to hell. The elect and reprobate, before converting grace make the difference, are like two men walking in one journey, of one mind, and one heart. They resemble Elijah and Elisha, walking and talking together, when, lo! a chariot of fire suddenly severs them; and Elijah is rapt up into heaven, while Elisha is left behind upon earth.—So is it when God's effectual calling, quite unlooked for, comes and separates those two who before were walking together, yea, running to the same excess of riot. The one returns back to the Lord, from whom he was fallen; while the other, being himself untouched by God, marvels that his former companion hath forsaken him, and walks on still in the old course of his sins, to his final condemnation. *Bishop Cowper*

When God called Paul, he found him a persecutor. Saul was seeking his father's asses when Samuel came to call him to the kingdom. Peter and Andrew were mending their nets; Matthew was sitting at the receipt of custom; when Christ called them. So, when we do inquire of our own consciences how we were employed when the Lord called us by his grace; we shall find that we were employed either in vain, wicked, or worldly things: so that we had no mind to his kingdom. Let the praise therefore of our calling be reserved to the Lord only. *ibid.*

What are all the visible impieties in this world but so many comments on the depravity of our fallen nature? A converted person may say, "Lord, such a drunkard, such an adulterer, such a sodomite, or murderer, &c. was cut off from the same piece that I was; and only free-grace came between us." O Christian, if grace hath made thee white paper, thou wert by nature as very a dunghill-rag, as the filthiest sinner *Crivvlegate Lectures.*

DISPUTES.

In glory, all religious differences and disputes will for ever cease. There will be an universal shaking of hands in heaven. *Mr. S. Wilkes, in conversation, Dec. 23, 1769.*

DISCRETION.

If discretion sit not in the saddle, to rein and bridle in thy zeal, thou wilt soon be hurried over hedge and ditch, until thou fallest down some precipice or other, by thy irregular acting. *Gurnall.*

DIVINE LIGHT.

The things which the Holy Ghost discovers are no other for substance but those very things which are contained in the written word: only he affords regenerate persons clearer light to discern them by, than they had before conversion.—Turn a learned man to the same author which he perused when a young student; he will find the self-same matter, but see a great deal further into it, because he hath now got further light and knowledge. *Arrowsmith.*

DIVINE GOODNESS.

Created goodness, being limited, may be liable to fall short. Esau might have somewhat to plead for saying, "Hast thou but one blessing, O my father?"—But divine goodness is an ocean that hath neither bank nor bottom. Our heavenly Father hath blessings reserved, as well as bestowed. *ibid.*

DIVINE POWER.

Zion's king gets no subjects but by stroke of sword in the day of his power. None come to him but such as are drawn by a divine hand. *Boston.*

DIVINE HELP.

Divine help is the nearest when our misery is at the greatest. Man's extremity is God's opportunity. When Mordecai is thoroughly humbled, Haman shall be hanged. *Dyer.*

DIVINE SOVEREIGNTY.

We are, in God's hand, as clay in the hand of the potter. Did you ever know a potter thank a vessel of his own making for its beauty or usefulness? Surely the praise is due, not to the pot, but to the potter. In a still infinitely higherd egree is the whole praise due to God for the graces and the good works which he has given us. *Mr. R. Hill, London, August 30, 1775.*

DOUBTS.

Oh trembling believer! if Satan should at any time move thee to doubt of thy election, answer him by telling him that he was never of God's cabinet-council. *Anon.*

Who had more testimonies of God's favour than David? Yet was he sometimes at a loss, not only to read, but even to spell his evidences. *Gurnall.*

Unbelief may, perhaps, tear the copies of the covenant which Christ hath given you; but he still keeps the original in heaven with himself. Your doubts and fears are no parts of the covenant; neither can they change Christ. *Rutherfoord.*

I have questioned whether or no I ever knew any thing of Christianity, save the letters which make up the word. *Rutherfoord.*

Doubtings are your sins: but they are also the drugs and ingredients which Christ, the good physician, makes use of for the curing of your pride. *ibid.*

DUST.

Art not thou the son of Adam? And was not he the son of dust? And was not that dust the son of nothing? "Why art thou proud, O dust and ashes? says the son of Sirach, Eccles. x. 9. And Bernard puts this excellent question: "Cùm sis humillimus, cur non es humillimus? *Arrowsmith.*

DUTIES.

Take up all duties in point of performance; and lay them down in point of dependance. Duty can never have too much of our diligence, nor too little of our confidence. *Dyer.*

Be serious and exact in duty, having the weight of it upon thy heart: but be as much afraid of taking comfort from thy duties themselves as from thy sins. *Wilcox.*

They who act in the path of duty and depend on the power of God, are equally safe at all times and in all circumstances: no less safe when surrounded by enraged enemies, than when encircled by kind and assiduous friends. *Mr. Newton.*

DYING BEDS.

Visit dying beds [especially of saints] and deserted souls, much. They are excellent scholars in experience. *Wilcox.*

Go to dying beds; there you will learn the true worth of deliverance from damnation by the death of Christ. Ask some agonizing friend: he, and he alone, can tell you what a blessing it is to have the king of terrors converted into a messenger of peace. *Hervey.*

EARLY CONVERSION.

If I could lawfully envy any body, I should envy those that are converted to God in their youth. They escape much sin and sorrow; and resemble Jacob, who carried off the blessing betimes. *Anon.*

EFFICACY.

The least sight of Christ is saving; the least touch of him is healing. *Wilcox.*

EFFECTUAL CALLING.

Effectual calling is the middle link in the undividable chain of salvation: he that hath it, is sure of both the ends [*i. e.* of his past predestination to life, and of his future glorification]. Our calling is the manifestation of our secret election, and a sure forerunner of glory: being, in effect, the voice of God telling us beforehand that he will glorify us. *Bp. Cowper.*

As the best way when you are on the main land to find out the sea is to walk by a river that runneth into it; so he that would proceed from election to glorification, let him trace his calling, which is, if I may so express it, a river flowing out of the brazen mountains of God's eternal election, and running perpetually upward until it enter into the heaven of heavens. *ibid.*

There is much the same difference between election and effectual calling, as between a private manuscript and a printed book. In election God, as it were, wrote and entered us in his heavenly register: but it is still kept by him, and none know the contents but himself: whereas in effectual calling God, as it were, prints off a sheet of the book of life, and publishes it and makes it known to the soul *Gurnall.*

ELECTION.

Election depends on God alone; all other blessings upon election: saith Heinsius. "*Cætera pendent ab electione; electio a Deo.*" *Arrowsmith.*

Election having once pitched upon a man, it will find him out and call him home, wherever he be. It called Zaccheus out of accursed Jericho; Abraham out of idolatrous Ur of the Chaldeans; Nicodemus, and Paul, from the college of the Pharisees, Christ's sworn enemies; Dionysius, and Damaris, out of superstitious Athens. In whatsoever dunghills God's jewels are hid, election will both find them out and fetch them out. *ibid.*

Prove your conversion, and you need not doubt of your election. *Mr. Joseph Allein.*

It was well said by Sir Francis Bacon, that "old wood is best to burn; old friends best to trust; and old books best to read." What vast value do scholars put upon an ancient manuscript! Doubtless, the oldest of all manuscripts is the book of life; and the writing our names therein, the first-born of all God's favours. If God sets a value on the first-fruits of our services, how careful should we be to magnify the first-fruits of his goodness? If old charters be of so great esteem as they are in the world, what an immense estimate should we set upon the most ancient magna charta of our eternal election, having this seal, the Lord knoweth them that are his! *ibid.*

It is a good saying of Austin, "Intra mundum facti sumus, ante mundum electi sumus:" We were made within the world, but chosen before it. *ibid.*

The Lamb's book of life (so named because Jesus stands there enrolled at the head of it, as the head of all the elect, and as the captain of that salvation to which they were chosen) is a book of love.

"Behold my servant whom I have chosen; my beloved, in whom my soul is well pleased." It was so said of Christ, and may be applied to all the elect, in their measure. Hence Paul styles the Thessalonians, "Beloved of the Lord; because God had chosen them unto salvation." And God himself expresses the election of Jacob, by "Jacob have I loved:" to shew that free love on God's part is the source and foundation of this favour. *Mr. Joseph Allein.*

If that saying of the Stoics be true, "In sapientum decretis nulla est litura," i. e. in the decrees of wise men there can be no blotting nor blurring; how much more may it be asserted concerning the decrees of the infinitely wise God? If it became Pilate to say, what I have written, I have written; it would certainly misbecome the great and immutable God to blot so much as any one single name out of the Lamb's book of life, written by himself before the world was. We may rest assured that this book will admit of no deleatur, nor of any expurgatory index. *ibid.*

As, in military affairs, commanders have their muster rolls, wherein are contained the names of all the soldiers they have listed: whence the phrase, "conscribere milites;" and in commonwealths, there are registers kept, wherein are recorded the names of such as are chosen to offices of trust and preferment; whence the title of *patres conscripti*, given to the Roman senators: so the condescension of Scripture, which speaks of God after the manner of men, ascribes to him a book of life, wherein it represents a legible writing and registering of the names of all those persons whom he hath irreversibly predestinated to life everlasting. *ibid.*

Your election will be known by your interest in Christ; and your interest in Christ by the sanctification of the Spirit. There is a chain of salvation: the beginning of it is from the Father; the dispensation through the Son; the application by the Spirit. In looking after the comfort of election, you must look inward to the work of the Spirit in your hearts; then outward to the work of Christ on the cross; then upward to the heart of the Father in heaven. *Mr. Samuel Clark.*

By a work of grace in thee thou mayest as surely know thou art elected as if thou hadst stood at God's elbow when he wrote thy name in the book of life. *Gurnall.*

Before you go to the university you ought to go to school. Do not meddle with election and predestination until you have experienced something of divine grace in your effectual vocation.

Ascribed to Mr. Bradford, the martyr.

Let us take those words, Rom. viii. 30. which way we will; let us read them backwards or forwards; they tell us that election and salvation, both initial and final, are undivided, and inseparably united together. *Mr. Sladen.*

In every congregation where the faithful word is preached, there are some who belong to the election of grace, [and are either to be called or comforted]. *ibid.*

The evidence of our election is in time; the decree itself is from eternity. *ibid.*

EMPLOYMENT.

Some employments may be better than others; but there is no employment so bad as the having none at all: the mind will contract a rust, and an unfitness for every good thing; and a man must either fill up his time with good, or at least innocent business, or it will run to the worst sort of waste, to sin and vice *Anon.*

ENCOURAGEMENT.

In all doubtings, fears and storms of conscience, look at Christ continually. Do not argue it with Satan; but send him to Christ for an answer. *Wilcox.*

There are in heaven many thousands of as rich monuments of mercy as ever thou canst be. The greatest sinner did never surpass the grace of Christ. *ibid.*

Throughout the whole Scripture there is not one ill word against a poor sinner who is stript of his self-righteousness. Nay, the Scripture expressly points out such a man as the subject of gospel-grace, and none else. *ibid.*

ENJOYMENTS.

To a lively believer, who enjoys continual fellowship with God, every day is a sabbath, and every meal a sacrament.

A saying of the late Mr. Hervey.

ERROR.

Believers are not afterwards the worse for having been once Arminians. They are the better qualified, when God has brought them out of darkness and bondage, to discern and defeat the sophistry of those errors wherewith they themselves have been deluded. Just as a person who has been prisoner in an enemy's country can, when he gets away, turn his knowledge to the advantage of himself and the better annoyance of his adversaries.

Mr. Tozer in conversation, Oct. 22. 1769.

ESTIMATE.

A ragged saint is dearer to God than a glittering emperor that is without grace.

Anon.

ETERNITY.

No worldly thing seems great to him that minds eternity. *Richardson.*

EVANGELICAL OBEDIENCE.

The law [rightly understood] will not suffer you to consider the most conscientious course of obedience in any other light than as a testimony that you believe, with godly sincerity, the delightful truth that Jesus purged away your sins by the sacrifice of himself: for which unspeakable benefit, you love him, you keep his commandments, you abhor those iniquities which made him groan and bleed and die. *Venn.*

EVIDENCES.

File up thy old receipts which thou hast had from God, testifying the pardon of thy sins. There are some festival days when God comes forth, clothed with the robes of his mercy, and holds forth the sceptre of his grace more familiarly to his children than ordinary; bearing witness to their faith, &c. Then the firmament is clear, and not a cloud to be seen to darken the Christian's comforts. Love and joy are the soul's repast and pastime while this feast lasts. Now when God withdraws and this cheer is taken off, Satan's work is how to wear out the remembrance and certainty of these sweet evidences. It behoves thee, therefore, to lay up thy writings safely. Such a testimony may serve to nonsuit thy accuser many years hence. One affirmative from God's mouth for thy pardoned state carries more weight, though of an old date, than a thousand negatives from Satan's.

Gurnall.

If Satan haunts thee with fears of thy spiritual estate, ply thee to the throne of grace, and beg a new copy of thy old evidence which thou hast lost.

The original is in the pardon-office in heaven, whereof Christ is master. Thy name is on record in that court. Make thy moan to God. Hear what news from heaven, rather than listen to the tales which are brought by thine enemy from hell. Can you expect truth from a liar, or comfort from an adversary? Did the devil ever prophesy well of believers? *ibid.*

EVENTS.

Duties are our's: Events are the Lord's. When we go to meddle with events, and to hold a court (as it were) upon God's providence, and to ask him, "How wilt thou do this or that?" Faith then begins to lose ground. We have nothing to do there. It is our part to let the Almighty exercise his own office, and steer his own helm. There is nothing left us but to see how we may be approved of him, and how we may roll the weight of our weak souls (in well doing) upon him who is God omnipotent: and when what we thus pursue miscarries, it shall neither be our sin nor our cross.

EVIL MEN.

It is better to have the praise of evil men's hatred than the scandal of their love and approbation. *Manton.*

EXAMINATION.

It is of the highest importance that you examine yourself, where the stress of your dependance, for the good of your soul is placed. To what fountain are you looking for pardon and strength, for comfort, sanctification [and salvation]? Whether to your own good purposes and endeavours, to your own prayers, meditation and good qualities; or to that inexhaustible treasury [of grace and glory which] God has provided for poor helpless guilty men in the person [blood, righteousness and intercession] of the Lord Jesus Christ? *Venn.*

Measure not thy graces by the attainments of others, but by Scripture-trials.

Wilcox.

EXAMPLE.

A believer's holy deportment often gives a check to the sins of others. The profane stand in awe, when grace comes forth, and sits like a ruler in the gate, to be seen of all that pass by *Gurnall.*

EXPECTATION.

He in whom ye trust, O believers, is a great God, and loves to do all things like himself. Wherefore look for great things from him; great assistances; great enlargements; great deliverances; yea, the forgiving of great sins, and the great gift of a great salvation. *Arrowsmith.*

We often come off better than we expect, and always better than we deserve.

Mrs. Green (of Chelsea), March 8, 1770.

The Christian hath such a harvest of glory and happiness coming, as will never be fully got in. It will be always reaping-time in heaven *Cripplegate Lectures.*

EXPERIENCES.

In all the experiences of the saints there is a universal oneness, and yet a beautiful variety.

Mr. David Fernie, Aug. 7, 1769, *in conversation.*

When a pump is dry a pail of water thrown into it will fetch it again. If your soul is in a dry cold frame, get a lively Christian to tell you his experience: the fire will probably catch from his heart to your's. *Mr. Ryland* July 7, 1769.

EXTREMITY.

When thou art at the greatest pinch, strength shall come. When the last handful of meal was dressing, then was the prophet sent to keep the widow's house. *Gurnall.*

FAITH.

It is the proper nature of faith to issue itself in the admiration of that which is infinite. *Dr. Owen.*

Faith is thought of its object, who is Christ, with trust in him, or dependance upon him for life and salvation, under a conviction of our misery and helplessness in ourselves. *Mr. Brine against Johnson.*

Pride and unbelief will put you on seeing somewhat in yourself first: but faith will have to do with none but Christ. *Wilcox.*

Faith takes God at his word, and depends upon him for the whole of salvation. God is good, and therefore he will not, he is true and faithful, therefore he cannot, deceive me. I believe that he speaks as he means, and will do what he says: for which reason let me be strong in faith, giving honour to God, and rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory. *Ryland.*

Vigorous faith is not governed by sensible appearances. It looks through all the terrifying aspects of things to an invisible ever present God; a God who has left nothing to an after-thought in his decrees, nor is ever a moment too late in his actions. *ibid.*

Happy man, whosoever thou art, that can'st look by an eye of faith at the gospel as the charter of thy liberties; at the condemning law as cancelled by thy Surety; at the earth as the footstool of thy Father's throne; at heaven as the portal of thy Father's house; at all the creatures in heaven and earth, as an heir is wont to look at his father's servants, and which are therefore his, so far as he shall need them: according to that, "All are your's, for ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's." *Arrowsmith.*

Faith can support when nature shrinks; faith can call God father when he frowns, and make some discovery of a sun through the darkest cloud. *ibid.*

Faith and love are the two arms and the two eyes without which Christ can neither be seen nor embraced. *ibid.*

aith only can find out God, though not to perfection, yet to salvation. *ibid.*

Sin is that which interposeth itself between the soul and the light of God's countenance. But whether it be a slender mist or a thick cloud, an infirmity or a rebellion, the sun of righteousness, eyed by faith, can and will dispel it, so as to make it vanish. *ibid.*

The two conduits of faith and love, being lain from the Christian's soul to the fountain of living waters, fetch in from thence a daily supply of such grace as will certainly end in a fulness of glory. *ibid.*

Faith is the soul's going out of itself for all [it wants]. *Boston.*

Faith empties the heart of sin, and fills it up with grace. *Anon.*

It is grace, the grace of faith in the heart, that puts a difference between the Abba Father of the saint and the Ave Mary of a Papist. *ibid.*

Presumption is heart-whole; but faith hath a sense of sickness, and looketh to the promises, and looking to Christ therein is glad to see a known face. *Rutherfoord.*

The use of faith now (having already closed with Christ for justification) is to take out a copy of your pardon, and so you come to have peace with God. For since faith apprehends pardon, but never pays a penny for it, no marvel that salvation does not die and live, ebb or flow, with the working of faith. *ibid.*

The Christian must trust in a withdrawing God. The boldness of faith ventures into God's presence as Ahasuerus's, when no smile is to be seen on his face, no golden sceptre of the promise perceived by the soul. Yea, faith trusts not only in a withdrawing, but in a killing God. Now for a soul to make its approaches unto God by a recumbency of faith, even while God seems to fire upon it, and shoots his frowns like envenomed arrows into it, is hard work, and will try the Christian to purpose. Yet such a masculine spirit we find in that poor woman of Canaan, who (as it were) took up the bullets which Christ shot at her, and with a humble boldness of faith sent them back again to him in her prayers, Isa. l. 10. —Job xiii. 15. *Gurnall.*

True faith is of a working, stirring, lively nature. *Fides pinguescit operibus*, saith Luther. Faith is, in some sort, nourished by a holy life. As the flesh which clothes the frame of man's body, though it receives its heat from the vitals within, yet conduces to preserve the very life of those vitals [by a kindly reciprocation of influence], so works evangelically good, and actions truly gracious, though they have their life from faith, are yet powerful helps to maintain the liveliness of faith. We sometimes see a child nursing the parent that bore him, and therein he performs but his duty. *ibid.*

Faith in Jesus is the trust and alliance of the heart on him for help and deliverance. *Venn.*

The essence of faith is an unfeigned, humble dependance upon, and submission to, the righteousness of God, as accounted or given to us; and that not of debt, but of grace. *ibid.*

A base suspicion of salvation by faith being prejudicial to the interests of virtue, is hardly ever to be rooted out of the minds of men until they experience the power of faith in some degree themselves. *ibid.*

Faith, though it may be weak and imperfect, instead of exalting itself against the

justice of God, and standing before him in the confidence of a lie, puts all from itself, and gives the whole glory of our salvation where it is due. *Venn.*

FEAR.

Herod feared John, and did many things. Had he feared God, he would have laboured to have done every thing. *Gurnall.*

He that lives without fear shall die without hope. *Dyer.*

FELICITY.

Such is the omnipotency of our God, that he can and doth make to his elect sour sweet, and misery felicity.

Mr. Philpot, the martyr.

FELLOWSHIP WITH GOD.

Although believing souls have here fellowship with God in Christ sufficient to stay their stomachs as at a breakfast, yet that degree of fruition is wanting which will satisfy them fully as at a feast superior to that of ordinances. *Arrowsmith.*

FOOL.

Give me a man as full of policy as was Achitophel, as eloquent as Tertullus, and as learned as the Athenians were in St. Paul's time; yet if, with Achitophel, he plot against the people of God; if, with Tertullus, he have the poison of asps under his lips; and, with the Athenians, be given to superstition, for all his policy, eloquence, and learning, I am bold to call him, in Scripture language, a fool. *Arrowsmith.*

FORBEARANCE.

If a dog bark at a sheep, the sheep will not bark again at the dog. *Dodd.*

FORMS OF PRAYER.

Sense of want makes us eloquent. The true reason why books of prescribed forms of prayer pass through so many editions is, because the convincing influence of God's spirit passes through so few hearts.

Mr. Madan, Dec. 28, 1769.

FRAILTY.

It is man's frailty to fall; but it is the property of the devil's child to lie still.

Mr. Philpot, the martyr.

FRIENDSHIP.

Most men look upon their friends as they do upon their sun-dials—only when the sun shines. *Dyer.*

Friendship is an union of spirits, a marriage, as it were, of hearts; and virtue is the golden hinge on which it turns. *Anon.*

FREE GRACE

Every thing is within the reach of free grace, but nothing is within the reach of free-will.

Mr. Ambrose Serle, in conversation, at Broad Hembury Aug. 27, 1773.

FREE-WILL.

In its best estate free-will was but a weather-cock which turned at the breath of a serpent's tongue. It made a bankrupt of our father Adam; it pulled down the house and sold the land, and sent all the children to beg their bread. *Rutherfoord.*

That Saviour which natural free-will can apprehend is but a natural Saviour, a Saviour of man's own making; not the Father's Christ; not Jesus, the Son of the Living God, to whom none can come without the Father's drawing, John vi. 44, 46.

Mr. Wilcox.

The opinion of free-will, so cried up by some, will be easily confuted (as it is by Scripture) in the heart which has had any spiritual dealings with Jesus Christ respecting the application of his merits and subjection to his righteousness. *ibid.*

FULL ASSURANCE.

The full assurance of faith consists in a feeling application to Christ, or taking Christ to myself; being persuaded that, by God's free gift, Jesus Christ is mine; that I shall surely have life and salvation by him, a life of holiness and a life of happiness; and that whatever Christ did and suffered for the redemption of any one of the human race, he did the same for me; he did and suffered as much for me as for any soul in all the creation of God. *Mr. Ryland.*

The full assurance of faith triumphs over all base suspicions of God's fidelity to his promises. It disdains the vile imagination of God's being fickle in his purposes, or false to his word. Faith meets God in the Bible eye to eye and heart to heart. The actings of the believer's soul correspond to the tender and generous actings of God's soul in Scripture promises. *ibid.*

GIFTS.

A believer has not so much to boast of as a common beggar. He that gives to a beggar gives him a bare alms only; whereas God gives his people both Christ's righteousness to justify them, and also the hand of faith by which they receive it. *Parr.*

God can give us no greater gift than himself. We may say, as one said to Cæsar, "This is too great a gift for me to receive." "But it is not too great for me to give," answered Cæsar. *Dyer.*

GLORY OF GOD.

Such as do not truly know God can never sincerely aim at the glory of God in what they do. For what I do not know I cannot love; what I do not love I cannot desire; what I do not desire I can never intend. And, therefore, if I do not know God, I can never intend his glory in my actions; and if I do not intend his glory in my actions, I sin upon that very account, because I do not intend his glory. *Anon.*

GLORIFICATION.

There are three degrees of glorification. The first is in this life, and that is our sanctification, or transformation into the glorious image of God.—The second is in the hour of death, when our souls are beginning to be brought to a nearer union with Jesus.—The third will be the last day, when both soul and body shall be glorified together, which is the highest step of Solomon's throne, and to which we must ascend by the former degrees. *Bp. Cowper.*

GOD

Small Jacob shall arise, Amos vii. 5. and that because Jacob's God is great. *Arrowsmith.*

O God, thou art my sun: the best of creatures are but stars, deriving the lustre they have from thee. Did not thy light make day in my heart, I should, amidst all things else, languish in a perpetual night of dissatisfaction. *ibid.*

God is called a rock, to teach us that as this continues stedfast and immoveable while the whole surrounding ocean is in a state of perpetual fluctuation, so, though all the creatures of God, from the lowest to the very highest of the intelligent kind are subject to change, capable of new additions with respect to their knowledge, their power, or their blessedness, God alone is absolutely the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. *Mr. Venn.*

GOD FOR A PORTION.

A Christian cannot say, I have an estate in the world, and I shall have it for ever; but every Christian may say, I have God for my portion, and I shall have him for ever. *Anon.*

GOD A SUPPORTER.

God brings his grace into the heart by conquest. Now, as in a conquered city, though some yield and become true subjects to the conqueror; yet others plot how they may shake off the yoke: and therefore the same power which won it at first is requisite to keep it. The Christian hath an unregenerate part, which is discontented at this new supernatural change in the soul; so that if God should not continually reinforce this his new-planted colony of graces in the heart, the very natives (I mean the corruptions) that are left would come out of their dens and holes where they lie lurking, and eat up all the grace which the holiest person on earth is possessed of: it would be as bread to these devourers. *Gurnall.*

Whence come the sweet consolations of grace? What friend sends them in? They are derived, not from my own cistern, nor from any creature. It is my God that hath been here, and left this delightful perfume of comfort behind him in my bosom: my God, who has unawares to me filled my sails with the gales of his Spirit, and brought me off the flats of my own deadness, where I lay aground. O! it is his sweet Spirit, that held my head and stayed my heart, in such an affliction, or such a temptation; else I had sunk away in a fainting fit of unbelief. How can this choose but endear God to a gracious soul. *ibid.*

He that hath God's heart shall not want his arm. [Whom God loves he sustains, protects, and guides.] *ibid.*

The Christian, when fullest of divine communications, is but a glass without a foot; he cannot stand nor hold what he has received, any longer than he is held in the strong hand of God. *ibid.*

Indwelling grace is, in this life, but weak, like a king in the cradle; which gives advantage to Satan to carry plots more strongly, to the disturbance of this young king's reign in the soul Yea, he would put an end to the war, in the ruin of the believer's grace, did not God take the Christian into his own guardianship and protection. *ibid.*

As a father, when the way is rugged and difficult, gives his child his arm to hold by, so doth God reach forth his Almighty power, for his saints to exercise their faith upon. *ibid.*

As when a child travels in his father's company all is paid for, but the father himself carries the purse; so the expenses of a Christian's warfare and journey to heaven are paid and discharged for him by the Lord, in every stage and condition. Hence the believer cannot say, this I did, or that I suffered: but God wrought all in me and for me. *ibid.*

God himself is the stability of our spiritual strength. Were the stock in our own hands, we should soon prove broekn merchants. *ibid.*

Our heavenly father knows that we are but leaking vessels; when fullest of grace, we could not hold it long, if left to ourselves: and, therefore, to make all sure, he set us under the streamings-forth of his own strength. *ibid.*

The rock followed the Israelites. Every believer has Christ at his back, following

him with strength as he goes for every condition and trial. *Gurnall.*

The power of God is that shoulder (Luke xv. 5.), on which Christ carries his sheep home rejoicing all the way he goes. The everlasting arms of his strength are those eagle's wings, on which the saints are both tenderly and safely conveyed to glory. *ibid.*

GOD ALL SUFFICIENT.

What can we wish for in an heritage, that is not to be found in God? Would we have large possessions? He is immensity. Would we have a sure estate? He is immutability. Would we have a term of long continuance? He is eternity itself.
Arrowsmith.

God is a portion, of which his people can never be robbed. Impoverished you may be, but not undone; discouraged, but not disinherited *ibid.*

GOD'S DESIGNS.

To suppose God to perform any work which he did not at first design to perform, is to charge him with a degree of folly, and with acting below an intelligent agent.—[On the other hand], to suppose him to design to do a thing which he does not effect, is to tax him with impotence. If it is an instance of the wisdom and power of man first to design a work, and then to perfect it; the great God, who is infinite in both these perfections, must design what he effects, and effect what he has designed. If we consider him as infinite in wisdom, and of almighty power, there cannot be a more rational way of arguing than from his acts to his designs. *Sladen.*

If God hath designed to save any persons, then they must be saved; otherwise God must repent, and change his mind concerning them; or be overpowered by some superior agency of theirs. To suppose either of which is not only to degrade, but to deny, the divine perfections. *ibid.*

Purposes are actions decreed; actions are purposes executed. As the promises of God are the revelations of his purposes of good will, so the actings of God upon his creatures are the execution of his purposes and the fulfilment of his promises.
ibid.

GOD'S PRESENCE.

If God is with you, you will want neither company and comfort.

Said to me many years ago, by my late Rev. and dear friend, Mr. James Rutherfoord

God sets the Christian at work, and then meets him in it. *Gurnall.*

GOD'S LOVE

It is foolish in us to muse upon vanity when we have the love of God to think of; to let the mill grind chaff when there is such plenty of corn at hand. *Manton.*

Nothing can do us good but the love and favour of God in Christ; and that we shall have if we can seek it. *Anon.*

Do you ask, why were God's people elected to salvation? Why were they redeemed, why justified, called, preserved, and sanctified? And why they shall all be infallibly glorified? That passage of St. John is an answer to every one of these questions: "God is love."
Mr. Madan, Dec. 24, 1769.

God's love makes a net for elect souls, which will infallibly catch them and haul them to land. *Boston.*

The heart of God, if I may so speak, is the ocean, the first rise of all love to his saints. Christ is the spring which first receives from God the Father; and then through him is all love diffused to them. All passes through Christ's hands. *Crisp.*

GOD THE CHIEF GOOD.

There are within me two great gulphs; a mind desirous of more truth, and a will capable of more good than finite beings can afford. Thou only canst fill me, who art the first truth and the chief good. In thee alone shall my soul be satisfied as with marrow and fatness, while my mouth praiseth thee with joyful lips.

GOD'S WORD.

Nothing is more cheerful and pleasing to eyes that are strong and sound than light; on the other hand, nothing more painful or disagreeable, to eyes that are weak and distempered. As different is the effect of God's word on them that believe, and on them that believe not. *Parr.*

GOD'S CHOICE.

God did not choose the eagle or lion for sacrifice; but the lamb and the dove
Mr. Jenkins.

GOD'S THRONE.

God has two thrones: one in the highest heavens, the other in the lowest hearts.
Wright.

GOD'S DEED.

When the Lord doth any great thing, he puts his I to it. I, even I am he, &c. I will make a new covenant, &c. I will write my law in their hearts. I will pardon their sins: I will do them away as a thick cloud. *Mrs. Wright.*

GOOD WORKS.

Our works of obedience, coming immediately out of our hands, would be unfragrant to God: wherefore Christ intercepts

them in their passage, and so they are perfumed in the hands of a Mediator.
Dr. Manton.

As every good work comes from God's Spirit, so it passes through thy heart, and there it is defiled. "Partus sequitur ventrem:" our good works have more of the mother than of the father in them. Hence they are [in point of merit and of perfection] but dung and filthy rags. *ibid.*

GOSPEL.

It is a great mercy to enjoy the gospel of peace, but a greater to enjoy the peace of the gospel. *Dyer.*

All the altars of the law were but so many steps to the cross of the gospel. *ibid.*

Every person that sits under the sound of the gospel should ask himself these three questions: "Do I know any thing of the excellency of the gospel? Do I feel the power of it? And do I live according to the rules of it?" *The late Mr. Fanch.*

The gospel is a box of most precious ointment; by preaching it the box is broken and the fragrance diffused. *Mr. Romaine.*

It is a difficult thing for us to keep the doctrines of the gospel always in view; and harder still to make use of them, and live up to them, when we want them most.
Dr. Gill.

The gospel is a sovereign plaister; but Christ's own hand must make it stick.
Manton.

GRACE.

It is the peculiar glory of gospel grace to humble every believer in the dust, to fill him with the most dreadful apprehensions of sin, to raise him from his dead state, to establish him in the truth of obedience from a root of thankfulness and love to God, from holy admiration of his perfections, and from an earnest desire to be partaker of his blessedness. *Venn.*

Saving grace is a portion that can never be spent or run out. The more we live upon it, and the more use we make of it, the greater are our abundance, comfort and enjoyment. *Mr. Walker (of Horsington), July 14, 1769, London.*

Grace is that never-failing spring to which all the fortitude and perseverance of the saints are owing. On its unintermitted supply from moment to moment, our faithfulness to God depends. Had Paul been left to himself for an instant, when he was about to suffer martyrdom, he would in the very article of execution have saved his head at the expense of his soul, and to preserve his life, denied and abjured the Son of God (like Peter) with oaths and curses. *Ryland.*

Grace is not effectual because free-will willeth; but free-will willeth because grace is effectual. *Mr. Parr.*

A man may as truly say that he sea burns, or fire cools, as free grace and mercy can make a real believer do wickedly.
Brooks.

The doctrine of grace may be abused; but the principle cannot. *Dr. Owen.*

A penitent, though formerly as bad as the worst of men, may by grace become as good as the best. *Bunyan.*

Great grace and small gifts are better than great gifts and no grace. It doth not say, "The Lord gives gifts and glory;" but "The Lord gives grace and glory." Blessed is such an one to whom the Lord gives grace; for that is a certain forerunner of glory. *ibid.*

If grace were (the sole) ministerial qualification, all the Lord's people would be what Moses wished they were, even all of them, prophets.

God, who enables sinners to thirst after grace, will surely give them the grace they thirst after. *Dr. Arrowsmith.*

Nothing but free grace makes any difference between me and the devil.
Mrs. Wright.

Either exercise thy graces, or Satan will exercise thy corruptions; as one bucket descends the other rises. *Gurnall.*

Little grace cannot die. It is immortal, because a child of God's everlasting covenant and promise. *ibid.*

True grace when weakest is stronger than false when strongest. *ibid.*

Grace is of a stirring nature; and not a dead thing (like an image) which you may lock up in a chest, and nobody know what God you worship. No; grace will shew itself; it will walk with you and talk by you in all places and companies; it will buy with you and sell with you, and have a hand in all your enterprises. It is too much alive to be smothered. *ibid.*

There is not a round in the ladder to heaven which does not give every one that steppeth upon it just occasion to sing, Grace, grace! *Arrowsmith.*

When God overthrew Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea, it overwhelmed and drowned the greatest Egyptian commanders no less than the meanest foot soldier. The vast ocean overflows the lowest sands and the highest rocks. So does pardoning grace cover every transgression of every penitent believer. *ibd.*

As when we see a flame we know there is fire, though perhaps we know not how nor when it began; so that the truth of grace in us may be discerned, though we know not how or when it was dropt into our hearts. *Boston.*

As seed virtually contains in it all that

afterwards proceeds from it, the blade, stalk, ear, and full corn in the ear; so the first principle of grace, implanted in the heart, seminally contains all the grace which afterwards appears, and all the fruits, effects, acts and exercises of it. *Dr. Gill.*

Be not afraid for little grace. Christ soweth his living seed, and he will not lose it. If he have the guiding of my stock and state it shall not miscarry. Our split works, losses, deadness, coldness, wretchedness, are the ground which our good husbandman laboureth. *Rutherfoord.*

Happy are they who are withheld from sin, (not merely as the unregenerate are) by God's restraining power; but (as the saints are) by God's restraining grace!

Miss Southgate, in conversation at Hampstead, Sept. 6, 1769.

Grace is the silver link that draws the golden link of glory after it. *Dyer.*

As paper receives from the press letter for letter; as the wax receives from the seal print for print; or as the glass receives face for face; so do believers receive from Christ grace for grace: *i. e.* for every grace that is in him there is a measure of the same in them. *ibid.*

Men dote upon establishing a righteousness of their own to bring them to Christ, and think it is presumptuous or licentious doctrine that Christ may be theirs, and they receive him, considered simply as ungodly and as enemies. But such are abominably injurious to the faith of Jesus Christ, and to the exceeding bounty of his grace, which saves from sin without respect of any thing in the creature, that he himself might have the praise of the glory of his own grace. *Crisp.*

Grace, properly so called, is nothing else but God's mere favour and bounty and loving-kindness itself. Consequently sanctification is not so prpoerly grace itself as the fruit of grace. God first casts his favour and loving-kindness upon a person, and then, out of his favour, issue the several fruits of his loving-kindness; which fruits are those fruits of the Spirit frequently mentioned by the apostle. *ibid.*

God neither looks to any thing in the creature to win him to shew kindness, nor yet any thing in the creature to debar him; neither righteousness in men that persuades God to pardon sin, nor unrighteousness in men that hinders him from giving this pardon and acquitting them from their transgressions. It is only and simply for his own sake that he pardons men. *ibid.*

The sanctifying principle of grace in the heart may be compared to a candle in a lantern, which transmits its light through the lantern, though in and of itself the lantern still continues (what it was before) a dark body.

Lady Huntingdon, in conversation at Trevecka, Aug. 29, 1776.

I know no sweeter way to heaven than through free grace and hard trials together. And where grace is, hard trials are seldom wanting. *Anon.*

Grace embellished with gifts is the more beautiful; but gifts without grace are only a richer spoil for Satan. *ibid.*

As some believers exercise grace more than others, so in the profane world there are greater traders in sin than others, who return more wrath in a day than others in a month. *Gurnall.*

GRACES.

He that hath clothes will surely wear them, and not be seen naked. Men talk of their faith, repentance, and love to God: these are precious graces; but why do not such persons let us see those graces walking abroad in their daily conversation? Surely if such guests were in thy soul, they would look out sometimes at the windows, and be seen abroad in this duty or in that holy action.

GRACE AND GLORY.

If it should be said, "How shall we know that this is the case of our departed friends?" let the following question be put: "Is there any reason to believe that the grace of God was bestowed on them?" If this is a clear point, their safety is beyond all doubt; for nothing is more certain than that to whom God gives grace he also gives glory. We may be assured of the happiness of our friends in the next world, from their having tasted that the Lord was gracious to them in this. *Gill*

Grace is glory militant, and glory is grace triumphant; grace is glory begun, glory is grace made perfect; grace is the first degree of glory, glory is the highest degree of grace. *Dyer.*

GRATITUDE.

The actings of gratitude to God are not only fruitful in every good work, but productive of the truest satisfaction. Somewhat like the fragrant steams of consecrated incense which, while they honoured the great Object of worship, regaled with their pleasing perfumes the devout worshipper.

Hervey.

GRAVE.

There is a vileness in the bodies even of the saints (Phil. iii. 21.) which will never be removed until it be melted down in the grave, and cast into a new mould, at the resurrection to come forth a spiritual body.

Boston.

GRIEF.

[Christian grief is not forbidden.] Abraham came to mourn for Sarah and to weep for her. Joseph made a mourning for his father seven days. The children of Israel wept for Moses, in the plains of Moab, thirty days. David lamented the deaths of Saul, Jonathan, and Abner. Christ wept over the grave of Lazarus. Devout men, who carried Stephen to his burial, made great lamentation over him. And the apostle Paul signifies concerning his friend Epaphroditus, who had been sick nigh unto death, that if the Lord had not had mercy on him he should have had sorrow upon sorrow.
Gill.

HAPPINESS.

The greatest happiness of a creature is not to have the creature for its happiness.
Dyer.

Enquire of saints yet militant on earth wherein their happiness consists? Their answer will be, "In having fellowship with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ."

Again, could we ask those saints whose spirits are now glorified and triumphant in heaven, what it is that renders their heaven so glorious, and their glory so incomprehensible? They would answer, that it is because they have now attained a complete enjoyment of that all-sufficient, all-satisfying, ever-blessed, and ever-blessing object, God in Christ. *Arrowsmi h.*

HEART.

If the very idea of having a hard heart makes you tremble, it is a certain sign that your heart is not hard.
St. Bernard, if I mistake not

Thy corrupt heart is like an ant's nest, on which, while the stone lieth, none of them appear; but take off the stone, and stir them up but with the point of a straw, you will see what a swarm is there, and how lively they be. Just such a sight would thy heart afford thee did the Lord but withdraw the restraint he has laid upon it, and suffer Satan to stir it up by temptation. *Boston.*

The heart of man is as passive in its first reception of God's image in regeneration as the canvas upon which a painter lays on his colours, nor is it more able to resist the operation of the agent.
Mr. Mogg, March 8, 1770.

"My heart," says David, "shews me the wickedness of the ungodly." As face answers to face in a glass, so the heart of man to man. When a believer considers the vileness of his own heart by nature, he does not wonder so much that others fall, as that he himself is kept from falling. *Mr. Madan.*

God hears the heart, though without words; but he never hears words without the heart. *Bp. Hopkins.*

All the angels in heaven cannot subdue the heart of a sinner. Heart-work is God's work. The great heart-maker must be the great heart-breaker. *Dyer.*

There are some inns which are never empty, but as fast as one guest goes out another comes in. Such is the heart of an unregenerate man; as soon as one lust is served, another is calling for attendance.
Gurnall

HEALING.

Nature can afford no balsam fit for soul-cure: healing from duties, and not from Christ, is the most desperate disease.
Wilcox.

HEAVEN.

Heaven is worth dying for, though earth is not worth living for. *Hall.*

The head and members are glorified together with the same kind of glory. God has not one heaven for his Son and another for his saints, but one and the same for both. *Dyer.*

To be in Christ is heaven below; and to be with Christ is heaven above. *ibid.*

There is no believer goes to heaven but goes in the arms of angels. *ibid.*

HEAVENLY MINDEDNESS.

The higher a bird flies the more out of danger he is; and the higher a Christian soars above the world the safer are his comforts.
Mr. Sparke, in conversation, London, May, 1774.

HEAVENLY TREASURER.

There is this difference between rich and poor Christians: where a Christian is poor, his heavenly Father keeps the purse; but the rich keep the purse themselves. And it often falls out that it is better to have the purse in our Father's hands than our own.
Dodd.

HOLINESS.

Say not that thou hast royal blood in thy veins, and art born of God, except thou canst prove thy pedigree by daring to be holy in spite of men and devils. *Gurnall.*

Gospel holiness includes a heart broken for sin, a heart broken off from sin, and a perpetual conflict with sin. *Mr. Medley.*

To be holy is to put on Christ, Rom. xiii. 14., to resemble Christ in your spirit and carriage, as one man resembles another when he puts on his dress or imitates his manners. *Hervey.*

As musk lying among linen perfumes it, so the real in-dwelling of God's Spirit imparts the sweet fragrancy of holiness to the believer's heart, and tempers words and works. *Cripplegate Lect.*

HOLINESS NO CONDITION.

Christ will make his people holy, and put his Spirit within them to change their hearts and to work upon their spirits. But this is not a condition required in order to partake of Christ. Christ himself gives himself; and then he bestows these things when he is given. *Crisp.*

HOME.

On earth God's people have their respective homes and particular places of residence; but when we come to heaven one home shall hold us all.

Mr. Holmes, in conversation with me, London, July 10, 1769.

HUMILITY.

Ever carry self-loathing about thee, and regard thyself as one fit to be trampled on by all saints.

Saints increase in humility as they draw nearer to heaven. Unworthy to be called an apostle, said Paul, concerning himself, some years after his conversion. As he advanced still farther in years he cried out, Less than the least of all saints. A little before his martyrdom his cry is, The chief of sinners. *Observed by Mr. Watts, at London, Nov.* 15, 1775.

As soon as pride is humbled enough not to enter into controversy with God about the justice of his own declarations, every man confesses himself a guilty sinner in danger of eternal ruin. *Venn.*

The nettle mounteth on high, while the violet shrouds itself under its own leaves, and is chiefly found out by its fragrance. Let Christians be satisfied with the honour that cometh from God only. *Manton.*

Generally speaking, those that have the most grace and the greatest gifts, and are of the greatest usefulness, are the most humble, and think the most meanly of themselves. So those boughs and branches of trees which are most richly laden with fruit bend downwards and hang lowest. *Dr. Gill.*

HYPOCRISY.

Joseph was alive though his coat was brought bloody to Jacob; and so are the sins of a hypocrite after all his mortified looks in duty, and all his outcries against iniquity. *Gurnall.*

In addresses from man to man hypocrisy is detestable; how much more in addresses from man to God! *Venn.*

Woe is me that the holy profession of Christ is made a stage-garment by many to bring home a vain fame, and Christ is made to serve men's ends; which is, as it were, to stop an oven with a king's robes. *Rutherfoord.*

IDOLATRY.

That which is now our idol may quickly become our burden, and we know not how soon we may be sick of what we were lately sick for. *Mr. Henry.*

"All the prayings, teachings, and actings of men," saith Luther, "are, out of Christ, idolatry and sin in the sight of God." *Arrowsmith.*

IGNORANCE.

Ignorance of the purity of God, of the extent and spirituality of his law, and of the total depravation of their own hearts, is that which makes any persons commence Arians or Socinians. Were they duly convinced of sin, they would need no other arguments to convince them that the Saviour, whose blood is able to expiate its guilt, is and must be very God.

Mr. Haweis, Sept. 6, 1769.

Quantum est quod nescimus! says the learned Gilb. Voetius. "How exceeding much is there of which we know nothing at all!" *Arrowsmith.*

IMAGE OF GOD.

As great men are sometimes wont to erect stately buildings, and then cause their own picture to be fixed up in the principal apartments, so when God had made the fabric of the world, the last thing he did was to set up his own picture in it, by forming man after his own blessed image and likeness.

The elect when converted are living images of God, but not in that high, strict, and peculiar sense in which Christ is so called, Col. i. 15. Heb. i. 3. The king's image is on his coin and in his son, but after a different manner. On his coin there may be likeness and derivation, but not identity of nature. In the saints are the two former; in Christ are all three.

IMPERFECTIONS.

There will be mistakes in divinity while men preach, and errors in government while men govern. *Sir Dudley Chorleton, Biographical Dictionary.*

IMITATION.

The more we know of God, the more we shall desire to resemble him in holiness. Whoever truly loves another will desire to be like the person he loves, and to do what that person likes. *Madan.*

IMPATIENCE.

A soul impatient under affliction is lik the devil in his chains, who rages against God while he is fettered by him.

INABILITY.

God will confound the language of those sons of pride who cry up the powers of nature; as if man with the slime of his own freewill, and the bricks of his own self-righteousness, was able to rear up a building whose top might reach to heaven itself.
Gurnall.

Mankind lie covered beneath the ruins of their lapsed state, and no more able to raise themselves from under their weight of guilt than one buried under the ponderous rubbish of a fallen house is able to free himself. The Holy Spirit finds sinners in as helpless a condition, as unable to repent, or believe on Christ for salvation, as they were to purchase it. *ibid.*

By nature, man is utterly void of all strength and ability of doing any thing of himself towards his own salvation.

If a ship launched, rigged, and with her sails spread, cannot stir until the wind come fair; much less can the timber that lies in the carpenter's yard hew and frame itself into a ship.

If a living tree cannot grow but by a communication of sap from the root; much less can a dead stake in the hedge, which has no root nor vegetating principle, live of its own accord.

In a word, if a Christian who hath the spiritual life of grace in him from God, cannot even exercise that life without the continual influx of strength from above; then surely one, void of this new life, and dead in trespasses and sins, can never be able to beget grace in himself, or concur in the production of it. *ibid.*

Though the righteousness of a man's person can never make a bad action good; yet the wickedness of a man's person doth always make a good action bad: and therefore, though a good man may do a bad act, yet a bad [*i. e.* an unregenerate] man can never do a [spiritually] good act [and such as is pleasing to God]. *Bp. Beveridge.*

After our creation, and before our corruption, we had power to do every thing pleasing unto God: but after our corruption, and before our regeneration, we have power to do nothing pleasing to him. *ibid.*

INCENTIVE.

Did Christ die, and shall sin live? Was he crucified in the world, and shall our affections to the world be quick and lively? Oh, where is the Spirit of him who by the cross of Christ was crucified to the world, and the world to him? *Owen.*

Be not ashamed because of your guiltiness. Necessity should not blush to beg. Your are in the utmost want of Christ; therefore knock and cry. *Rutherfoord.*

Ten lives of black sorrow, ten deaths, ten hells of pain, ten furnaces of brimstone, and all exquisite torments whatever, were all too little for Christ, if our suffering could be a hire to buy him. And therefore faint not in your sufferings and hazards for him.
ibid.

O believer, what matters it if God denies thee a kid to make merry; when he says, "Son, thou art ever with me, and all that I have is thine?" Hath a son any cause to complain that his father denies him a flower in the garden, when he makes him heir of his whole estate? *Anon.*

INEXHAUSTIBLE SUPPLIES.

For these six thousand years God has been multiplying pardons, and yet free grace is not tired—Christ undertook to satisfy, and he hath money enough to pay. It were folly to think that an emperor's revenue will not pay a beggar's debt. Mercy is an ocean, ever flowing yet ever full. The saints carry loads of experiences with them to heaven. Free grace can shew you large accounts and a long bill cancelled by the blood of Christ. *Manton.*

INFLEXIBILITY.

Have we sat down and reckoned what true religion cost us? Have we resolved, through the power of divine grace, to own Christ when the swords and staves are up? And to sail with him not only in a pleasure-boat, but if need be in a man of war?
Crippiegate Lect.

INSOLVENCY.

Penitent sinners are then said to buy the wine and milk of spiritual comforts without money and without price, when being conscious that they have nothing of their own to answer divine justice with, nothing of their own wherewith to fetch in pardon, peace, and righteousness; they wholly disclaim all self-sufficiency, and come to Christ as to one that expects not to receive any thing from them, but to be himself received by them. All that he looks for from us at our coming to him by faith is that we be nothing in ourselves, but desirous to have all from him, and to partake of his fulness, grace for grace. *Arrowsmith.*

IMPOTENCY.

When you desire, and in earnest endeavour to live obedient to the spiritual commandments of God, without which a course of external religion is vain; you will immediately feel your own impotency, just as Samson did the loss of his strength, when he was rising to combat the Philistines.
Venn.

INTRINSIC VALUE.

The world is glorious without, but the church is glorious within: its splendour lieth not in large possessions and great revenues,

but in a plentiful effusion of gifts and graces. *Manton.*

INVITATION.

All the conditions of the new covenant are fulfilled by Christ. Come then and partake of the heavenly blessings, as you partake of a marriage feast, when the entertainment is all prepared, and the bridegroom bids you welcome. *Hervey.*

JEALOUSY.

Self-jealousy well becomes Christians. Lord, is it I? They that know the deceit of their bow will not be very confident that they shall hit the mark.

JOY.

Some have written to me, that I am possibly too joyful in the cross which God hath laid upon me. But my joy overleapeth the cross and terminates on Christ himself. *Rutherfoord.*

Pearls are not gotten but from the bottom of the water; and gold is digged not from the surface, but from the deep entrails of the earth. So the joy of God is not to be found but in the inward recesses of a broken and contrite spirit. *Bp. Cowper.*

The saints enter into God's own joy, Matt. xxv. 21. They have not only the joy which God bestows, but the joy which God himself enjoys. *Cripplegate Lect.*

The common proverb is most certainly true in a spiritual sense; "Some men for joy do weep, others for sorrow sing." Believers weep for joy, and never mourn more kindly than when they taste the joy of the Holy Ghost, in the freeness and fulness of the Lord Christ poured out upon them. There is never a more kindly mourning for sin than when the soul is satisfied of forgiveness. *Crisp.*

There is more joy in the penitential mournings of a believer than in all the mirth of a wicked man. I appeal to you that have had melted hearts, whether you have not found a secret content and sweetness in your mourning? So far from wishing to be rid of your meltings, you rather fear the removal of them. *ibid.*

JUSTIFICATION.

Justification is an act of God's free grace, whereby he clears his people from sin, discharges them from condemnation, and reckons and accounts them righteous, for the sake of Christ's righteousness which he has accepted of and imputes unto them. *Dr. Gill.*

The testimony of the Spirit, [witnessing our acceptance in Christ to our consciences], is not so properly justification itself, as an actual perception of justification, before granted by a kind of reflex act of faith. *ibid.*

Justification by Christ's imputed righteousness is the centre arch of that bridge by which we pass out of time into a blissful eternity. *Mr. Ryland, July* 3, 1769.

KNOWLEDGE.

Sagacity and knowledge are then only truly useful when joined with grace, meekness, discretion and benevolence. The serpent's eye does best in the dove's head. *Gurnall.*

Knowledge of gospel doctrines is the candle without which faith cannot see to do its work. *ibid.*

Moses was skilled in all the learning of the Egyptians: yet, not content herewith, he became an humble suitor to God for more and better knowledge than that: "I beseech thee shew me thy glory." Other notions may fill the head of a moral man: nothing short of the knowledge of God can satisfy the heart of a saint. Wherefore in answer to this request the Lord gave him a promise saying, "I will make all my goodness pass before thee." *Arrowsmith.*

Learning in religious persons, like the gold that was in the Israelites' ear-rings, is a most precious ornament: but if men pervert it to base ends, or begin to make an idol of it (as they did a golden calf, of their ear-rings) it then becomes an abomination. *ibid.*

Knowledge and good parts, under the management of grace, are, like the rod in Moses's hand, wonder workers; but turn to serpents when they are cast upon the ground, and employed in promoting earthly designs. *ibid.*

LAW OF GOD.

When you consider the law of the Ten Commandments in this light [namely as designed to manifest our guilt, convince of sin and drive us for justification to the righteousness of Christ], what a striking propriety appears in that ancient custom of placing the two tables over the communion-table in our churches! By this means every intelligent receiver of the Lord's Supper, in the very act of receiving, is awfully reminded of the purity of that law which he has transgressed; of that law from whose insupportable curse no less a sacrifice than that of God's only begotten Son could possibly redeem him! *Venn.*

Know your guilt and weakness, your desert and danger; think what you are bound to by the law, [even sinless obedience from the first to the last moment of your life], and what you have to trust to, if left under its [condemning] power [even everlasting punishment]; then view the loving kindness of God in giving his Son to fulfil all righteousness [in our stead], and then tell me, if it be possible [while under the

lively sense of his mercy] to sin against so much goodness? *ibid.*

By ignorance of the law, even that virtuous character which has, perhaps, gained you much esteem among men, will prove a greater obstacle in the way of your salvation than [even] gross and long-indulged sins proved to others: since these last carry with them their own [glaring, palpable] condemnation; they have a tendency on the first lucid interval of consideration to excite strong confessions of guilt and cries for mercy. Whereas a behaviour more regulated in externals by the commands of God, when the law is not understood, does but administer fuel to self-sufficiency and self-applause. *ibid.*

The whole law is imprest on the gracious soul: every part of it is written over upon the renewed heart. And though remaining corruption makes such blots in the writing that often times the man himself cannot read it; yet he that wrote it, can read it at all times: it is never quite blotted out nor can be. What he has written he has written; and it shall stand. *Boston.*

For a sinner who has broke the law, to expect to be saved by the law he has broke, i. e. by works of his own, is just as if a capital malefactor, under sentence of death, shall endeavour to sue out his pardon upon the footing of that very act of parliament by virtue of which he stands condemned.

Madan, June 28, 1769.

I would run away from the law (considered as a covenant of works), as fast as I would from my sins.

A frequent saying of Lady Huntingdon's.

LEGAL TERRORS.

Faith is the eye of the soul. This eye beholding the sin of the soul in having pierced Christ, and Christ pardoning its sin affects the heart: whence the heart sends forth affecting sighs. All this is done when there is no tempest of terror on the Spirit, but a sweet serenity of love and peace. See therefore, O believer, how Satan misinforms thee, when he would persuade thee that thou art not humbled enough, because thy sorrow is not attended with legal terrors.

Gurnall.

LIFE.

What is life, but a warfare? And what is the world but a thoroughfare? *Dyer.*

The slow motion of a living man (though so feeble perhaps that he cannot go a furlong in a day), yet coming from life, imports more strength than is in a ship, which (though it sails swiftly) hath its motion from without. Thus possibly a hypocrite may exceed a true Christian in the bulk and outside of a duty; yet because his strength is not from spiritual life, but from some wind and tide abroad that carries him on, while the Christian is from a divine principle within: therefore the Christian's weakness is stronger than the hypocrite in his greatest enlargements. *Gurnall.*

LITTLE GRACES

I have rather smoke than fire; and guessings rather than assurances of Christ's love. I have little or nothing to say, but that I am as one who hath found favour in his eyes. *Rutherfoord.*

When a peal or a diamond is defiled with dust or mire, its lustre cannot be discerned until it is washed. When corruptions are great and experiences small, a little grace can hardly be discerned: as a needle is more difficult to be discovered than a staff.

Manton.

LITTLE TRUTHS.

Omitting little truths against light may breed hell in the conscience, as well as committing the greatest sins against light.

Wilcox.

LOVE.

The Spirit of Christ sweetly calms the soul of a suffering believer, not by taking away all sense of pain, but by overcoming it with the sense of his love. *Gurnall.*

Do Christ this one favour, for all his love to thee: love all his saints; even the poorest, the meanest, and the weakest, notwithstanding some slight differences in judgment. As the names of the children of Israel were graven on Aaron's breast-plate; so are the names of all God's saints engraven on the heart of Christ. Let them be likewise so on thine. *Wilcox.*

Every man can love his friend; but only a godly man can love his enemy. *Parr.*

It was a notable saying of a holy man, "Quench hell and burn heaven, yet will I love and fear my God." *Dodd.*

Other lovers, beside Christ, are in suit of you, and your soul hath many wooers: but let your soul be a chaste virgin, and love but one. Most worthy is Christ alone of all your love, were your love higher than heaven and broader than the whole world.

Proportionable to the renovation of the image of God, and the likeness of God upon our souls, is our love to Jesus Christ.

Owen.

When we love God most, our duties run on the most freely and sweetly: and when our thoughts are most steeped in the love of God to us, we are then most likely to love him abundantly in return. *Manton*

LUKEWARMNESS.

It is sad, when after spiritual enlargements, and the performance of spiritual duties, believers are off their guard and

negligent in honouring God by good works in the sight of all men: when, like Moses, they no sooner come down from the mount than they turn, and break the tables of the law. Oh Christians, either vindicate the name of Christ (whose banner you would seem to march after), by the holiness of your conversations, or honestly throw away your profession of godliness and your seeming zeal for Christ, by which you have drawn the eyes of the world upon you.
Gurnall.

LUSTS.

Our lusts are cords. Fiery trials are sent to burn and consume them.

MAGNANIMITY.

Happy are they who dare venture out into the open streets with the name of Christ upon their foreheads; at a time when so many are ashamed of him, and hide him (as it were) under their cloaks, as if he were a stolen Saviour. *Rutherfoord.*

MALICE.

Such as rake up the old sins of saints (sins which God hath forgiven and forgotten), merely to grieve their spirits and to spatter their names, shew their malice indeed; who can take such pains to travel many years back, that they may find a handful of dirt to throw in a saint's face. Thus Shimei twitted David, 1 Sam. i. 6, 7. Come out, thou bloody man.

When you, who fear God, meet with such reproaches, answer them, as Beza did the Papists, when, for want of other matter, they upbraided him for some wanton poems, penned by him in his youth: "Hi homunciones invident mihi gratiam Dei," said he; "These men grudge me the pardoning mercy of God." *Gurnall.*

MAN UNRENEWED.

Easy, good-natured, affable men, whose hearts are nevertheless unrenewed by divine grace; may be compared to ripe plums and apricots, which, however soft and smooth on the outside, yet have a hard stone within. *Anon.*

The natural man is a spiritual monster. His heart is where his feet should be, fixed upon the earth: his heels are lifted up against heaven, which his heart should be set on. His face is towards hell; his back towards heaven. He loves what he should hate, and hates what he should love; joys in what he ought to mourn for, and mourns for what he ought to rejoice in; glories in his shame, and is ashamed of his glory; abhors what he should desire, and desires what he should abhor. *Boston.*

None of Adam's children naturally incline to receive the blessings in borrowed robes; but would always, according to the spider's motto, owe all to themselves: and so climb up to heaven on a thread spun out of their own bowels. For they desire to be under the law, Gal. iv. 21. and go about to establish thier own righteousness, Rom. x. 3. *Boston.*

The affections of the unrenewed man are as an unruly horse, that either will not receive, or violently runs away with, the rider. *ibid.*

MANIFESTATIONS.

After great manifestations of God's love, it is usual for the tempter to be unusually busy.—So weak is the constitution of grace below, that we cannot, of ourselves, bear either the smiles or the frowns of God, without some degree of danger.—If God smile, and open himself familiarly to us, then we are prone to grow high and wanton: if he frown, then faith sinks and hope sickens. Thus exalted manifestations, like bright weather and warm air, are followed by the weeds of corruption; and the other, like a sharp, intense frost, nips and almost kills the flowers of joy, peace, and comfort. *Anon.*

That the blessed God can impress on the mind so strong a sense of pardon as to leave a repenting sinner beyond all question satisfied of its coming from him, none can doubt but those who are for limiting the power of the Almighty, and for prescribing to the wisdom of the All-wise. And that, in many instances, God is most graciously pleased, in this manner to manifest himself and his love, none can dispute, who have been happily acquainted with the lives and deaths of the excellent of the earth. *Venn.*

MANNERS.

Is the faith of Christ fatal to refined manners, as the rod of Moses was to the counterfeit miracles of the magicians? No. It is rather like the influence of the sanctuary on the rod of Aaron: which, while it remained at a distance from the tabernacle, was a dry, sapless, and barren stick: but when deposited before the ark, was quickened into vegetable life, was adorned with a milk-white bloom, and enriched with full-grown fruit: or, as the sacred historian expresses this surprising fact, it "brought forth buds, and bloomed blossoms, and yielded almonds." Numb. xviii. 8. *Hervey.*

MAN'S LIFE

Man lives by death. His natural life is maintained by the death of the creatures; and his spiritual and eternal life are owing to the death of his Saviour. *Dyer.*

MAN'S OBEDIENCE.

Ye that go to the Father, and think to

set yourselves in his presence, and stand as the objects of his delight, on the footing of your own righteousness; shame and confusion of face will cover you before you are aware. Paul durst not be found in it, but looked upon it as dung; and dung you know is both offensive in itself and unable to support the man that stands upon it.—Let a man venture upon Christ, as the way to the Father, and he shall not sink. *Crisp.*

All the righteousness of man is not able to uphold him; nay, there is that in man's righteousness which will sink him; [if rested upon and trusted to] for he that hath broken the law but in one point is guilty of all. Christ therefore is the only rock on which sinners can build their hope. *ibid.*

I know some places that are as green and fair to the eye as the best way man ever set foot into: yet if you venture upon them, you sink up to the neck.—Whilst men make their own righteousness and obedience their way to God's favour, they seem to be in a fair and green path, which promiseth safety and firmness: yet he that dares trust himself in the way of his own righteousness, as his way to God and heaven, will find himself sink so fast that, if Christ come not and pluck him out, he will sink over head and ears. *ibid.*

In the way of works a man loses himself presently. There is not one work he does but he commits sin in it: and God will never let the soul come near to him that comes with any sin whatever. I speak this of the righteousness of man, while he makes that his way to God. *ibid.*

MARRIAGE.

I think it a greater sin to marry on the Lord's day than to yoke a plough: inasmuch as the work and concern is greater. The sinful continuance of this I judge to be a provoking profanation of the Sabbath: and I seldom see those marriages blest which were celebrated on that day.

Mr. James Frazer's Memoirs.

MEANS.

When God discovers himself by means, we know no more of him than can be represented by those means. If a pipe should be put to a great ocean or river, the cistern or conduit can receive no more than the pipe can convey. *Manton.*

It is a greater mercy to have a spiritual appetite for the means of grace, and to be providentially debarred from enjoying them, than to have opportunities of attending them without an appetite for them.

Mr. William Gay, in conversation at Broad Hembury, March 15, 1774.

MEEKNESS.

Passionate reproofs are like medicines given scalding hot; the patient cannot take them. If we wish to do good to those we rebuke, we should labour for meekness of wisdom, and use soft words and hard arguments. *Dodd.*

MERCY.

To exercise mercy is God's great prerogative; an act not of debt but of royal bounty; which he exercises when and to whom it seemeth good in his sight. I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, is his high and holy resolve. *Hervey.*

Dr. Bates has an observation to the same effect:

"As at the deluge the waters covered the highest mountains as well as the lowest hills; so pardoning mercy cancels the greatest sins as well as the least."

Arrowsmith.

The sun is glorious and beautiful; but if the moon and every star had as much brightness, it would not be so peculiarly admired. Thus the mercy of God towards his elect is so much the more admirable by being contrasted with his wrath against the reprobate. *Parr.*

Let us learn to run up all the mercies we are partakers of to the proper spring—— "Who loved me, and gave himself for me." *Dr. Owen.*

Special mercies call for special duties; as they that hold the largest farms must pay the largest rent. *Dyer.*

To bless God for mercies is the way to increase them; to bless him for miseries is the way to remove them. No good lives so long as that which is thankfully improved; no evil dies so soon as that which is patiently endured. *ibid.*

MERIT.

Free-will establishes merit; free-grace checks it. The sun is not beholden to us because we borrow light from it; or the fountain, because we draw water. *Manton.*

MINISTERS.

If one workman should tell you that "your house must be pulled down, that the beams are all rotten, and new materials must be prepared;" and another should say, "No; the house will stand firm enough with a little repair, such a beam is good, such a spar may continue, and a trifling cost will serve the turn:" you would probably listen to him who is for putting you to the least expense and trouble.

An honest and faithful minister of Christ comes and tells sinners from the Scriptures that man is, by nature, in a dangerous condition; that his house is tumbling about

his ears; that his natural state is corrupt and rotten; that nothing of the original frame will serve; that old things must be done away, and all things become new.—Next, in steps an Arminian and blows up the sinner's pride, by telling him that he is neither so weak, nor so wicked, as the other represents him; that a little patching and whitewashing will set all to rights, without taking any part of the building down. "If thou wilt," says he, "thou mayest repent, believe, be good, and endure to the end: or, at least, by exerting thy natural abilities, thou wilt oblige God to lend a helping hand to thy endeavours, and superadd what thou hast not." This is the workman that will please proud men best. *Gurnall.*

If a minister be erroneous, how should the flock be sound? No readier way to destroy a whole town than by poisoning the cistern at which they draw their water. *ibid.*

How shall the prophane be hardened in their sins? Let the preacher but sow pillows under their elbows, and cry peace, peace; and all is done. How may the worship of God come to be neglected? Let Hophni and Phineas be scandalous in their lives, and men will soon come to abhor the offering of the Lord. *ibid.*

The Devil hath his ministers as well as Christ. *Dyer.*

Too many modern preachers resemble auctioneers, who put up heaven to the highest bidder.

Mr. Serle, at London, June 3, 1774.

Under the law, the priest had part of the sacrifices assigned to himself and his own peculiar use.——Under the gospel, Christ's ministers, when they are made instruments of spiritual comfort to others, generally come in for a share of the consolation themselves. God often waters the preacher while the preacher is watering the people. *Mr. Ryland.*

The shoulder (which is the working part of the ox) was the priest's portion; to shew that God's ministers should labour for what they receive, and not eat the bread of idleness. *ibid.*

That minister is worth nothing who cannot make the Devil roar. *ibid.*

A judicious minister will accommodate his labours to the apprehensions and peculiar cases of his people; as the prophet Elijah adapted his own size to that of the child he raised to life. *ibid.*

A good man was observing to me, today, that "many ministers speak so sparingly and so coldly of the gospel privileges of the saints, that one would imagine they thought themselves no more than scarecrows, set up on purpose to frighten God's people from the corn." *May 7, 1770.*

What recompense did the prophets receive (from the world) for all their labours and expense of spirits (in preaching), but saws, and swords, and dungeons? It is almost as much the character of a minister to be much in afflictions; as to be much in spirit, and much in labours. "To preach," said Luther, "is only another name for deriving and entailing the world's hatred upon ourselves." But we may justly suspect that we are not true to our master when we are dandled on the world's knees.

Dr. Manton.

Some people are apt to blame Christian ministers for dealing too faithfully with their hearers. But was I to see a blind man walking towards a gravel-pit two or three hundred feet deep, and I was to beg him for his own sake not to go on; would it not be very absurd in him to be angry, and to answer, What is my danger to you? Pray, mind your own business!

Mr. Wallis, in conversation, at London, May 10, 1776.

Ministers are in general apt to make too wide a distinction between seekers and believers; a man must have some degree of saving grace, and of true faith, before ever he can seek Christ in earnest.

Mr. Madan, in conversation, July 18, 1769.

We [ministers] should not [only] be like dials on a wall, or like watches in our pockets, to teach the eye; but like clocks and alarms, to ring to the ear. Aaron must wear bells as well as pomegranates. The prophet's voice must be a trumpet, whose sound may be heard afar off.—A sleeping centinel may be the loss of a whole city.

Bishop Hall, in a Sermon before King James.—See the Bishop's Remains, p. 2, 3.

An architect cannot say to his rule, his line, or other instruments, "Go, build a house." He must first take them into his own hand ere the wished-for effect will follow. What are ministers of God but mere instruments? And if ever they are useful in building up the Church of Christ, it is his own hand must make them so.

Mr. Hitchen, in conversation, July 18.

Herod was a wonderful gospeller for a while, until John told of him of his incest. So a minister is a mighty good man with his people, until he lay the axe of his ministry to their favourite sins and errors.

Parr

Men are bunglers who are taught by any other but God. We that are ministers of the gospel leave you but dunces in Christian experience and Christian practice, till the Lord Jesus Christ breathes with our ministry, and by his Spirit teaches your spirits. *Gurnall.*

One capital error in men's preparing themselves for the sacred function is that

they read divinity more in other books than in the Scriptures. *Bishop Burnet.*

Ask yourselves often [says the bishop, addressing himself to the clergy of our church] would you follow that course of life if there were no settled establishment belonging to it, and if you were to preach under the cross, and in danger of persecution? For, till you arrive at that, you are yet carnal, and come into the priesthood for a piece of bread. *ibid.*

I have lamented during my whole life that I saw so little true zeal among our clergy. The main body of our clergy has always appeared dead and lifeless to me. Instead of animating one another, they seem to lay one another asleep. Without a visible alteration in this, you will fall under a universal contempt, and lose both the credit and the fruits of your ministry. *ibid.*

I say it with regret; I have observed the clergy in all the places through which I have travelled, Papists, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Dissenters: but of them all, our clergy are much the most remiss in their labours, and the least severe in their lives. *ibid.*

MYSTERIES.

The doctrinal mysteries of Christianity are bones to philosophy, but milk to faith. *Howell's Letters.*

MEMENTO.

Remember thy sins and Christ's paroonings; thy hell-deservings and Christ's merits; thy weakness and Christ's strength; thy pride and Christ's humility; thy many infirmities and Christ's restorings; thy guilts and Christ's new applications of his blood; thy fallings and Christ's raisings-up; thy wants and Christ's fulness; thy temptations and Christ's tenderness; thy vileness and Christ's righteousness. *Wilcox.*

NAME OF GOD.

The name of God is the believer's harbour; where he may betake himself as boldly as a man steps into his own house when overtaken by a shower. *Gurnall.*

Almighty power, made lovely by an essential union with perfect wisdom, justice, and mercy, makes up the name of God, and demands the heart-felt adoration of his creatures. *Anon.*

NATURE

We are for bringing to Christ; and that must not be. Not a penny of nature's highest improvements will pass in heaven. *Wilcox.*

When nature is hard put to it by guilt or wrath, it will fly to its old haunts of self-righteousness, self-goodness, &c. Only God's infinite power can cast down these strong holds. *Wilcox.*

Nature would do any thing to be saved rather than go to Christ alone, and close with him. Christ will have nothing; and yet the soul will force something of its own on Christ. *ibid.*

Nature cannot endure to think that the gospel is only for sinners. It would, if left to itself, rather choose to despair than go to Christ upon such terms. *ibid.*

It is a terrible stroke to nature to think of being stripped of all, and not to have a rag of duty or self-righteousness left to look at. *ibid.*

Such is the natural propensity of man's heart to the way of the law in opposition to Christ, that, as the tainted vessel turns the taste of the purest liquor put into it, so the natural man turns the very gospel into law, and would transform the covenant of grace into a covenant of works. *Boston.*

NEARNESS TO CHRIST.

t is but a small thing to see Christ in a book, as men see the world in a map: but to come near unto Christ, to love him and embrace him, is quite another thing. *Rutherfoord.*

Let Diotrephes say, it is good for me to have the pre-eminence. Let Judas say, it is good for me to bear the bag. Let Demas say, it is good for me to embrace the present world.——But do thou, O my soul, say with David, it is good for me to draw near to God! *Arrowsmith.*

NEED.

It is now twenty-three years since I was awakened to know the work of God upon my heart: and I feel my need of Christ more deeply at the end of these three and twenty years, than I even did when I was first drawn to him.

Good Mr. Joss, in conversation, at Bristol, this day, August 23, 1775.

Was it not for needy, helpless, thirsting sinners, Christ would have no customers. The blessings of grace and glory would, as it were, lie upon his hands. *Arrowsmith.*

NEGLIGENCE.

Christians are too negligent, and do not live like those that are born of God. As it was said of Hannibal, when he was melting himself away in the pleasures of Capua, that "there was fire in him, but it needed blowing;" so, in true believers, there is grace at the bottom, but it needs a little stirring and quickening. *Manton.*

NEW BIRTH.

If thou art not born again, all thy [outward] reformation is naught. Thou hast

shut the door, but the thief is still in the house. *Boston.*

NEW COVENANT.

There is no condition in the new covenant. It is the freeness of God's love, and the greatness of his compassion, that undertakes (and accomplishes) all. *Mrs. Wright.*

OBEDIENCE.

Obedience is necessary to our comfort and assurance, though not to pardon.
Richardson.

OPPOSITION.

A believer hath so much opposition in his way to glory, that he had need be well locked into the saddle of his profession, or he will be soon dismounted. *Gurnall.*

Whence is it that the doctrines of special election, of efficacious grace in regeneration and conversion, of justification by the imputed righteousness of Christ, and of the infallible perseverance of the saints, though so clearly revealed and so strongly proved in the word of God, are, notwithstanding, so generally denied, opposed, and ridiculed? Because they give all the glory to God, and will not allow man so much as to boast a little. *Anon.*

OBSERVATIONS.

Some observations of the excellent Mr. Thomas Cole (*q*) in an account of his own experience.

"I liken the word of God to a seal, and the heart of man to wax; and I must say I have often seen what has been engraven on the seal, when, to my sorrow, I have not found full and suitable impressions upon my own heart. But yet, as in some old coin, some worn groats, there appears here and there a little, here and there a stroke that discovers the value of the piece, and makes it current money; so, when I have said the best I can of my case, though I cannot present you with grace in as desirable characters as I could wish, yet, what I am, I am by grace: and if God should never do more for me in this world, I have reason to bless his name to all eternity for what he hath already done.

"Before I had considered the grace of God, I was afraid of my own convictions. I durst not scrape too deep in that dunghill which lay before my door: there was enough already apparent that I knew not well what to do with. But the general consideration of the grace and mercy of God encouraged me to look farther. I thought thus: there is a remedy to be had, let things be as bad as bad can be; there is a Physician, and many promises of pardon and assistance. Whence I concluded that I might safely venture to know the worst of myself.

"I was convinced I could be saved no other way but by grace, if I could but find grace enough; but at that time I saw more in my own sin than in God's mercy. But this put me on a farther inquiry after the grace of God, because my life lay upon it; and thus I was brought to the gospel.

"When I came to the gospel I met with the law in it: *i. e.* I was for turning the gospel into law. I began to settle myself upon gospel duties, as repentance, humiliation, believing, praying, &c. And, I know not how, I forgot the promise of grace which first brought me to the gospel. But as I had before found that I could not answer the strictness of the law because my duties fell short of the rule; so I came to discover that I could not answer the [spirituality] of the gospel, for I pressed after acts of grace upon a legal footing, making works of them all. I found I could neither believe nor pray as the gospel required.

"While I was in this plunge, it pleased the Lord to direct me to study the person of Christ, whom I looked on as the great undertaker in the work of man's salvation. And truly here I may say, according to my measure, as Paul did, "It pleased God to reveal his son in me." God overcame my heart with this. I saw so much mercy in his mercy, so much love in his love, so much grace in his grace, that I knew not what to liken it to. And here my heart broke, I knew not how.

"Belief of salvation must be grounded on some inward transaction between Christ and the soul. I began to consider whether any such thing had passed between Christ and me; and while I was looking this way, the Lord Jesus drew me; and took hold of me, in raising me up to a sensible reliance on him.

"I never had a more lively sense of my acceptance with God through Christ, than when I was sensible of the greatest recumbency on him; when I laid most stress upon him, I always found most strength in him.

"Before this faith came I knew not how to secure myself against past, present, and future sins: but there was that largeness of grace, that all-sufficiency of mercy, that infinity of righteousness, discovered to me in Christ, that I found sufficient for all the days of my life. I closed with Christ for acceptance throughout the whole course of my life. I dealt with him for all at once.

"Though new guilt puts me under a necessity of making fresh application to

(*q*) Author of that valuable Treatise on Regeneration.

Christ, yet still it is upon the old footing. I cannot put Christ upon doing that for me which he hath not already done. I daily apply to Christ for cleansing; which I call living by faith: and I never was under the power of this faith, but I found a greater disposition in my spirit to practical holiness than at any other time."

Some things said by the same Mr. Thomas Cole on his death bed. (Obiit Sept. 16, 1667.)

"Many plead for those opinions and notions upon which they would be loth to venture their souls in a dying hour. I value more the judgment of a dying saint about justification than all the wrangling disputes of learned men.

"It would be miserable dying if we had not something every way adequate to the demands of the law to ground our hopes of eternal life upon. We have an abundant entrance into the kingdom of God, by the way of Christ's righteousness. The devil and the law may meet us; yet cannot hinder us from entering into heaven by that righteousness.

"Christ can defend his own truths when his poor creatures and ministers, who contended for them as well as they could, are laid in the silent dust.

"I wait for a peaceable dismission. I long to see his salvation. The Spirit saith, come; and the bride saith, come. Come, O come, Lord Jesus; come quickly!

"My desire is, that God would do his own will, and glorify his own name, by my life or death; which is the best disposal of me that God himself can make."

[When rising, he said] to rise for a little time is but a sorry rising: but to rise so as never to go to bed more, is a glorious resurrection. Then we shall be for ever with the Lord.

"It is well for us that our souls do not stand upon the same terms with God as our bodies do; for they must die; but eternal life possesseth the soul, and will never leave it."

[To one who said, "Sir, your death will be a great stroke; I know not any likely to stand up in your room:"

He answered,]

"God can make the want of ordinances the greatest ordinance to you.

"If God keeps his truths alive in the hearts of some few serious Christians, they will preach one to another.

"I bless God for what he hath done for my soul. I give up my body to him; let him do with it what he pleases.

"How soon is nature overset by the God of nature, if the God of grace doth not stand by to support it! A finite creature could not endure, if the everlasting arms were not underneath.

"Though they would not suffer me to preach the gospel of free grace quietly, yet God suffers me to die in the comfort of it.

"As for my going, God can make it no loss to you. God can take off and set on his own workmen when he pleases.

"I have done with all other satisfaction but what God in Christ can give.

"We live but dying lives in the body. They are but short recoveries which we have at any time, until mortality is swallowed up of life."

[When he was removed to the other side of the bed he said], "This is but turning from one side to another: but I would fain turn from the dark side to the light side. One turn more, and then I shall be at rest."

ORDINANCES.

Men often go to God in duties with their faces towards the world; and when their bodies are on the mount of ordinances, their hearts will be found at the foot of the hill, going after their covetousness. *Boston.*

Attend diligently on ordinances; yet beware of putting ordinances in God's stead Hath not thy heart said, "I will go and hear such a man, and get comfort, and get strength?" No wonder that you find yourself weak, barren, and unfruitful. How should means and ministers help thy soul, except the Lord help? Christ himself keeps the key of his wine-cellar. His ministering servants cannot so much as make you drink when you come to his house, and therefore, poor soul, stop not short of Christ; but press through all the crowd of ordinances, and ask to see Jesus, to speak with Jesus, and to touch him: so will virtue come out from him to thee. *Gurnall.*

ORIGINAL DEPRAVITY.

Evil tempers are but the symptoms of our spiritual disease; and evil works are but the scales of the leper. Hateful as they are, they only indicate that inward, moral leprosy of original depravation which hath vitiated and corrupted the whole mass of our fallen nature.

Mr. Haweis, Sept. 6, 1769.

The power of original sin is not always very discernible in children and young persons; but sometimes lies hid under the cover of decent civility, and seeming innocence. But, alas! all the offspring of Adam are deeply infected. They are like young lions, which do not discover much of their native fierceness at first. But if they live long enough for time to let their teeth and claws grow, they will quickly give proof of the savage nature they brought into the world with them. *ibid.*

Adam's sin corrupted man's nature, and leavened the whole lump of mankind. We putrified in Adam as our root. The root was poisoned, and so the branches were envenomed. *Boston.*

As a whole nest of venomous creatures must needs be more dreadful than any few of them that come creeping forth, so the sin of thy nature, that mother of abominations, must be worse than any particular lusts that appear stirring in thy heart and life. *ibid.*

OMNISCIENCE.

If conscience be as a thousand witnesses, the all-seeing God is as a thousand consciences. *Arrowsmith.*

OMNIPOTENCE.

My hopes from appearances are cold. My faith has no bed to sleep upon but God's omnipotency. *Rutherfoord.*

ONE WAY

You must be going either to heaven or hell. You cannot go two ways at once.

In point of acceptance with God, there is but one and the same way for the saint and the sinner, the oyster-woman and the philosopher; even the blood and obedience of God's co-equal Son.

Mr. Ryland, July 4, 1769

PARDON.

You may have heard of some persons condemned to execution, who at the scaffold have been so obdurate and stiff-necked that not a cry nor a tear came from them; yet, just as they have been going to lay their necks upon the block, when a pardon has come, and they were at once discharged from guilt, imprisonment and death; they that could not weep a tear before, no sooner see the pardon sealed, and themselves acquitted, than they dissolve into tears of joy, thankfulness, and surprise. So it is with believers. The more they see Christ in the pardon of sin, and the love of God in Christ to receive and embrace them, the more they melt. *Crisp.*

First, souls look to Christ, by faith, for pardon through his blood; and then they mourn for sins pardoned: and never do they mourn better and more kindly, or are more ashamed and confounded because of their sins, than when they are most satisfied that God is pacified towards them for all that they have done. *Dr. Gill.*

PARSIMONIOUS.

To be over-thrifty in our expenses upon God [whether of time, money, or labour] is the worst piece of husbandry in the world. *Arrowsmith.*

PASTURE.

The grass and pasture are so sweet that Christ hath put a believer into, that though there were no bounds to keep in such a soul, yet it would never go out of this fat pasture to feed in a barren common.

Dr. Crisp.

PAUL.

We have lately repaired or rather erected anew the church dedicated to St. Paul's name: but some of us have pulled down and demolished his doctrines. Our church celebrates that apostle's conversion; but many of us seem to renounce what he hath delivered concerning grace, conversion, and regeneration.

Dr. Edwards against Whitby.

Paul was Nero's prisoner, but Nero was much more God's: and while God had work for Paul, he found him friends both in court and prison. *Gurnall.*

PEACE.

When peace is concluded between nations that were before at war, trading is revived. So will it be between God and you: commerce will be revived, and you will be trading into heaven [by prayer and repeated acts of faith], and bring away rich treasures of grace and comfort. *Manton.*

A man that is at peace with God will be often in God's company. *ibid.*

PERFECTION.

Some do in this life conceit that they are already perfect. The way by which God cures this phrensy of pride, we have in these days seen to be somewhat like that in Nebuchadnezzar, namely, to give them the heart of a beast; I mean, by suffering them for a time to fall into gross, beastly practices; herein shewing them how far they are from that perfection they dreamed of so vainly. *Gurnall.*

PERMISSION.

What need a child fear though the whole house be full of rods, seeing not one of them can move without the father's hand? *Dodd.*

If evil had never been permitted, the wisdom of God could not have appeared in over-ruling it, nor his justice in punishing it, nor his mercy in forgiving it, nor his power in subduing it.

Dr. Gifford, in conversation at London, Oct. 27, 1775.

PERSECUTION.

The cold water of persecution is often thrown on the Church's face to fetch her to herself when she is in a swoon.

PHARISEE.

Humanly speaking it is harder to work savingly on a pharisee than on a libertine.

The former hath more to forego than the latter. The profane person hath but his lust to deny; the other hath his duties to renounce, and a long train of seeming graces. Oh how difficult is it to persuade such an one to alight and hold Christ's stirrup whilst he and all his patched up performances are made as dust under Christ's footstool!

Gurnall.

If a pharisee can but get a few husks of outward duties to feed upon, and muster up a few rags of self-righteousness to throw over his back, he is presently as proud as Lucifer. *Dr. Gill, in a sermon I heard him preach, Dec.* 11, 1768.

PHILANTHROPY.

We should despise none, but honour all; and be as ready to do them good as the hand is ready to sooth the eye when it smarts, or ease the head when it aches.

POLLUTION.

I live upon forgiveness, and stand in need of washing every moment. *Anon.*

PORTION.

God lets the wicked have their portion beforehand, *i. e.* in the present life: Psalm xvii. Luke vi. 24. and xvi. 25. A wicked man may give God an acquittance, and write upon it "Received in full." But the saint's reward is in reversion; the robe and the ring are yet to come.

POVERTY OF RICHES.

The richest are oftentimes the poorest, and the poorest are oftentimes the richest. Oh how many thread-bare souls are there to be found under silken coats and purple robes! *Dyer.*

POWER OF GOD.

I have sometimes thought that that change which passes upon the hearts of God's people at the instant of death, or will pass upon living saints at the time I speak of (*i. e.* the time of Christ's second coming), when hearts so full of sinful lust, pollution, and all wickedness will be at once cleared of all, is a greater evidence and display of the power of God than the change that passes upon their bodies, either at their resurrection or at this time. *Dr. Gill.*

PRAYER.

The longer a believer hath neglected prayer the harder he finds it to pray, partly through shame; for the soul having played the truant knows not how to look God in the face; and partly through the difficulty of the work, which is doubly hard to what another finds who walks in the exercise of his graces. It requires more time and pains for him to tune his instrument when all is out of order than for another to play the lesson. *Gurnall.*

Prayer, like Jonathan's bow, returns not empty. Never was faithful prayer lost at sea. No merchant trades with such certainty as the praying saint. Some prayers, indeed, have a longer voyage than others, but then return with the richer lading at last. *ibid.*

Who can express the powerful oratory of a believer's prayer? This little word (father) lisped forth in prayer by a child of God, exceeds the eloquence of Demosthenes, Cicero, and all the most famous orators in the world: we knock at heaven, and the heart of God flies open. *ibid.*

The Christian is compared to a tree, Psalm i; and those trees flourish most and bear the sweetest fruit which stand most in the sun. The praying Christian is (as they say of Rhodians) *in sole positus:* he stands nigh unto God, and hath God nigh unto him in all that he calls upon him for: you may therefore expect his fruit to be sweet and ripe. When another that stands, as it were, in the shade, and at a distance from God, through neglect of prayer, will have little fruit found on his branches, and that but green and sour. *ibid.*

In trading, he gets most by his commodity that can forbear his money the longest; so does the Christian that can with most patience stay for a return to his prayer. Such a soul shall never be ashamed of its waiting. *ibid*

The gift of prayer may have praise from men, but it is the grace of prayer that has power with God. *Dyer.*

Pray for them thou lovest. Thou wilt never have any comfort of his friendship for whom thou dost not pray. *Parr.*

Prayer is a key which, being turned by the hand of faith, unlocks all God's treasures. *Cripplegate Lect.*

In prayer it is better to have a heart without words than words without a heart. *Bunyan.*

To say, in compliment, "I am a sinner," is easy; but to cry with the publican indeed, "God be merciful to me a sinner," is the hardest prayer in the world. *Wilcox.*

"God be merciful, in Christ, to me a sinner," are fit to be the last dying words of the greatest saint that lives.

Col. Gallatin, Oct. 19, 1769.

A good woman used to say that "A family without prayer is like a house without a roof, exposed to all the injuries of weather, and to every storm that blows."

Told me by her son, Mr. Lyon, at London, Nov. 29, 1776.

Prayer is the breath of a regenerate man. *Gill.*

What we win by prayer we shall wear with comfort. *Dodd.*

Either praying will make a man leave off sinning, or sinning will make him leave off praying *Dodd.*

PREACHING.

Sometimes, when I have thought I did no good [by the sermons I have preached], then I did the most of all; and at other times, when I thought I should catch people, I have fished for nothing. *John Bunyan.*

The word preached is like Samson's riddle; we cannot unfold it without God's heifer. *Gurnall.*

My preaching is not like sending an arrow from a bow (to which some strength of arm is requisite), but like pulling the trigger of a gun ready charged, which the feeblest finger can do.

A saying of the late Rev. Mr. Hervey.

Mr. Owen, on being lately told that he had not talents for preaching, made answer, "I preach the good gospel if I am not a good gospel-preacher."

Told me by Miss Russel, at Brighthelmstone, Sept. 26, 1775.

PREDESTINATION.

The Book of Life, like the tree of life in the garden of Eden, hath a tree of knowledge growing hard by, which cannot with safety be tasted of. There are some nice and needless questions started concerning election, which questions ought to be forborne. But these lofty walls and aspiring sons of Anak should by no means prevail with us to act as the unworthy spies sent by Israel to explore the land of Canaan. We ought not to bring up a bad report, or give credit to any brought up by others, on a land that flows with so much milk and honey as the doctrine of predestination doth. Not to insist on this doctrine were to stop up those walls which the prophets, the apostles, and our Lord Jesus himself have digged in their writings (and ministrations) for the refreshment of thirsty souls; yea, it would be endeavouring to cancel the first great charter of our salvation.

Arrowsmith.

PRESERVATION.

The very hairs of your head, says Christ, are all numbered: fear ye not. On which Austin hath this sweet and pertinent remark: "Thou that cannot lose a single hair, how comes it to pass that thou art afraid of losing thy soul?" *Arrowsmith.*

It is not with God as with carpenters and shipwrights, who build houses for others to dwell in, and vessels for others to sail in, and afterwards take little or no thought about them. God, who made all things for himself looks to the preservation of all.

ibid.

PRESUMPTION.

The Deity and the sun are in this respect similar; they cheer and refresh humble, cautious beholders, but put out the eyes of such as are too daring, prying, and inquisitive. *Arrowsmith.*

PRIDE.

A proud heart and a lofty mountain are never fruitful. *Gurnall.*

If once (like Hezekiah) we call in spectators to see our treasure, and grow proud of our gifts and comforts, then it is high time for God, if he loves us indeed, to send some messengers to carry those away from us which carry our hearts away from him.

ibid.

Pride stops up the conduit of divine communications. If the heart begin to swell, it is time for God to hold his hand and turn the cock; for all that is poured on such a soul runs over into self-applauding, and so becomes as water spilt in regard of any good it doth the creature, or any glory it brings to God. *ibid.*

Luther well observes that "proud men require God to act *jure humano, i. e.* according to their conceptions of what is right and just. Haughty flesh cannot vouchsafe the God of heaven so much honour as to believe any thing to be good and right which is spoken or acted above what the Codex of Justinian, or the fifth book of Aristotle's Ethics defineth to be just."—Luth. de Serv. Arb. cap. 173.

Dr. Arrowsmith

PROPOSAL.

"If God," says Mr. Hooker, "should make us an offer thus large: 'Search all the generations of men since the fall of our first father Adam; find one man that hath done one action which hath past from him pure, without any stain or blemish at all; and for that one man's only action neither man nor angel shall feel the torments which are prepared for both.' Do you think that this ransom to deliver men and angels could be found to be among the sons of men?"

PROWESS.

It requires more prowess and greatness of spirit to obey God faithfully than to command an army of men; to be a Christian than to be a captain. *Gurnall.*

PROFESSOR.

O loose professor! be not angry if we at least question whether we ought to style thee a Christian. The name of Christ is too holy and sacred to be written on a rotten post. *ibid.*

None will have such a dreadful parting from Christ in the last day as they who by profession went half way with him and then left him. *Gurnall.*

PROMISES.

God is wise to conceal the succours he intends thee in the several changes of thy life, that so he may draw thy heart into an entire dependance on his faithful promise. Therefore, though thou perhaps might not see thy God in the way, thou shalt surely find him in the end. *ibid.*

Judge not of God's love by providences but by promises. *Wilcox.*

When a believer is in darkness and endeavours to reason away his unbelief, he will find all his reasonings but lost labour. There is only one thing he can do to purpose, and that is, simply to cast anchor on God's naked promise. *Mr. Madan, Aug.* 11, 1769.

Looking to the promises quickens us in our religious course It is like the rod of myrtle in the traveller's hand, which (as some tell us) revives his spirits and makes him walk without weariness. *Anon.*

God's promises shall as surely receive their accomplishment in due season as that of Christ's incarnation did when the fullness of time was come, Gal. iv. 4. And that of bringing the people of Israel out of Egypt at the end of four hundred and thirty years, which was most exactly performed on the self-same day in which that number of years was expired, Exod. xii. 41. *Arrowsmith.*

PROTECTION.

The pillar by which the Israelites were conducted through the wilderness may be looked upon as an emblem of that safe conduct which the Church in all ages may expect from Jesus Christ. As in that pillar there were two different substances, the fire and the cloud, yet but one pillar, so there are two different natures in Christ: his divinity shining as fire; his humanity darkening as a cloud, yet but one person. As that pillar departed not from them by day or by night all the while they travelled in the desert, so, whilst the Church's pilgrimage lasts in this world, the safe conduct of Christ, by his Spirit and ordinances, shall be continued. But as at their entrance into Canaan, a type of heaven, the pillar is thought to have been removed (because not mentioned in the sequel of the history; and because, when Israel passed over Jordan, we read not of the pillar, but of the ark going before them); so when the Church shall arrive at heaven, her resting-place, the mediatorial guidance of Christ is to cease, and the ordinances, which are here of use, shall disappear. *ibid.*

PROVIDENCE

What we term the course of nature is the incessant administration of Providence. *Hervey.*

He that eyes a providence shall always have a providence to eye.
A saying of the late venerable Mr. Thos. Hall.

God, who feeds the ravens, will not starve his doves. *Charnock on Providence.*

A Christian hath two things to relieve him against all his distrustful fears and cares; adoption and particular providence. God is his father; and such a father as is not ignorant of his condition, nor mindless of it. And therefore though a believer may have little or nothing in hand, it is enough that his father keepeth the purse for him; whose care extendeth to all things and persons: who hath the hearts of all men in his hand; and who worketh all things according to his own will. *Manton.*

If God be your father, you can want nothing that is good: but the determination of what is good must be left to his wisdom; for we are not so fit to judge of it nor to discern our own good. We should therefore commit all to his fatherly care and wise providence. Indeed, he chuseth rather to profit us than to please us, in his dispensations; and it is our duty to refer all to his wisdom and faithfulness. *ibid.*

If we trust God for our heavenly inheritance, we may well trust him for our daily maintenance, which he vouchsafeth to the birds of the air, to the beast of the field, and even to his enemies. He that feedeth a kite, will he not feed a child? He that supplies his enemies, will he not take care of his family? You would think that person monstrously cruel who would feed his dogs and starve his children. This cannot, without blasphemy, be imagined of our gracious and heavenly Father. *ibid.*

The divine providence which is sufficient to deliver us in our utmost extremity, is equally necessary to our preservation in the most peaceful situation. *Mr. Newton.*

The providence of God is one straight line drawn from the point of his decree. A straight line it is in itself; however crooked it may appear through a false medium. God will do whatsoever he pleases; and what pleases him ought to please us. It is above nature, it is contrary to nature, to make a full surrender of ourselves to his sovereign and absolute will. Grace alone can enable us to say from the heart, "Thy will be done."
Rev. Mr. Winter, in a letter to me, Dec. 22, 1769.

In a musical instrument, when we observe a number of strings set to harmony, we conclude that some skilful musician has tuned them.

When we see thousands of men in a field marshalled under their respective colours, all yielding exact obedience; we infer that there is a general to whose orders they are subject.

In a watch, when we observe springs and wheels, great and small, each so fitted as to concur to an orderly motion, we acknowledge the skill of an artificer.

When we come into a printing-house, and see a vast variety of different letters, so regulated and disposed as to make a book, we are at once convinced that there is some composer by whose art they were brought into such a frame.

When we behold a fair building we conclude it had an architect; and,

When we see a stately ship completely fitted out, and safely conducted to the port, we know that it had builders and a pilot.

The visible world is such an instrument, army, watch, building, book, and ship, as undeniably proves that God was and is the tuner, general, and artificer, the composer, architect, and pilot of it. *Arrowsmith.*

Zachary Ursinus was wont to say, "I had often lain in the streets had not the providence of God been my hostess and provided me with a lodging." *ibid.*

PROVOCATION.

Saints, when provoked, are too often so like sinners that it is hard to discern any difference. *Anon.*

PUSILLANIMITY.

A cool and cowardly defence of Christian principles will always embolden the enemies of the gospel and discourage its friends. Be resolute for God, or give up his cause.

Mr. Ryland, June 22, 1770.

It is no wisdom to shuffle with God, by denying his truths, or shifting off our duty to keep correspondence with men. He is a poor fencer that lays his soul at open guard to be stabbed and wounded with guilt, while he is lifting up his hands to save a broken head. *Gurnall.*

REASON.

A million of torches cannot shew us the sun. It can only be seen by its own light. Nor can all the natural reason in the world discover, either what God is or what worship he expects, without divine and supernatural revelation from himself. *Arrowsmith.*

Though faith may look upon God, and that with much comfort; yet for reason to stare too much upon him is the way to lose her sight. *ibid.*

When reason hath tired and wildered herself in searching after God, the result must be, "non est inventus;" he is not to be found, at least not by me. *ibid.*

RECONCILIATION.

The gospel is a doctrine according to godliness; and true holiness is the health, is the happiness of the soul. These duties issuing from faith, and recommended by the intercession of Christ, are acceptable to the divine majesty. But these are not your Saviour. God hath not reconciled the world to himself by their own pious practices, but by his Son Jesus Christ.

REFORMATION OF MANNERS.

If ever a [true and lasting] reformation [of manners] is produced; it must, under the influences of the eternal Spirit, be produced by the doctrines of free grace and justification through the Redeemer's righteousness. Until these doctrines are generally inculcated, the most elegant harangues from the pulpit, or the most correct dissertations from the press, will be no better than a pointless arrow and a broken bow.

Mr. Hervey.

REFUGE.

A heathen could say, when a bird (scared by a hawk) flew into his bosom for refuge, "I will not kill thee, nor betray thee to thy enemy, seeing thou fliest to me for sanctuary." Much less will God either slay or give up the soul that takes sanctuary in his name!

REGENERATION.

There are two principles in a man that is born again; a principle of corrupt nature and a principle of grace; the one is called the old man, and the other the new. The old man continues unregenerate to the last. No part in him is regenerated. He remains untouched, and is just the same he was, only deprived of his power and dominion. The new man is wholly regenerate. There is no unregenerate part in him. There is no sin in him, nor done by him: "he cannot sin because he is born of God." "The king's daughter is all glorious within." [See Rom. vii 17.] *Dr. Gill.*

Regeneration does not come by the will of man, John i. 13. As gracious persons did not regenerate themselves, so neither can they convey regenerating grace to others. If they could, a good master would regenerate every servant in his family; a good parent would regenerate every child of his; and a minister of the gospel would regenerate all that sit under his ministry. But they can do no more than pray, and use the means. God only can do the work.

ibid.

A child as soon as born, having all its limbs, is a perfect man, as to parts, though they are not yet at their full growth and size. So the new man, or gracious principle infused in regeneration, is a perfect man at

once as to parts; though as yet not arrived to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ. *Dr. Gill.*

As Christ's resurrection was a declaration of his being the Son of God, so regeneration is an evidence of interest in the adoption of children. Likewise as the resurrection of Christ was by the almighty power of God, so is the regeneration and quickening of a dead sinner. And as Christ's resurrection was the first step to his glorification, so is regeneration, to seeing and entering into the kingdom of God. *ibid.*

Regeneration is an irresistible act of God's grace: no more resistance can be made to it than there could be in the first matter to its creation; or in a dead man to his resurrection; or in an infant to its generation. Whatever aversion, contrariety, or opposition there may be to it, in the corrupt nature of man, it is all speedily and easily overcome by the power of divine grace, when the stony heart is taken away, and a heart of flesh given. *ibid.*

RELIANCE.

Adhering to, and glorying in the cross of Christ, you shall enter the harbour of eternal rest; not like a ship-wrecked mariner, cleaving to some broken plank, and hardly escaping the raging waves; but like some stately vessel, with all her sails expanded and riding before a prosperous gale. *Mr. Hervey.*

As in a pair of compasses one foot is fixed in the centre while the other wanders about in the circumference; so must the soul stay on Christ while we search after evidences and additional comforts.

Dr. Manton.

(May not the same thought be accommodated to the contrary propensities of the old man and the new?) Thou sayest, perhaps, that thou canst not believe, that thou canst not repent. Go to Christ with thy impenitency and unbelief, to get faith and repentance from him. Tell Christ, "Lord! I have brought no righteousness, no grace, to be accepted for or justified by. I am come for thy righteousness, and I must have it." *Wilcox.*

RELIGION.

The word religion is derived *à religando*, signifying to tie or bind: because by true religion men's souls are tied and fastened to the Supreme being. *Arrowsmith.*

To maintain, as most unconverted men do, that any person may be saved in an ordinary course (for I meddle not with extraordinary dispensations, but leave the secrets of God to himself) by any religion whatever, provided he live up to the principles of it, is to turn the whole world into an Eden, and to find a tree of life in every garden as well as in the paradise of God. *Arrowsmith.*

RENUNCIATION.

Had I all the faith of the patriarchs, all the zeal of the prophets, all the good works of the apostles, all the holy sufferings of the martyrs, and all the glowing devotion of the seraphs; I would disclaim the whole in point of dependance, and count all but dross and dung, when set in competition with the infinitely precious death and infinitely meritorious righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ.

A saying of Mr. Hervey.

As blind Bartimæus threw away his cloak when he came to Christ; so must we throw off, *i. e.* disclaim, renounce, and withdraw every degree of confidence from our own righteousness, if we would be justified in the sight of God. *Mr. Parr.*

REPENTANCE.

The difference between true and false repentance is as great as that between the running of water in the paths after a violent shower, and the streams which flow from a living fountain. A false repentance has grief of mind and humiliation only for great and glaring offences, or until it supposes pardon for them obtained: true repentance is a continued war against sin, a permanent inward shame for its defilements, until death sounds the retreat. *Venn.*

There is no coming at the fair haven of eternal glory without sailing through the narrow strait of repentance. *Dyer.*

It is Christ that grants repentance unto life, Acts v. 31. And if ever you will repent with a kind repentance, you must either have it from Christ or go without it.

Crisp.

Repentance includes self-abhorrence: as a man not only loaths poison, but the very dish or vessel that smells of it, Ezek. xxix. 43. *Brookes.*

REPROACH.

The reproaches of Christ are precious. It is better to be preserved in brine than rot in honey. *Dyer.*

Reproach is the soil and dung whereby God makes his heritage fruitful. *Manton.*

REPROBATE.

As the sun freezes and congeals the water, not by infusing coldness into it, but by not imparting heat, and by forbearing to shine upon it; so God hardens the reprobate, not by imparting malice, but by not imparting grace. (from St. Austin

RESOLUTION.

There are two C's which I will never

sacrifice to any man ; my conscience and my constitution.

Dr. Baker, Sarum, July 13, 1770.

know that he who sent me to the west and south, sends me also to the north. I will charge my soul to believe and to wait for him. I will follow his providence ; and neither go before it nor stay behind it.

Rutherfoord.

Good resolutions (as some call them), without grace, are like breath upon steel ; which quickly flies off and vanishes away.

Cripplegate Lectures.

RETALIATION.

The best way to be even with Satan and his instruments, for all their spite against us, is by doing as much good as we can, wherever we come. *Gurnall.*

REJOICING.

When the flowers in a man's garden die, yet he can delight in his lands and money. Thus a gracious soul, when the creature fades, can rejoice in the unsearchable, the inalienable and the inexhaustible riches of Christ. *Anon.*

REMEDY.

There is no part of our dreadful disease and misery as sinners for which there is not an all-sufficient remedy, in the perfections which Jesus possesses, and the offices he sustains for the salvation of his church.

Venn.

REVELATION.

I am no more surprised that some revealed truths should amaze my understanding, than that the blazing sun should dazzle my eyes. *Hervey.*

REVILERS.

If a man strike his hand upon the point of a spear, he hurts not the spear, but his hand : or if he spurn at a stone, he hurts not the stone, but his foot. So is it with the despisers of Christ, and the revilers of his gospel. *Parr.*

REVIVAL OF RELIGION.

The revival of evangelical religion in a nation is often like a summer-shower ; which does not fall equally, but waters and refreshes one place, and leaves another dry.

Rev. Mr. Sloss (of Nottingham) in conversation, Dec. 18, 1769.

RICHES.

If riches have been your idol, hoarded up in your coffers, or lavished out upon yourselves, they will, when the day of reckoning comes, be like the garment of pitch and brimstone which is put on the criminal condemned to the flames. *Hervey.*

"I cannot be poor," saith Bernard, "so long as God is rich ; for all his riches are mine. *Cripplegate Lectures.*

RICHES AND POVERTY.

Are you rich? If you die unconverted you will be damned.—Are you poor? If you are converted you are truly rich.—A poor man without grace is twice poor, and completely miserable : a rich man who is a believer hath a double portion. *Anon.*

RIGHTEOUS OVERMUCH.

This is properly to be righteous overmuch, when we pretend to correct God's law, and add supplements of our own to his rule. *Gurnall.*

SABBATH.

Make the Sabbath the market-day for thy soul.

Sunday is not a day to feast our bodies, but our souls.

SAINTS IMPERFECT.

Learn to distinguish between pride in a duty, and a proud duty ; between hypocrisy or formality in a person, and a hypocrite or a formalist ; between wine in a man and a man in wine. The best of saints have the stirrings of such corruptions in them, and a mixture of them in their services : these foul birds will light upon an Abraham's sacrifice. God beholds them as the weaknesses of thy sickly state here below : and pities thee, O believer, as thou wouldst pity thy lame child. *Gurnall.*

SALVATION.

The grand controversy between corrupt nature and Almighty God, is not whether any or all of the human race shall be saved ; but who shall have the glory of salvation ascribed to him? God or the creature? The pride of man prompts him to say, "the glory of salvation is due to me ; for I save myself." But the great Jehovah justly challenges the glory of salvation to himself and says, "I will have all the glory thereof ; for it is by my sovereign and efficacious grace that men are saved." *Mr. Sladen.*

Is it possible for us to imagine that Christ came into the world at random, that he died at sixes and sevens, and that the efficacy of what he did and suffered depends on a peradventure? No, he died for elect persons ; and all shall be saved for whom he died. Was the business of salvation suspended on the will of man or of the devil, not a single soul would ever get to heaven.

Mr. Madan, in conversation, July 18, 1769.

You may as well think of adding whiteness to snow, or brightness to the sun, as of adding any thing to the merit of Christ's perfect atonement, consummate righteousness and finished salvation.

Rev. Mr. Townshend, Nov. 8, 1769.

The souls of the elect were saved upon trust for four thousand years. The Father gave credit to Christ, and glorified his

saints, on the footing of a sacrifice not then offered up, and of a righteousness not then wrought. Christ also, in the days of his flesh, went on credit with his Father every time he said to a sinner, "Thy sins are forgiven thee," previous to his offering himself on the cross. *Mr. Ryland, July* 11.

SATAN.

Against whom doth Satan multiply his malicious assaults? Against those in whom God hath multiplied his graces. Satan is too crafty a pirate to attack an empty vessel: he seeks to rob those vessels only which are richly laden. *Bp. Cowper.*

If Satan cannot please a sinner with his naked state of profaneness; he will endeavour to put him off with something like grace, with a pharisaical profession, and a pharisaical round of duties; such as shall neither benefit the sinner, nor do Satan any hurt. Too many are persuaded to sit down content with this; like children that cry for a knife or a dagger; and are as well pleased with a bone knife, or a wooden dagger, as with the best of all. *Gurnall.*

Many have yielded to go a mile with Satan, who never intended to go with him twain; but, when once on the way with him, have been inveigled further and further, until they know not how to leave him. Thus he leads poor creatures down into the depths of sin by winding stairs, so that they see not the bottom and end of that to which they are going. *ibid.*

Satan's temptations on Christ were like the motions of a serpent on a rock (Prov. xxx. 19.); which make no impression, and leave no dent nor trace behind them. But on us they are as the motions of a serpent on sand or dust: they make a print and leave a stain on the imagination at least, if not on the heart. *ibid.*

There were two remarkable periods in Christ's life, his intrat, and his exit; his entrance into his public ministry, upon his baptism, and his departure out of life by crucifixion. At both seasons we find the devil most fiercely encountering him. The more public thy place, O Christian! and the more eminent thy services for God, the more thou mayest expect the grand adversary will plot against thee. *ibid.*

When a Christian is about some notable enterprise for God's glory, then will Satan lie like a serpent in the way, or as an adder in the path, to bite the horse's heels, that the rider may fall backward. *ibid.*

If thou wouldest be guarded from Satan as a troubler, take heed of him as a seducer. The haft of Satan's hatchet (with which he chops at the Christian's comfort), is made of the Christian's wood. First he tempts to sin, and then for it. *ibid.*

When the coat of a saint is cleanest, the devil is most desirous to roll him in the mire. *Gurnall.*

Beware of yielding to Satan's motions. A saint's flesh heals not so easily as others. *ibid.*

Satan is never likely to do more mischief than when he puts on Samuel's mantle. *ibid*

There are three kinds of straits wherein Satan aims to entrap the believer; nice questions, obscure Scriptures, and dark providences. *ibid.*

Many saints are troubled with blasphemous and atheistical suggestions, so slily conveyed into their bosom that they begin to fear such motions could never have risen there, if they were not natives of the heart; whereas, indeed, the cup was of Satan's own putting into the sack. The Christian thinks that these are his sin, as well as his burden; but I can tell him of a greater sin than all Satan's suggestions put together, and that is, when they make the believer doubt whether he is a child of God, because harassed by Satan. *ibid.*

Satan knows that an arrow out of God's quiver wounds the believer deep; and, therefore, when he accuses, he comes sometimes in God's name. He forges a letter; he, as it were, counterfeits God's hand; and then gives the writing to a poor disconsolate child of God, threatening him with banishment from his father's house, and loss of his inheritance. The Christian, conscious of his unworthiness, weakness, and many miscarriages, takes it all for gospel; sets himself down for an alien and an outcast; and builds to himself a prison of real distress, on false imaginary ground. *ibid.*

Endeavour to deal with Satan's base suggestions as you used to serve those vagrants and rogues that come about the country; though you cannot keep them from passing through the town, yet you take care not to let them settle there, but whip them and send them to their own home. *ibid.*

When you find your sins so represented and aggravated to you as exceeding either the mercy of God's nature, or the grace of his covenant, or the merit of Christ's blood, or the power of his Spirit; *hic se aperit diabolus*, you may be assured that this comes from hell and not from heaven; you may know where it was minted. It is one of the devil's lies. *ibid.*

So also as to the willingness of God to save you. If you think that the Lord is indeed good and gracious, but not for so great a sinner as you; that he is strong and powerful, but not to save you; know most assuredly, that this is one of Satan's false whispers. Answer them with "Get thee hence, thy speech betrayeth thee." *ibid.*

Satan is very busy with all good men;

especially with ministers; he desired to have Peter in his hands; he buffeted the apostle Paul; he levels his arrows at those that are the most fruitful, flourishing, and useful; as the archers that shot at Joseph, that fruitful bough, by a well, and grieved him; though his bow abode in strength, the arms of his hands being made strong by the mighty God of Jacob. *Dr. Gill.*

The sinner is the devil's miller, always grinding; and the devil is always filling the hopper, that the mill may not stand still.

SANCTIFICATION.

We were abominably filthy in the eye of God. He entered into covenant with his powerful and gracious Spirit, concerning our sanctification; a spirit who meets us in all our forms of misery, with all possible ways and modes of mercy. *Mr. Ryland.*

There is an internal dignity in sanctification which is attended with a satisfaction, fortitude, and greatness of mind which the wicked know nothing of. *Anon.*

A sanctified heart is better than a silver tongue. *Dyer.*

The greater our satisfaction is, the more advanced we are in holiness, the more we shall feel our need of free justification.

Mr. Hitchen, in conversation, July 18.

This is sound religion; to bottom all only upon the everlasting mountains of God's love and grace in Christ, and to live continually in the sight of Christ's infinite righteousness and merits. They are sanctifying; without them the heart is carnal. *Wilcox.*

Labour after sanctification to thy utmost: but make not a Christ of it to save thee. Christ's infinite satisfaction, not thy sanctification, must be thy justification before God. *ibid.*

SEAT OF GRACE.

The heart of a true Christian is always the seat of grace, though he may not always be actually able to discern it. A sun-dial is a sun-dial; and the characters are strongly marked upon it; though we cannot see which way it points, but when the sun shines upon it. *Ascribed to Mr. Gwennap.*

SECOND CAUSES.

God hides himself and his providence behind second causes.

Ascribed to Mr. Rollin.

SELF

All temptations, all Satan's advantages, and most of our own complainings, are laid in self-righteousness and self-excellency.—God pursueth these by setting Satan upon thee as Laban pursued Jacob for his images. These must be torn from thee, how unwilling soever thou art. These hinder Christ from coming in; and until Christ come in guilt will not go out. *Wilcox*

Self is the principle, motive, or end, of every action done by a natural man.

Dr. Gifford, in conversation, July 14, 1769.

If I could but be master of that housedol, myself, my own, mine; my own wit, will, credit, and ease; how blessed were I! Alas, we have more need to be redeemed from ourselves than from the devil and the world. *Rutherfoord.*

The honey that you suck from your own righteousness will turn into gall; and the light which you take from this to walk by will darken into black night upon the soul. *Wilcox.*

Many who have escaped the rocks of gross sin have been cast away on the sands of self-righteousness. *Dyer.*

God taught our first parents to make coats to cover their naked bodies: but it was the devil that taught their posterity to weave false coverings of their own, to hide the nakedness of their souls. *Gurnall.*

When thou believest and comest to Christ, thou must leave thy own righteousness behind thee, and bring nothing with thee but thy sins. You must leave behind all your holiness, duties, humblings, &c., and bring nothing but your wants and miseries; else Christ is not fit for thee, nor thou for Christ. *Anon.*

A disposition to establish our own righteousness [as a ground, cause or condition of our acceptance with God], is a weed that naturally grows in every man's heart. *Anon*

Some people, it is to be feared, follow the gospel, as a shark follows a ship;—for a dinner. *Dr. Madan, Dec.* 25, 1769.

SENSE OF SIN.

The sense of your own sin, manifested by the law, will excite in you an intense desire to live to God who took pity on your deformity; who loved you when not one single feature of comeliness was about you; and loves you still, though much depravity is remaining in you. *Venn.*

SERVANT OF GOD.

The greatest and truest nobility is to be a servant of the great God. He is nobly descended who is born from above. *Dyer.*

SERVICE.

In all the duties which God requires of a believer, the strength of Christ is made perfect in the weakness of him that is to do them. Christ does not call off believers from doing, but takes away the heaviness and task. The service of Christ is a yoke

d a burden to any person who attempts to perform it without Christ, and to carry all by himself; but the yoke and burden are both light and easy when Christ bears the weight of them. *Crisp.*

SHAME.

Many stop short of heaven because they are ashamed to go thither in a fool's coat; for believers are always fools in the world's account. *Gurnall.*

SIGHT OF CHRIST.

Our senses have their happiness as well as our souls; and in heaven, after the resurrection, we shall have a glorified eye as well as glorified minds. Many out of curiosity desired to see Christ, in the days of his flesh; and some choice apostles were admitted to see him at his transfiguration. But, hereafter, it shall be the common privilege of all the faithful. They shall then see him, of whom they have heard so much, and of whose goodness they have tasted, and whose laws they have obeyed, and on whose merits they have depended. *Manton.*

SIN

If our sins lie heavy at our hearts God will not lay them to our charge. *Case.*

Nothing can hurt us but sin; and that shall not hurt us if we can repent of it. *Dodd.*

The word, sacraments, and prayer, do indeed weaken sin, but only death kills it. *ibid.*

Every sin is an imitation of the devil, and creates a kind of hell in the heart. *Hervey.*

No sin can be little; because there is no little God to sin against. *Brookes.*

No sin can be little, because it is committed against the great God of heaven and earth. To commit little sins the sinner must find out a little God. *Bunyan.*

I cannot commit sin, but I must set my foot on the law of my Maker. I cannot gratify my lusts, but I must go over my bleeding Saviour. Therefore away, foul tempter: I hate both thee and thy motions. *Gurnall.*

My friend, Mr. William Mason, lately told me that, on seeing a tree which had been lately felled, he observed a number of young shoots springing up from the root; which reminded him of the body of sin in a believer being cut down and destroyed by grace; yet while the root remains within, corruptions will be continually sprouting, until we get home to glory.

While we are under the law, and have no better help, sin reigns in us: the law cannot bridle it in. But when we come under grace by Christ, the dominion of sin, which the law cannot restrain, is captivated and subjected by Christ. I will subdue your iniquities, as it is spoken by the prophet Micah. *Crisp.*

If God's people fall at any time into sin, it is not while they are eying the perfection of Christ's righteousness, but when they lose sight of it. *Mr. Miller, in conversation with me, June 20, 1769.*

When Satan charges sin upon the conscience, then for the soul to charge it upon Christ, this is gospel-like. Christ serves for this very end. *Wilcox.*

Those sins shall never make a hell for us which have been a hell to us. *Dyer.*

Sin has brought many a believer into suffering; and suffering has kept many a believer from sinning. *ibid.*

Though it is impossible for a true believer so to sin as to fall into hell, yet wilful sin will bring a hell into his heart.

Mr. Madan, June 21, 1769.

It is not possible that any Antinomian can be a truly converted person; for a man cannot be truly converted without having been first divinely awakened, and no man can be divinely awakened without feeling the evil and bitterness of sin. *ibid.*

As a thorn in the hedge is a fence, but an offence in the midst of a garden, so sin in the memory may do well to (humble us and) keep us from relapsing; but is a grievance in the conscience. Hence Austin, after he had received assurance of his forgiveness, blessed God that he could now call his sins to mind, without being affrighted at them. *Arrowsmith.*

The old ashes of the sins of my youth are now fire of sorrow to me. I have seen the devil, as it were, dead and buried, and yet rise again and be a worse devil than ever he was. *Rutherfoord.*

SINNER.

If you have to do with a stupid, hardened, unawakened sinner, set the terrors of the law before him without mercy; endeavour by corrosives to eat down the proud flesh of his heart. But when you meet with a sinner whose soul is pierced, humbled, and touched to the quick with a pungent sense of sin, set before him the love and tenderness, the blood and righteousness, of the compassionate and almighty Jesus. Nothing but the balm of Gilead and the lenitives of the gospel belong to such a person.

Madan, in conversation, July 18, 1769.

Whom did Christ die for? For sinners. For the greatest sinners. For the chiefest of sinners. A dying Christ for a denying Peter! A crucified Christ for a crucified thief! *Mrs. Sarah Weight.*

SINCERITY.

If a person was to attend the levee of an earthly prince every court day, and pay his obeisance punctually and respectfully, bu

at other times speak and act in opposition to his sovereign, the king would justly deem such a one a hypocrite and an enemy. Nor will a solemn and stated attendance on the means of grace in the house of God prove us to be God's children and friends if we confine our religion to the church walls, and do not devote our lips and lives to the glory of that Saviour we profess to love.

Rowland Hill, Aug. 30, 1775.

Sincerity in a man's professing that which is agreeable to the real sentiments of his mind is certainly a very laudable thing, but it can never take away the guilt of a man's not conforming the sentiments of his mind to the objective, revealed truth.

Dr. Gill.

Our fear commonly meets us at that door by which we think to run from it. He that will save his life shall lose it. As you love your peace, Christians, be plain-hearted with God and man: keep the king's highway, the plain, honest way of God's commands and Christ's doctrines. *Gurnall.*

Either take Christ into your lives or cast him out of your lips. *Dyer.*

SIMILARITY.

As the Holy Ghost is first a sanctifier and then a comforter, so, on the other hand, Satan is first a tempter and then a troubler: when he has seduced he falls to accusing.

SIMPLICITY.

It is one thing to be child-like, another to be childish.

A Saying of the late Rev. Mr. Thomas Jones.

SYMPATHY.

As in two strings of an instrument rightly tuned, if one string be touched the other trembles, so if one believer suffer the rest suffer with him. *Mr. Jenkins.*

SOCIAL INTERCOURSE.

I am particularly delighted with such social interviews as serve to enlarge our knowledge and refine our affections; such as have an apparent tendency to render us more useful in our present stations, and to ripen us for future happiness. This is a feast of reason, a feast of truth, and, I must own, has charms for me infinitely superior to all the impertinent amusements of modish chat, or the mean gratifications of the bottle.

SOCINIAN.

Let the judgment of charity enjoy its true latitude; but, for my part, I would not for a thousand worlds have a Socinian's account to give at the end of this.

Arrowsmith.

SOUL.

If your bones were broken, or you were brought to death's door by the force of some violent disease, you would seek out for the best advice. If your wives were in hard labour; if the children were come to the birth, and there was not strength to bring forth, you would not spare to ride for the most experienced midwife. O be as prudent and careful for the salvation of your souls, which endure for ever, as you are for the life of your bodies, which is but as a vapour! *Mr. Hervey.*

When nobility stoops to the office of teaching, nothing of less dignity than the heir of a kingdom must be the scholar. How, then, shall we fully conceive the excellency of the soul, which has the Spirit of God for its appointed teacher and continual guide! *Venn.*

Whatever it be, except the soul, that you are careful about, it has still this most degrading circumstance attending it: it has the condition only of an annuity for life; each successive year makes a considerable decrease in its value; and at death the whole is at an end for ever. *ibid.*

Sick persons are often sent by physicians to their native soil that they may again breathe their original air they drew when born at first. The spirit of man was first breathed into him by the Father of spirits, and heaven is the believer's native place; nor can sick souls be cured until God is enjoyed and heaven in him. *Arrowsmith.*

Our souls were at first fashioned after the image of God, and nothing short of him who is styled The brightness of his Father's glory and the express image of his person can replenish them. Just as when there is a curious impression left upon wax, nothing can adequately fill the dimensions and lineaments of it but the very seal that stamped it. *ibid.*

God would not rest from his works of creation until man was framed; nor can man rest from his longing desires of indigence until God is possessed. *ibid.*

None can render our souls happy but God who made them, nor can give satisfaction to them but Christ who gave satisfaction for them. *ibid.*

As soon may a trunk be filled with wisdom as a soul with wealth; and as soon might bodily substances be nourished with shadows as rational spirits be fed with bodies. *ibid.*

Other things may cumber the mind; only the knowledge and love of God in Christ can content it. *ibid.*

The motion of immortal souls is, like that of the celestial bodies, purely circular: they rest not without returning back to the same point whence they issued, which is the bosom of God himself. *ibid.*

SORROW.

Sorrow, and all the extravagant forms of it, are forbidden. Even Seneca, the heathen, may shame us out of such a conduct, who, having some notion of the immortality of the soul, though not of the body's resurrection, expresses himself thus in a consolatory letter to Lucilius, occasioned by the death of his friend Flaccus: "The thought of deceased friends is sweet and pleasant to me; for I have enjoyed them as one that was about to lose them, and I have lost them as one that may have them again."

Dr. Gill.

Horrible dread is sometimes preparatory to evangelical sorrow, as austere John went before meek Jesus; but yet, the more and greater the terrors are, the less is the genuine sorrow for sin while they remain. As John went down when Christ went up; as his increase was John's decrease; so, as truly godly sorrow goes up, their terrors go down. As the wind gathers the clouds, but those clouds seldom melt into a set rain till the wind falls that gathered them; so these terrors raise the clouds of our sins in our consciences, but when we melt into godly sorrow the storm begins to be laid. And, indeed, as boisterous winds blow away the rain, so these legal terrors keep off the soul from this gospel sorrow. While the soul is making an outcry, "I am damned, I am damned," it is so much taken up with the fear of hell that sin, as sin (which is the proper object of godly mourning), is little looked on or mourned for. A murderer, condemned to die, is so possessed with dread of death and the gallows that it may be the slain body dies before him unlamented; but when his pardon is brought, then he can bestow tears freely on his murdered friend. They shall look on him whom they have pierced, and mourn. *Gurnall.*

A true Christian by his godly sorrow shews himself a conqueror of that sin by which he was overcome; while the hypocrite by his pride shews himself a slave to a worse lust than that he exclaims against. While a Christian commits a sin he hates it, whereas a hypocrite loves it while he forbears it. *Anon.*

SPIRIT OF GOD.

A man must have the Spirit of God before he can have true faith; for the Spirit does not first find faith in us and then come himself to us, but he first cometh himself to us and then worketh faith in us. So that he that believes must needs have the Spirit; for unless he had the Spirit he could not believe. *Bp. Beveridge.*

Where the Spirit of God is, there is the spring of goodness, whence the streams of goodness must needs flow. So that he who sayeth a man may believe and yet not have the Spirit, or that a man may have the Spirit in him, and yet good works not be performed by him, [says what] cannot be; for in that he (the Holy Ghost) is a Spirit, he is an active principle, always doing; and in that he is the Spirit of God, he is a holy principle, and therefore must always be doing good. *Bp. Beveridge.*

Observe some beautiful and copious river. How it exhilarates the country and fructifies the soil through which it passes. Bestows a thousand conveniences, and gives birth to a thousand delights. So the Comforter, dwelling in the heart, gives such charming views of Christ and his unsearchable riches as gladden the conscience and make us truly happy. Hence, as from an inexhaustible source, true holiness flows and every spiritual good. This will raise our desires far above earthly, sensual, transitory things, even as David's thoughts were raised far above the shepherd's scrip when he sat exalted on the throne of Israel. *Hervey.*

Was it possible for an unregenerate sinner to die, go to hell for a time, and return to the world again, he would continue after his return as great a sinner and as great a lover of sin as he was before. And why so? Because affliction, death, and hell itself cannot work a saving change on the soul of man. Nothing can renew us till God takes our hearts into his own hand, and converts us by the efficacious grace of his invincible Spirit.

Mr. Ryland, of Northampton, in conversation, June 22, 1769.

The Spirit of God can convert men without the Bible; but the Bible cannot convert without the Spirit.

Mr. Shirley, in conversation, at Trevecka, this day, Aug. 29, 1776.

Whence must fire descend to thaw the iciness of the heart but from heaven? The Holy Spirit must breathe upon the soul (as the prophet stretched himself upon the dead child), and then the soul will come to some kindly warmth and heavenly heat in its affections. He helps us to those sighs and groans which fill the sails of prayer. *Anon.*

While the opening of the prison to them that are bound is proclaimed in the gospel, the Spirit of God comes to the prison-door, opens it, goes to the prisoner, and by the power of his grace makes his chains fall off. *Boston.*

Let men tear and tire themselves night and day with a multitude of prayers, yet if a work of the Spirit of God, in teaching the nature and guilt of unbelief, the nature, efficacy, and use of faith in Christ Jesus, go not with it, all will be lost and come to nothing. *Dr. Owen.*

The Spirit will not take a believer and lead him by the hand and set him into the

way (as a friend doth to lead one a mile out of town), and then leave him alone to go the rest of the way by himself; no: but the Spirit will be the companion of the soul to secure it; a conductor to the very harbour and haven itself. *Crisp.*

It is a privilege of this nation that merchants may have a convoy, a navy royal it may be, to go out with them; but it will hardly come in with them: therefore there is not absolute security in this convoy. But whoever takes Christ hath the Spirit to go in and out before him and with him; to go forth, to come back, to go all the way with him, for he hath said, I will never leave thee nor forsake thee. *ibid.*

SPIRITUAL LIFE.

Sometimes the breathings and desires of the soul are only expressed by sighs and groans. Yet these are signs of spiritual life. If a man groans it is plain he is alive.

SPIRITUAL BLESSINGS.

Abraham might give Ishmael a bottle of milk, but Isaac had the inheritance. *Dyer.*

STABILITY.

Though you get strokes and frowns from your Lord, yet believe his love more than your own feeling. The world can take nothing from you that is truly your's; and death itself can do you no hurt. It is not your rock that ebbs and flows, but your sea. *Rutherfoord.*

SUBMISSION.

In vain ye bow your knees at the name of Jesus, unless your souls bow [and submit] to his righteousness. *Mr. Jenks.*

SUFFERINGS.

Oh how sweet are sufferings for Christ! God forgive them that raise an ill report on the sweet cross of Christ. Our weak and dim eyes look only to the black side of the cross; and this occasions our mistakes concerning it. They that can take it cheerfully on their backs shall find it just such a burden as wings to a bird or sails to a ship. *Rutherfoord.*

Christ is strong, even when lying in the dust, in prison and in banishment. Losses and disgraces are the wheels of Christ's triumphant chariot. In the sufferings of his saints he intends his own glory and their good; this is the two-fold mark he aims at, and he does not shoot at random, but always touches the point he purposeth to hit. *ibid.*

Sufferings are comfortable when they overtake us in the way of duty. *Manton.*

There is as much difference between the sufferings of the saints and those of the ungodly as there is between the cords with which an executioner pinions a condemned malefactor and the bandages wherewith a tender surgeon binds his patient. The design of the one is to kill; of the other to cure. Believers undergo many crosses, but no curses. *Arrowsmith.*

SUPPLIES.

Every son and daughter of God shall be provided for. *Anon.*

Whither should we go for water, but to the spring? Whither should we go for strength, but to the fountain of strength? Is it not a derogation from Christ that, when all fulness is in him alone, we should forsake the fountain of fulness, to go unto broken cisterns that will hold no water? Mark it well: as often as ever you run to any creature, in any necessity of exigence, either before you go to Christ, or instead of going to Christ; so often you rob Christ of that pre-eminence which God hath given him, and we should pay him. *Crisp.*

SUPPORT.

A child of God may be cast down, but he cannot be cast off

Dr. Gifford, in preaching, London, Dec. 24. 1775.

God's people are never in a more thriving state of soul than when they are carrying the cross. It is the delight of the Holy Spirit to pull down the pride of self, and to build up the glory of free grace. The lightest feather of affliction that can be laid on the back of our patience will break us down, if God's Spirit is not by to support us. Christ's righteousness is the only worthiness of a sinner. Go to him every moment, as a poor sinner to a rich Saviour. I hope it will be my prayer, when I come to die (and I am sure it will, if I am then in my senses), God be merciful to me a sinner.

Mr. Romaine in his Sermon (on 2 Thess. i. 11, 12.) *this Evening, January* 7, 1776, *at St. Dunstan's.*

TEMPTATIONS.

Temptations should send a saint to his castle, as the sight of a dog frightens the rabbit to her burrow. *Gurnall.*

If you would not fall into sin, do not walk or sit by the door of temptation. Naomi sent her daughter to lie at Boaz's feet; well knowing that, if he endured her there, there would be hope of his taking her to his bed at last. If a Christian permits a sinful object to come too near him, Satan is in a fair way of gaining all he wants *ibid*

No sooner is the new creature born, no sooner is a sinner converted, than the old dragon throws out a flood of temptation after him. *ibid.*

Well may God suffer thee to lose thy

locks, when thou darest wilfully to lay thy head in the lap of temptation. *Gurnall.*

When a founder has cast his bell, he does not presently fix it up in the steeple; but first tries it with his hammer, and beats it on every side, to see if there be any flaw in it.

Christ doth not, presently after he has converted a man, convey him to heaven; but suffers him first to be beaten upon by many temptations, and then exalts him to his crown. *Arrowsmith.*

Temptation is the fire that brings up the scum of the heart. *Boston.*

Put a low value on the world's clay, and put a high value on Christ. Temptations will come; but if you do not make them welcome, they will turn to your advantage. *Rutherfoord.*

TEMPERS.

Saints are not always so meek as they ought: "God shall smite thee, thou whited wall," said the apostle to the high priest. But, as they draw nearer to heaven, their tempers are generally more heavenly: "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge," said dying Stephen.

Mr. S. Wilkes, Dec. 23, 1769

TEMPORAL MERCIES.

Bread, and all other outward mercies a man may receive from an angry God: whereas pardon of sin never cometh but from favour and special love. *Arrowsmith.*

TEMPORIZING.

He is a bad Christian who cuts the coat of his profession according to the fashion of the times, or the humour of the company he falls into. *Gurnall.*

TERRORS.

Many persons have been overwhelmed with hurtful terrors, and led to pass sentence on themselves, as though they were concluded in unbelief, and without Christ in the world, at the very time they were seeking his help and grace, and consequently, in the Scripture sense of the word, were true and sincere believers. *Anon.*

THOUGHT.

One thought of Jesus Christ, reaching the heart, is more to be valued than all creature-contentments whatsoever, though they should be enjoyed in their fulness for a thousand years, without interruption.

Mr. Thomas Ball, in Clarke's Lives.

TIME.

O, how little is your hand-breadth and pan-length of days here! your inch of time is less than when you and I parted. Eternity is coming, posting on with wings: then shall every man's blacks and whites be brought to light. *Rutherfoord.*

TITLE TO HEAVEN

From justification arises our title to heaven; from sanctification arises our meetness for it. A king's son is heir apparent to his father's crown. We will suppose the young prince to be educated with all the advantages, and to be possessor of all the attainments, that are necessary to constitute a complete monarch. His accomplishments, however great, do not entitle him to the kingdom; they only qualify him for it: so the holiness and obedience of the saints are no part of that right on which their claim to glory is founded, or for which it is given; but a part of that spiritual education, whereby they are fitted and made meet to inherit the kingdom prepared for them before the foundation of the world.

Madan.

TRANSPLANTATION.

None are transplanted into the paradise above but from the nursery of grace below.

TRANSGRESSIONS.

God blotteth out transgressions, aggravated and innumerable, as easily and as completely as the wind sweeps away a floating cloud from the face of the sky, Isa. xliv. 22. *Hervey.*

TRIALS.

Suppose, Christian, the furnace be seven times hotter; it is but to make you seven times better.—Fiery trials make golden Christians. *Dyer.*

I never had in all my life so great an inlet into the word of God as now [*viz.* as during his twelve years imprisonment]: insomuch that I have often said, "Were it lawful, I could pray for greater trouble, for the greater comfort's sake." *Bunyan.*

When Abraham's knife was at Isaac's throat, God provided a ram for a burnt offering. And in all trouble, the Lord will either provide deliverance for his people, or provide strength for them to bear it.

Dr. Gifford, in conversation with me, June 20, 1769.

TRUE GAIN.

We may be losers for God, but we shall never be losers by him. *Cripplegate Lect.*

TRUST.

I never trusted God, but I found him faithful; nor my own heart, but I found it false. *Dyer.*

TRUTH.

Truth is the bond of union among saints.
Mr. David Fernice, in conversation.

Sometimes, by the force of truth, the outer door of the understanding is broken up; while the inner door of the will remains fast bolted. *Boston.*

Truth does not depend on the power, wisdom, or faithfulness of men: but remains constantly the same, though Peter deny and Judas betray.
Mr. Hitchin, in conversation, Feb. 6. 1770

TRUTH AND ERROR.

Christ compares the errors of the Pharisees to leaven. Why so? Because of its secret mixture with the wholesome bread. You do not make your bread all of leaven; for then none would eat it: but you mingle it skilfully, and by that means both go down together. Thus our Lord intimates that the Pharisees mixt their errors with many truths; and therefore directed them to beware, lest, with the truths, they swallowed the errors also.

UNBELIEF

Unbelief gives a dash to the glory of Christ, but not to our salvation.
Rutherfoord.

UNCONVERTED.

Whilst thou art unconverted, thy body is but the living coffin of a dead soul. *Anon.*

UNION TO CHRIST.

Union to Christ may be considered either as secret or open. God's elect had a secret union to Christ, from all eternity: for they were chosen in him before the foundation of the world; and were as early blessed in him with all spiritual blessings; grace was given to them in him, before the world began. On account of this union they were preserved in him, in time, notwithstanding the fall of Adam [for, though they fell from the image of God, they did not fall out of his favour]: they were represented in him and by him, when he was crucified and slain, buried and rose again; whence they are said to be raised up together [with him], and made to sit together, in heavenly places, in Christ Jesus.

Now this secret union to Christ becomes open and manifest in conversion. "I knew a man in Christ," says the apostle, "above fourteen years ago:" meaning himself, who was converted so many years before the time of his then writing. In the same sense are we to understand those words of the same apostle, where he says, that "Andronicus and Junia were in Christ before him: which cannot be said of their election in Christ, and fœderal relation to him; which commenced together. With respect to these things, one person cannot be said to be in Christ before another: but one man may be converted before another, and so appear to be in Christ before the other does; which is what the apostle means. *Dr. Gill.*

UNIVERSAL REDEMPTION.

Dr. Owen's argument against universal redemption.

"I propose to the universalists this dilemma.

The Father proposed his wrath, due unto, and Christ underwent punishment for, either

All the sins of all men;
Or, all the sins of some men;
Or, some sins of all men.

If the last, then all men have some sins to answer for: and so no man shall be saved.

If the second (which is the proposition we lay down as truth), then Christ, in their stead, suffered for all the sins of all the elect in the whole world. If the first, why are not all freed from the punishment due unto their sins?" You answer, "Because of their unbelief."——I ask, is this unbelief a sin, or not? If not, why should they be punished for it? If it be, then Christ suffered the punishment due unto it, or he did not If he did, why must that hinder them more than their other sins for which he died? If he did not, then he did not die for all their sins.

Let them [*i. e.* the Arminians] take which part they please.

From Mr. Sheppard's Abridgment of Dr. Owen's "Death of Death in the Death of Christ."

UNPARDONABLE SIN.

He that fears he has committed the sin against the Holy Ghost may be certain that he has not committed it. *Dodd.*

UNREGENERATE.

Our hearts, by nature, are like the loadstone, which refuseth gold and pearls, and only attracts rust and iron. Unregenerate people fly from God as if they were afraid of salvation. *Cripplegate Lectures.*

What wise man would bring fishes out of the water to feed in his meadows? or send his oxen to feed in the sea? As little are the unregenerate meet for heaven, or heaven meet for them. *Boston.*

An unregenerate man is equally dead to God, whether he be buried in a sink of vice, or under a fair monument of natural virtue.

Count Dohnau, in conversation, this day at Clifton, August 11, 1775.

An unrenewed person, while you please him, resembles the sea-coast at high water: all the filth that lies beneath is concealed by the incumbent tide. But when that same person is tempted, or provoked, he is like the beach at low water: and the rubbish and stones, and dead dogs and cats, become visible presently.

A Remark of my worthy Friend, the late William Lunell, Esq.

UNSETTLEDNESS.

Many are soon engaged in holy duties, and easily persuaded to take up a profession of religion; and as easily persuaded to lay it down: like the new moon, which shines a little in the first part of the night; but is down before half the night is over.

Gurnall.

Seek for an established judgment in the doctrinal truths of God. Some persons are so unsettled that every wind blows them down, like loose tiles from the house-top. Blind zeal is soon put to a shameful retreat; while holy resolution, built on fast principles, lifts up its head like a rock in the midst of the waves. *ibid.*

VICISSITUDE.

Christ's children must not expect always to lean upon his bosom. He sometimes sets them down on the cold, frosty side of the hill, and makes them walk, barefooted, upon thorns. Yet does he keep his eye of love upon them all the while.—Our pride must have winter-weather to rot it.

Rutherfoord.

VOLUNTEERS.

Other sinners serve the Devil for pay; but cursers and swearers are volunteers [who get nothing for their pains]. *Boston.*

WAITING.

Wait for Christ's appearing. He shall come as certainly as the morning; as refreshing as the rain. *Wilcox.*

Wait patiently on God, it is becoming of a dutiful child, when he hath not presently what he writes for to his father, to say, "My father is wiser than I; his own wisdom will tell him what and when to send to me." Oh, Christian! thy heavenly Father hath gracious reasons which hold his hands for the present; or else thou hadst heard from him ere now. *Gurnall.*

WATCHFULNESS

A believer's watchfulness is somewhat like that of a soldier on guard. A centinel posted on the walls, when he discovers a hostile party advancing, does not attempt to make head against them himself; but informs his commanding officer of the enemy's approach, and leaves him to take the proper measures to repel the foe. So the Christian does not attempt to fight temptation in his own strength: his watchfulness lies in observing its approach, and in telling God of it by prayer.

Mr. Tozer, in conversation, Dec. 1, 1769.

WALKING.

He that would walk aright must have one eye upward to Jesus Christ and another inward to the corruption of his own nature. *Boston.*

WEAKNESS.

It is an advantage, not a discouragement, to be weak in ourselves. When a bucket is empty it can be the better filled out of the ocean. *Manton.*

WEAK FAITH.

It may be thou art a poor trembling soul: thy faith is weak, and thy assaults from Satan strong; thy corruptions great, and thy strength little; so that in thy opinion they rather gain ground on thy grace than give ground to it: yea, every now and then thou art apt to dread that thou shalt one day be cast as a wreck on the Devil's shore. And yet to this day thy grace lives. [Thou art still longing, panting, desiring, wishing, and groaning for God.] Is it not worth while to turn and see this strange sight? A broken ship with masts and hull rent and torn, full of leaks, yet towed along by almighty power, through a tempestuous sea (nor tempestuous only, but thick set with armadas of sins, afflictions, doubts, and temptations), safely into God's harbour! To see a poor rush candle in the face of the boisterous winds, and liable to the frequent dashes of quenching waves, yet not blown out! In a word, to see a weak stripling in grace held up in God's arms until all enemies are under his feet! This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. *Gurnall.*

It is from the devil that weak Christians make a rack to themselves of the attainments of the strong: and to yield to this temptation is as unreasonable as for a child to dispute away his relation to his father because he is not of the same stature with his elder brethren. *Boston.*

A soul may truly go to Christ, though with a trembling heart; and may truly receive Christ, though with a trembling hand.

Pike's and Hayward's cases of conscience.

God may sometimes communicate less of his assisting strength, that he may shew the more of his supporting strength in upholding weak grace. *Gurnall.*

WEALTH.

Oh, that ever so rich an heiress as the

soul of man should run away with so servile a thing as money is, or give the least consent to a match so far below her birth and breeding! *Arrowsmith.*

Wealth is an accessary good, but no necessary blessing. A Christian may be completely happy without it *ibid.*

Wealth and worldly possessions are often a hurt and sore pull-back to Christian professors: like some soldiers who, when they once meet with a rich booty at the sacking of some town, are spoiled for fighting ever after. *Gurnall.*

WEEPING.

Christ suffers his loving and beloved people to weep; because there is nothing better in this life than a heart afflicted for the sake of Christ: nor does any thing prepare us more for the visitations and graces of our blessed Saviour, than those tears which flow from our grief at the heavenly bridegroom's absence, and from our ardent desire to possess him. *Mons. Quesnel.*

WICKED MEN.

The wicked dwell more on the faults of God's children than on their graces: as the flies settle on a sore place; and as vultures fly over the gardens of delight, to pitch on a carrion. *Dr. Manton.*

We should not be with wicked men as their companions, but physicians.

WISDOM

Take God into thy counsel. Heaven overlooks hell. *Gurnall.*

Among men, a little science will make a great shew: but he only is wise in God's esteem who is wise unto salvation.

Arrowsmith.

WISH.

Seeing the saints must have a Devil to keep them waking, I wish for a troublesome Devil, rather than for a secure and sleepy one. *Rutherfoord.*

WORKS IN PART.

What grosser contradiction can you conceive than to confess yourself guilty, and to implore pardon, while at the same time, you cherish a hope of being favourably regarded on your own account? For to implore pardon implies that you lie at the feet of mercy without any plea, but what is entirely drawn from God himself: whereas to trust in your own obedience or virtue, as a co-adjutor with Christ, certainly implies a very high degree of worth in what proceeds from yourself. *Venn.*

According to this scheme [viz. of acceptance with God on the footing of works in part], you make the glorious Redeemer undertake our ransom only to render our deficient duties meritorious, and our sins inoffensive. You make his sinless life, his meritorious death, and his mediatorial undertakings, serve no other purpose than that of a mere pedestal, on which human worth may stand exalted, and appear what it is not. According to this scheme, the pardon of rebels against the Most High, and the reception of leprous sinners into the bosom of heaven, are owing to the works of our own hands, and to the virtues of our own character, in conjunction with Christ. Now what greater affront can be offered to that divine goodness which interposed to save us when we were lost, than thus to divide the cause [of our justification and salvation] between Christ and ourselves. *ibid.*

WORKS BEFORE GRACE

We are apt to suppose that God is such a one as ourselves. If we wish to enjoy the patronage of a great man, we very naturally think we must say or do something that may acquire his esteem and recommend us to his notice. Thus would we also treat with God: when alas! the plain truth is, we can have, and say, and do nothing that he approves, until he himself gives it of his free grace and works it in us by his Spirit.

Col. Gallantin, Oct. 19, 1769.

WORLD.

I could not help being affected with that noble passage in a Christian writer; "If all the enjoyments in the world were to be sold together in one lot, they would not be worth even the labour of a man's opening his mouth to say, I will not buy them."

Arrowsmith.

Time was when Satan shewed our Saviour all the kingdoms of this world, and the glory of them. Oh, Christian! if ever the world appear to thee temptingly glorious, suspect it for one of Satan's discoveries. *ibid.*

As for those saints whose wings are still somewhat clogged with the bird-lime of the world, let them consider how ill it becomes the offspring of heaven to go licking up the dust of this earth; the woman's seed to content itself with the food of the serpent.

ibid.

The creatures, like deceitful streams, frustrate the thirsty traveller's expectation. They delude us (like the monument of Semiramis) with many a promising motto, as if they would give us peace and ease of heart: but when we come to look within, instead of contentment, they afford us nothing but conviction of our folly in expecting satisfaction from them or from any thing short of God. *ibid.*

As Jonah's gourd withered in the morning, when he hoped for most benefit by it

against the ensuing heat of the day; so the blessings of this world frequently wither, when we expect to find most freshness in them, and to receive most refreshment from them. *Arrowsmith.*

We must not expect more from any thing than God hath put into it. He never intended to put the virtue of soul-satisfying into any mere creature: but hath reserved to himself, Son and Spirit, the power of satisfying the souls of men, of contenting and making them happy, as a principal branch of his own divine prerogative. To such as expect it elsewhere, that person or thing they rely upon, may say to them as Jacob to Rachel, Am I in God's stead. *ibid.*

When the worldly-wise have dived into the bottom of nature's sea, instead of coming up laden with pearls of price, they return with nothing but handfulls of shells and gravel. *ibid.*

The two sons of the first man carried in their names a memorandum of what they and their posterity were to expect. Cain signifies possession, and Abel signifies vanity or emptiness. All worldly possessions are at once empty and vanishing; unsatisfactory while they continue, and liable to a speedy decay *ibid.*

As when an army of men come to drink at some mighty river, there is no want, but all go satisfied away; whereas, had they come to a paltry brook, they would not have found water enough to quench the thirst of each: so created things are narrow brooks, or rather broken cisterns; from which immortal souls cannot but return empty, dissatisfied and disappointed. But Christ hath a river of love and joy and peace, whereof he gives his followers to drink; and drinking whereof they are easy, safe and happy. *ibid.*

See the vanity of the world, and the consumption that is upon all things; and love nothing but Christ. *Wilcox.*

The world will be burnt up in the day of Christ's appearance. And why should night-dreams, and day-shadows, and water-froth, and May-flowers, run away with your heart in the mean while? When we come to the water side, and set our foot in the boat, and enter on the river of death, we shall wonder at our past folly. *Rutherfoord.*

Earth, earth is what worldly men never think they have enough of, until death comes and stops their mouth with a shovel-ful of earth digged out of their own grave. *Gurnall.*

YOUNG CONVERTS.

Glowings of affection are usually wrought in young converts, who are ordinarily made to sing in the day of their youth, Hos. ii. 14. While the fire-edge is upon the young convert, he looks upon others reputed to be godly; and not finding in them such a [lively] temper and disposition as in himself, he is ready to censure them, and to think that there is far less religion in the world than indeed there is. But when his own cup comes to settle below the brim, and he finds that in himself which made him question the state of others, he is more humbled, and feels more and more the necessity of daily recourse to the blood of Christ for pardon, and to the Spirit of Christ for sanctification: and thus grows downwards in humiliation, self-loathing and self-denial. *Boston.*

ZEAL.

Young zeal, and old knowledge, make that Christian both happy and useful in whom they meet.

Mr. Russell, July 19, 1769.

CHRISTIANITY REVERSED.

OR,

A New Office of Initiation for all Youths of the Superior Class. Being a Summary of LORD CHESTERFIELD'S *Creed.*

I BELIEVE that this world is the object of my hopes and morals; and that the little prettinesses of life will answer all the ends of human existence.

I believe that we are to succeed in all things, by the graces of civility and attention; that there is no sin but against good manners; and that all religion and virtue consist in outward appearance.

I believe that all women are children, and all men fools; except a few cunning people, who see through the rest, and make their use of them.

I believe that hypocrisy, fornication, and adultery, are within the lines of morality; that a woman may be honourable when she has lost her honour, and virtuous when she has lost her virtue.

This, and whatever else is necessary to obtain my own ends, and bring me into repute, I resolve to follow; and to avoid all moral offences; such as scratching my head before company, spitting upon the floor, and omitting to pick up a lady's fan. And in this persuasion I will persevere, without any regard to the resurrection of the body or the life everlasting. Amen.

Ques. Wilt thou be initiated into these principles?

Ans. That is my inclination.

Ques. Wilt thou keep up to the rules of the Chesterfield morality?

Ans. I will, Lord Chesterfield being my admonisher.

Then the Officiator shall say,

Name this child.

Ans. A fine gentleman.

Then he shall say,

I introduce thee to the world, the flesh, and the devil, that thou mayest triumph over all awkwardness, and grow up in all politeness; that thou mayest be acceptable to the ladies, celebrated for refined breeding, able to speak French and read Italian, invested with some public supernumerary character in a foreign court, get into parliament (perhaps into the privy council), and that, when thou art dead, the letters written to thy bastards may be published in seven editions, for the instruction of all sober families.

"Ye are to take care that this child, when he is of a proper age, be brought to court to be confirmed."

A SKETCH OF MODERN FEMALE EDUCATION

From the present mode of female education, one would really imagine that the people of England were Turks, and did not believe that their daughters have souls.

A lady of fashion, if she knows not God, usually brings up a daughter in the following style. Little miss, almost as soon as born, is (it may be) so straightened and pinched up in her dress (under pretence of giving her a fine shape), that her health, and, perhaps, her shape itself, are materially the worse for it during life.

As succeeding weeks and months roll on, her constitution receives still farther detriment by the pernicious kindness of a too delicate and tender method of treatment. The nursery must always be over-heated in order to be well aired. Miss must never be drest nor undrest but before a large fire. Nor have her hands and face washed but in warm milk and water, corrected with elder flowers or with a decoction of tansey. Nor on any pretence be carried, except when the sun shines, out of the house.

At four or five years old she is taught to entertain false ideas of her own importance. Her mamma will not let her be contradicted. If she fall into a passion she must be soothed and humoured; not to say applauded as a child of spirit If she invents a falsehood, the dear little creature, instead of being punished as she deserves, is kissed and commended for her wit.

By degrees she begins to consider herself as formed of more refined materials, and cast in a more elegant mould, than the generality of other people. She is struck with the love of pomp and equipage. Grows haughty and insolent to the servants. Values herself upon dress, and admires the reflection of her own face in the looking-glass.

At six or seven years of age she looks over her papa and mamma when they play at cards; and miss has some idea of gaming, before she is thoroughly versed in her A. B. C.

In due season the care of her head is committed to a friseur; a Monsieur le Puff, from Paris. Her head-piece is also carefully cultivated by the milliner and the jeweller; who decorate with festoons the pyramid which the friseur has raised.—Perhaps the little pullet (shall I call her, or chicken) suddenly erects herself into a gigantic pea-hen, by tufting the pyramid with plumes half a yard high.

But what is a superb roof without a well furnished front? swayed by this consideration, she begins to pencil her eyebrows, and to assume an artificial complexion. But let her not enamel. Let her also abstain from colouring her neck, her breast, and arms, lest she fall a martyr to white lead, and kill herself in a few months, as some ladies of fashion have done before her. That miss may be thoroughly accomplished from head to foot, the aid of a foreign dancing-master is called in. A French governess teaches her the language of that country, ere she is well mistress of her own, and perhaps poisons her mind with popery into the bargain. An Italian instructs her in the guitar. And a singing-master at least teaches her to squeak, if she cannot sing. She has also to attend her a monster unheard of till now, called a card-tutor, that she may know how to cheat with a genteel grace, when she goes into polite company.

By this time I take for granted she is a perfect adept in several smaller, but not unnecessary embellishments, which the late Lord Chesterfield would have called female graces. Such as to lisp, to mince some words, and to be utterly unable to pronounce some letters, to be extremely near-sighted, to toss the fan with elegance, to manage the snuff-box according to art, to kiss a lap dog with delicacy, to languish with propriety, and be just ready on some occasions to faint away judiciously.

And now for routes, balls, operas, public gardens, masquerades, card-parties, ridottos, and theatres. In a word, for every dissipation that can exhaust money, stifle reflection, kill time, gratify the lust of the eye, and feed the pride of life.

Amidst all this profusion, if miss does not inherit what is called a great fortune, she may possibly lie upon hands, and die at last without changing her name. But if she be entitled to an opulent estate, it may sell her to some rake of distinction: and they may live together without quarrelling about three days; and prove faithful to each other for near a week. I mean she may

marry a rake of distinction, if she do not previously steal a flying march to Scotland with her father's butler, or valet de chambre, or the friseur above-mentioned. In which case, the disappointed rake of distinction must hunt for a wife elsewhere.

When the young lady becomes a mother, she gives her children an education similar to what she received from her own mamma. And thus the world goes round! Thus do unconverted people tread the same circle one after another! This is their foolishness, and their posterity praise their saying, and walk in the same steps until they drop into hell one by one. Dismal prelude to their meeting each other at Christ's left hand, in the day of judgment!

I should have observed, in its due place, that miss would have been carried within the walls of the church a few weeks after she was born if the clergyman had not been sent for to christen her at home. She would also have gone to church on her wedding-day, but for one or other of the following circumstances. Supposing she takes a trip to Scotland, going to church on the occasion is out of the question.—And if she marry with her parents' consent, it is ten to one but that the ceremony is performed in her mamma's drawing-room, by special license. I must add that she would certainly see the inside of a church once a year (to wit, after every lying-in), if it were not the fashion among people of quality to be chambered instead of churched, by having the thanksgiving-service read in their own respective apartments. And thus perhaps, miss never enters the house of God until, at her interment, she is carried in feet foremost

IMPORTANT REMARKS.

Is it not strange that many talk of keeping God's commandments, and never remember that this is the commandment of God, that we should believe in the name of his Son Jesus Christ, and love one another.

How many think of rearing up a building whose top shall reach heaven itself; and quite forget to lay their foundation upon the rock, Christ Jesus!

What numbers talk of repentance, and never repent of the greatest of all sins, unbelief!

Though it is asserted in Scripture that, by the deeds of the law no flesh shall be justified; yet how many professing Christianity expect to be justified no other way!

Though the intent of the law is to be as a schoolmaster to lead us unto Christ, yet many make no other use of it than to substitute it in the room of Christ.

Though God has given us the righteousness of his Son to be the garment of salvation; yet what multitudes think their own righteousness is much safer to wrap themselves in, and trample the true wedding-robe under their feet!

Though remission of sins is preached through the alone blood of Jesus; yet too many believe their sins shall be remitted by some other means, and thus turn a deaf ear to the gospel sound

Thousands cry Peace, peace, to their own souls, who never obtained peace by Jesus Christ; and think no more of peace through his death than through that of Julius Cæsar. But will such self-assumed peace stand at the bar of God?

Though the scripture saith, That without faith it is impossible to please God; yet many think they shall please him very well without troubling their heads about faith at all, unless it be to speak evil of it.

Though Christ is the wisdom and the power of God, and the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth; yet to many he is nothing but a stumbling-block, and mere foolishness.

Nevertheless, to you that believe, he is precious

THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND VINDICATED

FROM

THE CHARGE OF ARMINIANISM;

AND

THE CASE OF ARMINIAN SUBSCRIPTION PARTICULARLY CONSIDERED:

IN

A LETTER TO THE REV. DR NOWELL,

OCCASIONED BY

SOME PASSAGES IN THAT GENTLEMAN'S ANSWER TO THE AUTHOR OF PIETAS OXONIENSIS.

"Ita veritati litabo, ne pacem turbem: ita pacem colam, ut nullo tamen eam veritatis dispendio redemptam velim." WITSIUS, in Orat. de vero Theol.

"To be impugned from without, and betrayed from within, is certainly the worst condition a Church can fall into." DR. SOUTH.

REVEREND SIR,

HAPPENING to call on a friend of mine, in Westminster, yesterday evening, December 28th, I found him reading your late letter to the author of *Pietas Oxoniensis*. Curiosity naturally induced me to look into your pamphlet: and grieved I was to find that a person in your eminent station, and of your distinguished abilities, should so far lose sight of the duty you owe to that excellent Church which you would seem to defend, as to brand, for methodistical tenets, some of those capital truths which were the avowed doctrines of our reformers; and which, at this very day, make so distinguished a figure in the unrepealed standards of our national faith.

To vindicate the best of visible Churches from the false charge of Arminianism fastened on her by you, and to prove that the principles commonly (although, perhaps, not so properly) termed Calvinistic, are plainly and repeatedly delivered in the authentic declarations of her belief, were the reasons that chiefly induced me to resolve on the present undertaking. In consequence of which resolution, I took home your pamphlet with me, and have it now before me.

I would premise that the two grand questions on which I shall join issue with you are, 1st, Not so much whether the Calvinistic doctrines are right or wrong in themselves; as whether they are, or are not, the doctrines of the Church of England: and, 2nd, Whether on proof of their actually being the doctrines of our Church, Arminians can, with a safe conscience, and *bonâ fide*, subscribe to those doctrines *ex animo*.

As to the affair of the expulsion, I shall enter very little into the merits of that, as not directly falling in with my main design. The injustice, whether real or supposed, shewn to those young men is of very little consequence, when set in competition with the open attack which you, sir, under the habit of a friend, have ventured to make on the Church herself. If it be true that the persons expelled were so treated merely for incapacity, and for holding what either the law or the university statutes deem illicit conventicles; it would indeed follow that the hardship, so generally complained of, was not so great as it might seem at first view. Every society, as such, have, no doubt, an intrinsic right to agree upon such reasonable and lawful rules as they may deem necessary for their own interior government and regulation. And, by virtue of that same right, they may expel such of their members as refuse to adjust their conduct by the rules so enacted. Yet as excommunication (*a*) is the dernier resource of a Church, and takes place not until all milder expedients for the reformation of the offending party have been tried without effect; so should expulsion from any other society. How far this equitable rule was observed lately at Oxford is a circumstance not yet cleared up by the assessors: and, until it is, the public are certainly at liberty to form what judgment they can from appearances.

It has been affirmed, by some who ought to know, that the pretence of illiteracy and irregularity in the parties expelled was

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(*a*) By our law, sentence of excommunication is not to be pronounced until after public admonition thrice given, with the interval of at least two days between each admonition.

only adopted by way of casting a mist before the eyes of the world: while, in fact, the true reason of their expulsion was their attachment to the doctrines of predestination unto life, regeneration by the Spirit of God, and justification by faith alone. If this was the real cause of that transaction, the young men were persecuted to all intents and purposes; and are to be equally pitied and respected: pitied, for the oppressive treatment they met with; respected, for their firmness in adhering to doctrines which they believe to be true, and which, whether true or not, are the undoubted doctrines of the Church established.—Add to this, that if some persons, equally or more illiterate, and irregular in a much worse sense, continue still unmolested members of this very university, all unprejudiced spectators will cry out,

Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas.

I am not certain, much less dare I to affirm, that the public have hit upon the true cause of this remarkable expulsion. If they have (and even the account given by yourself seems to justify the general belief), we may now, with the utmost truth, adopt the old cry of "the Church is in danger." (*b*) Since, for a considerable number of the most eminent persons belonging to one of the most respectable universities in Europe, to sit in judgment on six of their own body, and pass sentence of condemnation upon them, for believing and asserting the leading truths of that very Church with which the expellers, no less than the expelled, profess to agree; is, *mutatis mutandis*, as if a Romish council should anathematize six Papists for holding transubstantiation; or a Scotch synod should excommunicate six Presbyterians, for maintaining a parity among the clergy to be more apostolical than episcopacy. For gratuitous predestination, justification by faith only, and the efficacy of divine grace in regeneration, are as palpably asserted by the Church of England, as transubstantiation is by the Church of Rome, or parity of ministers by the Church of Scotland.

Before I enter on the proof of this, I must clear my way, by first considering what you, sir, allege on the other side. In doing which, I shall endeavour to preserve, not only the decency, but the respect to which your merits, both as a scholar and as a writer, justly entitle you. Though fame is mistaken, if you have not condescended to act as a secretary on this, as well as a preceding, occasion. However this be, I cannot help wishing that so worthy and considerable a person had drawn his pen rather in attempting to heal that widen the unhappy breaches among us and had undertaken to vindicate, instead of seeking to confute, the doctrines of the Church he professes to revere. But, alas every day's experience proves the truth of the old adage; "All is not wise that wise men say; nor all good that good men do."

"Now sir, to the point. With regard to the doctrines in debate between Calvinists and Arminians, you ingenuously confess that they are matters which "wise and good men have always differed about," page 69. I applaud your justice, in granting that Calvinists, no less than Arminians, may be "wise and good men:" but I cannot say I admire the want of precision with which you express yourself. Wise and good men did not always differ about those points. There is, on the contrary, the utmost reason to believe that the main body of the Christian Church (in which I do not include the Arians of those times) were unanimous believers of the doctrines now termed Calvinistic, for the four first centuries: until, at the opening of the fifth, a Welsh monk, known by the assumed name of Pelagius, struck out a new path of his own, and laid out the foundations of that mystery of iniquity which has, more or less, been working ever since.

I am aware that some Arminian writers, both English and foreign, have had the assurance (somewhat like the Papists on another occasion) to ask, "Where was the doctrine of predestination before St. Austin?" To which I answer in my turn, where was not the doctrine of predestination before Pelagius? That his opinions, concerning the slight effects of original sin, the power of man's free will, and the possibility of human merit, were novel and unheard of until then, appears, among other circumstances, from the surprise and horror with which they were received by the universal Church. A valuable historian of our own tells us truly, that "To recount the learned works of fathers written; their pious sermons preached; passionate [*i. e.* pathetic] epistles sent; private conferences entertained; public disputations held; provincial synods summoned; general councils called; wholesome canons made, to confute and condemn these opinions, under the name of Pelagius, or his scholar Celestius; would amount to a volume fitter for a porter's back to bear, than a scholar's brains to peruse." [Fuller, Church Hist. Cent. v. p. 28.]

The learned Dr. Cave, whom no one will suspect of being a factor for Calvinism, tells us plainly, that Pelagius "Hæresin novam

(*b*) How strangely are times altered in Oxford, since Usher preached there! See the Preface to his sermons in Quarto.

condidit," was the founder of a new heresy, [Hist. Lit. tom. i. ann. 405.] which is as good as to say that the Christian Church were, until that time, in undisturbed possession of the doctrines of grace. The same great man lets us know what the substance of this new heresy was. "Peccatum originale funditus sustulit; docens, Adami peccatum soboli ejus non imputari. Homines, plerosque saltem, non gratiæ divinæ beneficii, sed propter operum suorum merita, justificari, et ad vitam æternam prædestinari contendit:" He [*i. e.* Pelagius] took away original sin from its very foundations, by asserting that Adam's transgression is not imputed to his posterity: and insisted that men, or however the greater part of them, are justified and predestinated to eternal life, not by the favour of divine grace, but for the worthiness of their own works. Now if the non-imputation of Adam's offence, and the doctrines of justification and predestination as founded on, and resulting from human worthiness, were parts of the new heresy, it follows that the opposite doctrines of Adam's transgression imputed to his offspring, and justification and predestination by grace alone, must have been branches of the old faith universally held by the Church, for the first 400 years after Christ.

That consummate scholar and historian, Spanheimus the son, treating of Pelagius and his tenets, observes, that this archheretic asserted, "Causam predestinationis ad gratiam et gloriam esse prævisionem bonorum operum, et perseverantiam in illis, ex recto liberi arbitrii usu, exceptâtamen gratiâ apostolatûs. Prædestinationem ad mortem nullam dari; solam dari præscientiam peccatorum." [Introd. ad Hist. et Antiq. Sacr. pag. 454.] *i. e.* that "The cause of predestination to grace and glory was the foresight of good works, and of preseverance therein, resulting from a right use of our free-will: and that there is no such thing as predestination unto death; but only a fore-knowledge of what sins men would commit." (*c*) That these are the doctrines of the Arminians now, as they were of Pelagius then, needs no proof. An Arminian laughs at the imputation of Adam's offence, in order to elude the necessity of the Messiah's imputed righteousness: he affirms that we are not justified without works of our own; and that if there be any such thing as predestination at all, it is founded on the divine foresight of certain conditions and qualifications in the persons predestinated: that man's will has the casting vote in the affair of regeneration: and that as he may to-day consent to be a child of God, so, to-morrow he may, by virtue of the same omnipotent free-will, undo all, and commence a child of the devil again. Who sees not that Arminianism is the old Pelagian trump turned up anew? and that the doctrines of conditional grace and precarious salvation which now go down so glib with many, are the very things which at their first appearance frightened the primitive Churches more than a general persecution would have done? It may further be asked; would an Arminian have drawn up the XVIIth Article?

You yourself, sir, seem to have been aware of your mistake, in asserting so peremptorily that predestination and its concomitant doctrines are points concerning which "wise and good men have always differed:" since you presently add that they "have been disputed in almost all ages of the Christian church." During the four first ages of it they were undisputed, for aught appears to the contrary; but from the time Pelagius first broke the ice, quite down to the reformation, they certainly were frequent subjects of controversy. The reformers and reformed churches, both here and abroad, were universally on the side of absolute grace, in contradiction both to the pretended merits, and the boasted free agency of man. Witness the authentic and valuable collection of articles and confessions of faith published by Gasper Laurentius, in 1612. With regard to our own reformers in particular, bishop Burnet, though far enough from warping to Calvinism, is yet so honest as to allow that, "In England the first reformers were generally in the Sublapsarian way;" (*d*) plainly enough intimating that all our first reformers were doctrinal Calvinists, though with some slight variation; the major part of them being Sublapsarians, or holding that God, in the decree of predestination, considered mankind as fallen: the rest of the first reformers having been Supralapsarians, who suppose that men were, in that decree, considered neither as fallen nor as unfallen, but simply as men, in *puris naturalibus*. A metaphysical disquisition, which still obtains among the

(*c*) If the reader has a mind to see a compendious, but very satisfactory account of the first rise and progress of Arminianism in Holland (whence the contagion spread into England) about the year 1600, he may consult a very valuable treatise written by the same learned foreigner, entitled, Controversiarum cum Dissidentibus Hodiè Christantis, prolixè et cum Judæis, Elenchus Historico-Theologicus. Which, in the compass of a moderate 12mo, traces back all the controversies, which now divide the religious world, to their original sources; gives the quintessence of the arguments urged on either side: and, by a judicious mixture of history with divinity, is, perhaps, the most instructive and entertaining piece of general Polemics hitherto extant. There is brevity, without obscurity, and fulness, without redundancy: nor could that excellent performance be either enlarged, or retrenched, without detracting from its worth.

(*d*) On the 17th Art. p. 197, 8vo. edit.

anti-Arminians; but which affects not the main question, and concerning which they ever did and do still agree.

I shall at present, sir, trouble you with but one more citation from Burnet: a short one, indeed, it is, but full to the point. You will find it in that learned and worthy prelate's abridgment of his History of the Reformation, *sub ann.* 1549. His words are these: "Another sort of people was much complained of, who built so much on the received opinion of predestination, that they thought they might live as they pleased." Whether or no these people really drew this consequence from the doctrine (as there is nothing so holy as to be exempt from all possibility of abuse), or whether, as is most probable, it was a slander fastened on them by the disguised Papists of that time, affects not the present argument. The passage proves what I quote for: namely, that at the settlement of the reformation, and when the Church of England was in her primitive purity, predestination was the received opinion. Nor, indeed, need the bishop have told us so. The articles of religion, published about a year and a half after the time he speaks of, put the point beyond all doubt. Thus stood this matter in the reign of king Edward. We shall come to that of queen Elizabeth by and by. In the meanwhile,

From England, sir, I follow you to the continent. You are pleased to tell us, p. 69, 70, that these doctrines have been disputed "among the Papists, between the Thomists and the Scotists; the Dominicans and the Franciscans:" to which you might also have added, "and between the Jansenists and Jesuits." I grant it all. And these points not only have been, but are disputed among them with abundance of acrimony to this very day. A most pregnant proof, by the by, of the infallibility and Catholic unity, which that most depraved and most impudent of all churches affects to value herself upon. Had you stopped here, you had done well; but you add, that the doctrines in debate between yourself and the author of *Pietas Oxoniensis* were likewise disputed "among the Protestants, from the first beginning of the reformation, between the Lutherans and the Calvinists." Here, I apprehend, you have shot beyond the mark. The era, or first beginning of the reformation, is universally and very justly assigned to the year 1517, when Luther first publicly opposed the sale of the pope's indulgences at Wittenberg. At this time Calvin could have had no followers; for he himself was then a boy of but eight years old; being (*e*) born July 10, 1509. Neither was he settled to purpose at Geneva, until the year 1541, *i. e.* five years before the death of Luther; by which time the reformation had spread wide and taken deep root on the continent.—Hence it is evident that there were and could have been no disputes concerning the decrees of God, "between the Lutherans and Calvinists, from the first beginning of the reformation;" for the reformation was begun in Calvin's childhood, long enough before he was brought on the stage of public observation.

The plain truth is, Luther himself was an absolute predestinarian; and was as able and as resolute a defender of God's eternal, irrespective decrees, as Calvin or any other. So that even had these two great men been as strictly *co-ætanei*, as they were contemporaries, there would have been no room for dissension between them on that subject. Bishop Burnet, with all his bias to Arminianism, was too well read not to know, and too honest not to acknowledge, the Calvinism (if it must be called by that name) of Luther: though the bishop's aversion to these doctrines made him very disingenuously insinuate as if that eminent reformer adopted them, partly to serve a turn, and partly without due examination. "When Luther," says he, "began to form his opinions into a body, he clearly saw that nothing did so plainly destroy the doctrine of merit and justification by works, as St. Austin's opinions. He found also in his works very express authorities against most of the corruptions of the Roman church; and being of an order that carried his name, and, by consequence, accustomed to read and reverence his works, it was no wonder if he, without a strict examining of the matter, espoused all his [Austin's] opinions." [On Art. 17, p. 194.] However, not to rest on mere testimony, which at best is but evidence at second hand; as a solid and indisputable proof that I go on sure grounds in averring Luther to have held absolute predestination, I appeal to the memorable controversy between him and Erasmus. The latter had, at the importunate and repeated requests of king Henry VIII. and Cardinal Wolsey, published a treatise in favour of free will, wherein Luther was severely reflected on for holding the opposite doctrine. To this Luther published a copious answer; drawn up in a very nervous manner, and with a vast compass of argument; entitling it, *De Servo Arbitrio*, or, The Human Will a Slave. If any person, after having read a single chapter in that masterly performance, has the assurance to pronounce Luther an enemy to what is now known by the name of Doctrinal Calvinism; (*f*) he may, when his hand is in, call Baronius a Protestant, or affirm Calvin

(*e*) Melch. Ad. in Vitâ Calvini, p. 63.

(*f*) See Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 32.

himself to have been an Arminian. It was chiefly from this book of Luther's on the Servitude of the Will, that those six positions against free agency were picked out, which twenty years afterwards made such a bustle in the council of Trent, and were agitated with so much heat and division by the infallible church; some siding with Luther, and declaring that he had asserted no more than Austin had done before him; others anathematizing the positions, as the very quintessence of heresy, and of most dangerous consequence to the Catholic faith. The latter party carried their point: and accordingly the fourth, fifth, and sixth canons, passed in the sixth session of that infamous council, are directly pointed against the decisions of Luther respecting the inability of man's will. (*g*)

The followers of Luther and Calvin, since (*h*) the deaths of those great reformers (for I cannot find that that they did it before) have, if you please, not only differed, but fallen out with relation to some (and only some) of the points you speak of: but not those reformers themselves. Had they agreed as well about the nature of the Lord's Supper as they did about predestination, justification, and perseverance; the two denominations of Lutherans and Calvinists had been in fact one and the same; so far at least as matters of doctrine are concerned.

Page 70, you put this question to the author of *Pietas:* "What pretence have you to call your own notions the principles of the reformation?" Because they are so. Open the liturgy where you will, Calvinism stares you in the face. And can the doctrines of grace enter into the very basis of a reformed church, yet not be principles of the reformation? You ask likewise, why he calls the "contrary opinions the avowed tenets of the church of Rome?" Because the very letter of scripture bids us render to all their dues. The Arminian tenets belong to the church of Rome. Her's they are, and to her they should be returned. From her they came, and to her they lead. It matters not that there were a few such persons as Marinier, De Vega, and Catanea, in the council of Trent; nor that there are still some individuals within the Romish pale (the Jansenists for instance), who believed the doctrines of predestination and invincible grace, as taught by St. Paul and St. Austin; and from these, by Calvin and the reformed churches.

Quid te exempta juvat spinis de pluribus una!

The point is, how goes the stream? quite in the contrary channel. Witness the Tridentine decisions, and the more recent constitution Unigenitus. Let a man peruse these, and then doubt, if he can, whether Arminianism does not cordially coincide with popery.

But you urge that the Arminian doctrines "have been maintained by many of the brightest ornaments of our church; such as Laud, Hammond, Bull, &c." I except against Laud. I cannot allow him upon the whole, to have been any ornament to us at all; much less can I put him at the head of our brightest ornaments. If he had any brightness belonging to him, it was the brightness of a fire-brand, which at the long run set both church and state in a flame. Learned as he was (or rather, an encourager of learning in others, so they were not Calvinists), he was at best but a mongrel Protestant; and would have but acted consistently with himself had he accepted the cardinal's hat, which was offered him from Rome. So declared an enemy was your bright ornament to all liberty both civil and religious, that I make no scruple to call him a disgrace to his order, to his country, and to human nature. Illegal and unwarrantable in itself as his execution was, yet his life, written by his creature Heylin, on purpose to exculpate this *Cyprianus Anglicanus*, proves, to a demonstration, that this hot headed prelate was not slandered in being charged with a design to carry over the Church of England to that of Rome; or as Heylin himself expresses it, "to make an atonement between the two churches," *i. e.* to set them at one again; atonement being a word used at that time to signify a reconciliation and re-union. For which reason, among a thousand others, I must beg leave to strike out Laud from the list of our brightest ecclesiastical ornaments; and dismiss him with that just observation of bishop Burnet, who remarks that while Laud's enemies "did really magnify him by their inhuman prosecution, his friends, Heylin and Wharton, have as much lessened him; the one by writing his life, and the other by publishing his vindication of himself." [Summary of Aff. before the Restor. p. 68. 8vo edit.]

As for Hammond, Bull, Tillotson, Sharp, and Stillingfleet, they are names not to be mentioned without honour. Yet it does not follow that Arminianism is either right in itself, or the doctrine of our church, because adopted by these otherwise eminent and worthy persons. Nor do the greatness of their

(*g*) Of forty-two propositions of Luther condemned by the pope, A.D. 1521, this is the 37th, "Free-will after sin is a thing De Solo Titulo; and while it doth what in it is, it sinneth mortally." Strype's Eccl. Mem. v. i. 39.

(*h*) See Tindal, v. ii. 273.

names and the brightness of their talents sanctify the errors they might happen to patronize, or one jot mitigate the crime of subscribing to articles they did not believe. Let them have been ever so great ornaments to our church in other respects, this, surely, is no ornamental part of their characters. Dross does not cease to be dross because some gold may chance to be blended with it: nor error cease to be such because adopted by men of merit. However, I think when your hand had been in, you might have reminded us of some more persons who were in every respect ornamental to our church, and true consistent sons of it, by believing and maintaining her fundamental doctrines; such as Abbot, Grindal, Usher, Williams, Davenant, Downham, Carlton, Hall, Barlow (of Lincoln), Beveridge, Hopkins, &c. &c., all of whom were bishops, and (for which reason you threw them into shades) Predestinarians. After all, truth does not depend on names. The doctrines of the church are to be learned from the articles and homilies of the Church herself; not from the private opinions of some individuals who lay hold on the skirt of her garment, call themselves by her name, and live by her revenues.

You proceed. "Our articles have been vindicated from the charge of Calvinism by Bishop Bull, Dr. Waterland, and several other religious and learned men." You should rather have said, "They have laboured hard to do it, but were not able." Like some disciples of old, they toiled all the day, but could take nothing. When Dr. Bull was strongly pressed with his subscription by the famous Dr. Tully (who was then principal of that very hall whence the six religious students were lately expelled; and afterwards dean and chancellor of Carlisle); Bull, in his answer, only huddles the matter up, and slides over it as well as he can, in this slight equivocating manner: "*Quæ deinceps, in hoc capite, sequuntur, à D. Tullio, declamatorio more effusa, de regiâ declaratione articulis nostris præfixâ; de canone ecclesiæ; de subscriptionibus et juramentis nostris toties repetitis; ea tum demùm ad nos pertinere fatebimur, cum evicerit ille, quicquam nos docuisse unquam, quod claræ alicui ecclesiæ nostræ definitioni adversetur*:" (i) *i. e.* "I shall then acknowledge myself to be affected by what Dr. Tully subjoins in his declamatory way, concerning the king's declaration prefixed to our articles; the canon he refers to; and my so often repeated oaths and subscriptions; when he shall have demonstrated that I ever affirmed any thing contrary to any clear determination of our church." But the misfortune was, this had actually been demonstrated before; whence Dr. Tully took occasion to press the matter home to Bull's conscience; justly upbraiding him, not for espousing those doctrines which he took for true, but for swearing and setting his hand to articles which, if his own system was right, were and must be erroneous and false. This home thrust the Arminian doctor endeavoured to parry off, by insinuating that the determinations of the church, in behalf of the Calvinistic principles, are not sufficiently clear, but dark and ambiguous As if she had not clearly determined that "predestination is the everlasting purpose of God," and that we are "justified by faith only!" After this rate, any unbelieving subscriber whatever, when taxed with dishonesty and prevarication, need only cry out with bishop Bull, "the determinations of our church are not clear;" and he slips his neck out of the collar very cleverly. But a determination which is not clear, is in reality no determination at all; and either the church has absolutely determined nothing, and is a church without any fixed principles; or her determinations are clear and peremptory; and, of course, the integrity of such persons as subscribe to those determinations, without believing them, is not very conspicuous.

One of the most furious Arminians now living (the John Goodwin of the present age) seems to have refined upon Bishop Bull in this particular. This Arminian is Mr. John Wesley, who, like many others, endeavouring to leap over the 17th article of the Church of England, very gravely tells us that that article, which treats of predestination, "only defines the term," but does not affirm the doctrine. By this new rule all our positive articles are only so many definitions of terms: the 1st, for instance, defines the meaning of the word Trinity; the 9th defines original sin; the 27th is a definition of baptism; and the 39th defines an oath. So the Church is founded, not upon doctrines, but on bare definitions; and is not a teacher but a definer! Is there a Jew, a Turk, or a Papist, who would scruple to subscribe our articles, considered simply as definitions of certain terms and phrases? or is there a Protestant in the world but might safely set his hand to pope Pius's creed upon a similar supposition? I leave to the consideration of Dr. Nowell and of the public, who are to be deemed Methodists and Sectarians. They who believe the doctrines of the Church as they stand in her articles, without sophistication and disguise? or they who, with Mr. Wesley and some others,

(i) Apol. pro Harm. inter. Opera, p. 660. Sect. 12.

subscribe the articles not as articles of faith, but either as ecclesiastical definitions of terms, or at most as determinations which are not clear? By this loose, shaggling way of evading the force of Church decisions, and weakening the sacred ties of solemn and repeated subscriptions, the spiritual fence of our establishment is broken down and trod under foot; and the Church, like a city without walls, or a house stript of its doors, lies open to the entrance of every comer, whether friend or foe, who has opportunity of getting in. Such, I fear, is in great measure the present condition of our once admirable Church. I can only, for my own part, be faithful to her myself, pour out my soul for her in secret at the throne of grace, and, until God pours down a Spirit of reformation on many of her pretended sons, cry over her, saying, Alas! my mother! Her gates are sunk into the ground; he hath destroyed and broken her bars; the law is no more; her prophets also find no vision from the Lord. What thing shall I liken to thee, O daughter of Jerusalem? what shall I equal to thee that I may comfort thee, O virgin daughter of Sion? for thy breach is great like the sea; who can heal thee? Lam. iii.

As to Dr. Waterland, on whose attempts to weed out Calvinism from our articles you lay so great stress, I grant that, like the prelate last mentioned, he fought through thick and thin and strained every nerve in order, if possible, to Arminianize the Church. But his success was very far from being equal to his toil. This learned and excellent person never lost himself more visibly, nor was never pinched more sensibly, than when his own artillery was turned upon him by Sykes. The inference, urged by the latter, is too glaring to be denied, viz.—That if Arian subscription to Trinitarian articles is palpably dishonest, then, by all the rules of argument in the world, Arminian subscription to articles that are Calvinistic must and can be no less criminal. This was the Gordian knot which Dr. Waterland, with all his straining, could never untie. Therefore this great man, finding himself wedged fast between the horns of this unavoidable dilemma, namely, either to give up the point, and own subscribing Arminians to be as inexcusable as subscribing Arians; or that, if those might subscribe, *salvâ conscientiâ*, so might these, since what is lawful for the raven is as lawful for the crow;—the doctor, to free himself as well as he could from this embarrassment, resolved to cut the knot at once, by roundly denying that our articles are Calvinistical. But every struggle he made, and every argument he brought in support of his palpable falsehood (which he adopted only *pro re natâ*, and to help himself out at a dead lift), only plunged him in deeper difficulties, by giving his Arian adversaries this advantage against him, that, upon the doctor's own principles, and by virtue of his own example, they were as much at liberty, *mutatis mutandis*, to put their own sense upon the 1st, 2d, 5th, and 8th articles, as Waterland was to put his sense upon the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 17th; since the very letter of these articles is no less determinate in favour of original sin, the utter impotence of free-will in spirituals, gratuitous justification without works, and eternal, absolute predestination, than those are in favour of the Trinity, the godhead of Christ, the godhead of the Holy Ghost, and the orthodoxy of the three creeds.

And, indeed, the case speaks for itself. For if one sort of men may fairly claim the privilege of clipping, mincing, and wire-drawing some articles, as a salvo for subscription, why may not another sort of men be allowed to take the same liberty with the rest? Let not, then, the subscribing Arminian (though he may happen to be a Trinitarian) exclaim against the subscribing Arian, the subscribing Socinian, or even the subscribing Deist. Only grant it lawful to wrench the articles one way, and it is as lawful to wrench them any way or every way. If an Arminian may stretch the 17th article into conditional predestination and universal redemption, an Arian has just as much right to lop short the 2d article, so far as it stands in his way. By the same rule that our articles are drawn aside from any one part of their plain grammatical import, they may be frothed into no meaning whatever, and bandied about towards every point of the compass. If a subscriber is really at liberty to pick and chuse which of them, and which part of them he will believe, and which he shall reject; which to subscribe sincerely, and which with secret provisos of his own; subscription is no longer a fence against error, but becomes a mere stalking horse, and the articles themselves a nose of wax. St. Paul's words, with a slight variation, may be accommodated to the case in hand. Thou art inexcusable [O subscribing Arminian], whoever thou art, that judgest [the subscribing Arian]; for wherein thou judgest [him], thou condemnest thyself: for thou that judgest doest the same thing [in another way]. Rom. ii. 1.

Thus the gap of prevaricating subscription being once opened, "we may," to use Dr. Waterland's own words, "bid adieu to principles;" and between one subscriber and another the Church of England will have no settled doctrines left, or, at most, they will exist no where but in ink and paper, between the leaves of her liturgy and homilies, and in the forgotten writings of her old divines.

Foreign comedians, a spruce band, arrive,
And push her from the scene, or hiss her there.

Should matters go on for half a century longer as they have done for many years back, the most respectable Church in the world will be reduced, by some of those who call themselves her children, to the same condition that the man in the fable was by his two wives :

Ambæ videri dum volunt illi pares,
Capillos homini legere cœpêre invicem.
Quum se putârat pingi curâ mulierum,
Calvus repente factus est : nem funditùs
Canos puella, nigros anus, evellerat.

I pray God that the Delilahs, who make it their business to shear the Church of its locks, by robbing it gradually of its doctrines, may not, at the long run, deliver it quite up into the hands of the Philistines.

Bishop Burnet went to work in a much more plausible manner than either Bishop Bull or Dr. Waterland. He contributed as much, in fact, towards opening a door to prevaricating subscription as they; but did it with more decency, and with a better regard to appearances. He does not drive so furiously as those Jehu writers, nor insult the common reason of mankind by fiercely insisting that our articles are not Calvinistic, but hit on a more trimming expedient, and would gently insinuate that they are worded with what he calls such moderation and latitude that Calvinists and Arminians too may mutually testify their assent by subscription. I mean not to depreciate that truly great and good prelate's Exposition of the Articles, which is, in general, a very masterly and valuable performance. (*k*) I am not entirely of Dr. South's mind, who, you know, sir, being asked, soon after its publication, what he thought of it? replied, in his smart way, "Think of it? I think that, in his Exposition of our Thirty-nine Articles, his lordship has given the Church forty stripes save one." That the bishop has given the Church three or four stripes I think can hardly be denied; and unhappy is the mother who receives such usage at the hands of the sons she has nourished and brought up. Thus much is certain: that Burnet plays fast and loose whenever Calvinism and subscription fall in his way. Hence those two contradictory positions of his: "Subscription does import an assent to the article: and—an article being conceived in such general words, that it can admit of different literal and grammatical senses, even when the senses given are plainly contrary one to another, yet both may subscribe the article with a good conscience, and without any equivocation." (Introd. to Exp. Art. p. 10.) As if there could be more literal senses of a proposition than one! and those numerous senses could be plainly contrary one to another, and yet be all literally and grammatically the sense of that proposition! An Arian, a Papist, or a Deist may, with a good conscience, and without any equivocation, subscribe those very articles which, literally and grammatically, conclude point blank against Arianism, Popery, and Deism!

That learned and able divine, Dr. Edwards, of Cambridge, published, in the lifetime of Bishop Burnet, some strictures on that prelate's way of treating the articles. "I can by no means," says he, "approve of this learned prelate's extravagant attempt when he takes a great deal of pains to persuade his readers that these thirty-nine articles, or most of them, are so dark and ambiguous that the true sense of them is not to be found out; and therefore that we may make what construction of them we please. Surely his lordship's memory is none of the best: any man must needs think that he had forgot what he had asserted and given as his judgment, namely, That these are articles of downright belief, and therefore must not be dallied and played with. It is such a strange perverting of the articles as cannot but raise admiration in indifferent persons, and such as are not led by prejudice. For, 1st, This new-found exposition fosters dissimulation. It seems to teach our clergymen to equivocate. For though the learned and reverend author acknowledges, once and again, that the compilers of those articles were Calvinistically disposed, and accordingly formed some of the articles so as they are to be understood in favour of Calvin's opinions, yet he proposes them to the clergy, to be taken in an ambiguous sense. They are taught, in the whole, to trim; to turn about as they please; to dissemble with God and man; to subscribe to that which they know most assuredly is, in the plain meaning of it, against their persuasion. Therefore I say that this new-coined explication of the articles is inconsistent with the integrity of our Church and the sincerity of its ministers who are to subscribe to them. It will be hard to reconcile this with the doing it with a good conscience, as is required in the 5th canon, and *ex animo*, and avoiding all ambiguities, as the 36th canon enjoins. 2. After this rate it can never be known, from our professions and subscriptions, what our mind is, what our belief and sentiments are. Though we openly acknowledge under our hands such doctrines to be agreeable to God's word, yet we may think one article of them to be true; yea, we may think and

(*k*) The lower House of Convocation, in 1701, severely censured Burnet's Exposition of the Articles. See Tindal, 15, 319

profess the quite contrary. And of this our author (Burnet) gives us an instance in himself, telling us (in his Preface to the Expos. of the Art.) that in the point of predestination he follows the Greek Church, from which St. Austin departed and formed a new system; and yet he publicly declares that our Church's article of predestination may be interpreted and understood in favour of the Calvinists who follow St. Augustin. I remember this learned writer, in the account he gives us of his travels, makes this reflection on Geneva that there is want of sincerity there. May we not, from what has been represented under this particular, fear that there is the same want somewhere else?" (Veritas Red. p. 521, 522.)

But I return to Dr. Nowell. Another part of your address to the author of *Pietas Oxoniensis* runs thus: "Supposing that they and we," namely, the Arminians of past and present times, "are mistaken in the sense we put upon our articles; yet, surely, unless you can see our hearts, you cannot censure us for subscribing to what we believe not a word of." You do well, Sir, to suppose yourself and your Arminian friends mistaken. I hope your next step will be to retract your mistakes. And you have fallen into not a few in the very paragraph last cited. 1st, You seem to take for granted that you have a right to put your own sense on the articles to which you subscribe. But this is by no means the case. Our articles, like the prophecies, are not of private interpretation. You and I, and every subscriber are, by express declaration of authority, pinned down to the plain, literal, and grammatical meaning of each article. The legislature, duly weighing the importance and solemn nature of ecclesiastical subscription, have taken almost every precaution human wisdom could suggest or the energy of language furnish to preclude evasion and preserve the doctrines of the Church inviolate. Let part of the royal declaration usually prefixed to the articles themselves, and which, having never been revoked, still stands in full force, serve by the way of specimen: "We have, upon mature deliberation, and with the advice of so many of our bishops as might conveniently be called together, thought fit to make this declaration following: That the Articles of the Church of England do contain the true doctrine of the Church of England agreeable to God's word, which we do therefore ratify and confirm, prohibiting the least difference from the said articles, from which we will not endure any varying or departing in the least degree;—And that no man hereafter shall either print or preach to draw the article aside any way, but shall submit to it in the plain and full meaning thereof; and shall not put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the article, but shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense." Hence it is as evident as demonstration can make it that Calvinists are the only fair subscribers; and that Arminians, as such, are virtually excluded from subscription; because the articles are to be subscribed, not with qualifying glosses, diluting comments, tacit limitations, and mental exceptions (for this would defeat the very end for which subscription is required), but we are to subscribe, as every subscriber professes to do, *ex animo*, with unfeigned assent and consent, without drawing aside the articles any way, or varying or departing from them in the least degree; moreover without putting the subscriber's own sense on what he subscribes unto, but honestly and *bonâ fide* taking the articles in their literal and grammatical meaning simply as they stand.

2dly, You would insinuate that we cannot charge the Arminians with subscribing to what they do not believe, "except we could look into their hearts." But there is no occasion for our looking quite so deep as that, since, out of the abundance of their hearts, their hands write and their mouths speak. I think that I myself, without pretending to dive into hearts, may form a judgment, for instance, of Dr. Nowell and his subscriptions. You, Sir, have subscribed to our articles and homilies over and over again. These articles and homilies are (*l*) Calvinistic; and you are a professed Arminian. Either, therefore, you were not an Arminian when you subscribed, or you subscribed to what you disbelieved. And by the same rule that we form an estimate of you, we are qualified to judge of others of your sect.

3dly, I discern not a little chicanery in the latter clause of your paragraph; "you cannot censure us for subscribing to what we believe not a word of." This is brought in by way of a trap-door to escape at, in case you should happen to be hard pressed You may believe a word, and many words, even in the 17th article itself; without

(*l*) The Calvinism of these has been acknowledged by very many of the Arminians themselves. One, in particular, recurs this moment to my remembrance. A late dignitary (Dr. H.) of considerable figure, both in the Church and in the world, and celebrated, among other things, for a learned and sensible work, published under the title of Theological Lectures, being one day in company with another dignitary (now living, and from whom I had it), the conversation happened to turn on the Thirty-Nine Articles, against several of which Dr. H. exclaimed with great warmth. My friend asked him, "But have you not subscribed to these, and that *ex animo*?" I have. "And do not you hold all your preferments by virtue of that subscription?" I do; and our reformers, who drew up such articles deserved to be hanged for their pains.

believing the substance of the article, or assenting to the doctrine it asserts. There are not a few detached words, even in the decrees of Trent, to which any Protestant in the world might safely testify his assent: and yet no truly conscientious Protestant would look upon that as a sufficient warrant for setting his hand to those execrable decisions. And, by parity of argument, I greatly question whether any truly honest and conscientious Arminian would venture to rest upon this as a plea for subscription, "though I abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and Calvinistical, the doctrines contained in the 10th, 11th, and 17th, articles of the Church of England; yet as a subscriber to those articles, I make myself easy, because I cannot say that I believe not a word in them; for there are some words here and there interspersed which are of innocent tendency: and for the sake of these I have swallowed the whole." Instead of shifting, and mincing, and trimming, in this despicable manner, would it not be more to the credit of such clergymen as are Arminians, to make a push for an alteration, and boldly cry out, with the monthly reviewers, "Our established doctrines are not such as might be wished, and ought to be re-modelled?" Let them act like men of courage and principle; and instead of doubling and winding and putting our articles on the rack, "to find out meanings never meant," say of them, and of the 17th in particular (as archbishop Tillotson did of the Athanasian Creed), "I heartily wish we were well rid of it." This would be treading in the steps of their elder brethren, the Dutch Arminians; and would make them remonstrants in act, as well as in principles. It would not, indeed, vindicate them from the glaring dishonesty of solemnly subscribing to articles thus professedly disbelieved: but it would save them the ridiculous and fruitless trouble of endeavouring to twist and torture Calvinistic articles into a sense they are incapable of bearing. The reverend and dignified author of the Confessional, is a saint, when set in competition with such divines as would put out our eyes, by daring to tell us that the 10th articles does not overturn free-will; that the 11th does not assert justification by faith only; and that the 17th does not teach everlasting, absolute, gratuitous predestination.

How am I grieved to hear such gentlemen as the writers of the Independent Whig triumph over us in such strains as these! "At one time, predestination is of high consequence, and made an article of faith, and all free-willers should be banished the land, or locked up in dungeons, like wild beasts; which were the judgments of the bishops in the days of James I., (*m*) concerning the Arminians. At a different season, when preferments ran high on the other side, as in the reign of Charles I., and ever since, Arminianism not only recovers credit but grows modish, and, consequently, orthodox: whilst predestination becomes an old fashioned piece of faith, and a sure sign of fanaticism, and yet it continues one of the XXXIX Articles; and yet it must not be believed; and yet it must be signed and assented to with a sincere assent." [Ind. Wh. vol. ii. p. 9.] I am perfectly shocked, that the same writers should have any shadow of ground for addressing some of our body in the following style: "Is there one of you that conforms to the genuine sense, or even to the words of the articles? Are not those articles Calvinistical? Were they not composed by Calvinists? And are you not now and have been long Arminians? And do you not write and preach against [those] who defend predestination, which is one of your own articles? Will you say that articles, will you say that oaths, are to be taken in a sense different from the words, different from the meaning of those who composed them? If you do, then you maintain that Papists, nay, Mahometans may subscribe our Protestant articles, and be still Mahometans and Papists: and that Jacobites may take the state oaths and be still Jacobites. What subscriptions or declarations, or indeed, what other ties can bind men who subscribe the direct contrary to what they believe? Subscribe the doctrines of Calvin, yet remain antagonists to Calvin? Is this practice, this solemn assertion of a falsehood, for the honour of

(*m*) The fact asserted is undoubtedly true; but there seems to be an anachronism in assigning the date. I cannot find, that the bishops in James the First's time advised the government to treat Arminians in this manner. It was in the reign of queen Elizabeth, that this counsel was offered by the bishops. The part of their advice referred to did, according to Strype, run verbatim as follows: *Item*, That incorrigible Arians, Pelagians or Free-will-men, be sent into some one castle in North Wales, or Wallingford; and there to live of their own labour and exercise; and none other be suffered to resort unto them but their keepers: until they be found to repent their errors." Strype's Annals of the Reformation, &c. during the first twelve years of Queen Elizabeth, chap. 17. p. 507. I do not quote this mortifying paragraph from any approbation I entertain of the expedient recommended: for I abhor every thing that even looks like persecution for principles merely religious. But I cannot help deducing two conclusions from this curious portion of our ecclesiastical history: 1st. That free-will-men were considered by the Church of England, when in her purity, as some of the most dangerous recusants she had to grapple with; else she never would have advised the confining them in a remote prison, and prohibiting them from the access of all persons, their keepers only excepted. 2nd, That free-will-men, at that time, were very few in number: otherwise, one castle, however spacious, would not have been thought large enough to contain them. I heartily congratulate our present free-willers, on their living in an age of liberty.

religion or of Churchmen? or is it not the direct method to harden men against truth and conscience, and to turn holy things into contempt? yet you still go on to subscribe those articles; still to disbelieve and contradict them." [Ibid. vol. iii. p. 403, 404.]

Object not that these quotations are brought from men whose attachment to our Church, and indeed to Christianity in general, was liable to suspicion. I grant it was. Yet,

Fas est et ab hoste doceri.

And truth is truth, let it come from what quarter it will. The question ought not to be, "Were these men our enemies?" but "Are these things so?" If they be, such writers as Dr. Nowell ought to turn their eyes inward, and recollect that themselves are the persons who give the friends of our excellent Church reason to lament, and open the mouths of her enemies to blaspheme.

But if the expostulations of the Independent Whig be repudiated, as coming from a suspected quarter, permit me to remind you, sir, of three very remarkable passages, the same in substance with the preceding, though written by persons of your own principles: I mean Dr. Heylin, Bishop Burnet, and Dr. Waterland. The introducing them here, is, indeed, an anticipation, which reverses in some measure the plan I proposed at first setting out: but as I am on the subject of Arminian subscription, I will dispatch it once for all. Dr. Peter Heylin who was chaplain to archbishop Laud and king Charles I., and was both a Laudæan and a Carolite in grain; an author whom you closely follow, and whose Quinquarticular History seems to have furnished you with a considerable part of that book you lately offered to the public; does, in that very history, Arminian as he was, express himself thus: "The composers of the articles of the Church of England had not so little in them of the dove, or so much of the serpent, as to make the articles of the Church like an upright shoe, which may be worn on either foot; or like to Theramenes' shoe, as the adage hath it, fit for the foot of every man that was pleased to wear it. And therefore we may say of our first reformers in reference to the present book of articles, that those reverend and learned men intended not to deceive any by ambiguous terms. The first reformers did not so compose the articles as to leave any liberty to dissenting judgments; but did bind men to the literal and grammatical sense: they had not otherwise attained to the end they aimed at, which was "ad tollendam opinionum dissentionem, et consensum in verâ religione firmandum." *i. e.* To take away diversity of opinions, and to establish an agreement in the true religion. Which end could never be effected if men were left unto the liberty of dissenting, or might have leave to put their own sense upon the articles, as they list themselves. For where there is a purpose of permitting men to their own opinions, there is no need of definitions and determinations in a national Church: no more than there is of making laws to bind the subjects in an unsettled commonwealth, with an intent to leave them in their former liberty, either of keeping or not keeping them, as themselves best pleased." [Hist. Quinq. part ii. chap. 8. sect. 12.]

Bishop Burnet's testimony is as follows: "I come, in the next place, to consider what the clergy are bound to by their subscriptions. The meaning of every subscription is to be taken from the design of the imposer, and from the words of the subscription itself. The title of the articles bears that they were 'agreed upon in convocation, for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and for the stablishing consent touching true religion.' Where it is evident that a consent in opinion is designed. If we, in the next place, consider the declaration that the Church has made in the canons, that though, by the fifth canon, which relates to the whole body of the people, such only are declared to be excommunicated *ipso facto* who shall affirm any of the articles to be erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe to; yet the thirty-sixth canon is express for the clergy, requiring them to subscribe willingly and *ex animo*, and acknowledge all and every article to be agreeable to the word of God: upon which canon it is that the form of the subscription runs in those words, which seem expressly to declare a man's own opinion, and not a bare consent to an article of peace, or an engagement to silence and submission. The statute of the 13th of Queen Elizabeth, cap. 12, which gives the legal authority to our requiring subscriptions in order to a man's being capable of a benefice, requires that every clergyman should read the articles in the Church, and that with a declaration of his unfeigned assent to them. These things make it appear very plain that the subscriptions of the clergy must be considered as a declaration of their own opinion, and not as a bare obligation to silence." [Introd. to Exp. of the Art. p. 9.]

Dr. Waterland shall close the rear. In his Preface to his First Defence of some Queries, page 4th, he informs his readers that Dr. Clarke had lately published a second edition of his Scripture-doctrine of the Trinity; on which Waterland has this remark: "One thing I must observe for the Doctor [Clarke's] honour, that in

his new edition he has left out these words of his former introduction. 'It is plain that every person may reasonably agree to such forms, whenever he can in any sense at all reconcile them with scripture.' I hope none hereafter will pretend to make use of the Doctor's authority for subscribing to forms which they believe not according to the true and proper sense of the words, and the known intent of the imposers and compilers. Such prevarication is in itself a bad thing, and would in time have a very ill influence on the morals of a nation. (*n*) If either state oaths on one hand, or Church subscriptions on the other, once come to be made light of, and subtilties be invented to defend or palliate such gross insincerity, we may bid farewell to principles, and religion will be little else but disguised Atheism."—Awful, pertinent, striking words! Happy would it have been, had Heylin, Burnet, and Waterland but stood throughout to their own principles! Instead of which, each of the learned triumvirate openly disavowed, in his own practice, upon some certain occasions, what he had so solidly established with his pen. But though these great men, whenever the Calvinistic doctrines of the Church came in their way, turned themselves back, like Ephraim, and were as frightened at Calvin's positions (though subscribed to by themselves) as they could have been at his apparition; thus, Penelope like, unravelling the very web they had taken such pains to weave; yet their remarks themselves are not the less true. The plain case was this: when these persons had to deal with an antagonist who happened to espouse any particular opinion that did not tally with their own, they presently knocked him down with the authority of the Church Articles: but when this same authority was in other particulars urged against themselves, they paid no more regard to articles and subscriptions than other people. Like some tyrants of whom it is recorded that they would allow none but themselves to trample on the laws with impunity; or, like the man who could upon occasion drub his wife soundly, but would suffer nobody else to lift a finger against her. (*o*)——Only admit the three preceding citations to be just, reasonable, and true, and the consequence is undeniable: namely, That Arminian subscription is absolutely unjustifiable, Arminians themselves being judges. Were the same insincerity and prevarications allowed of in the secular affairs of common life, which too often obtain in religious transactions, all social connections would quickly be at an end, and every band by which mankind are tied to each other must vanish as a wreath of smoke.

It is impossible on this occasion not to recollect the stigma of infamy universally and deservedly fastened on Eusebius of Nicomede, for subscribing the Nicene Creed whilst he disbelieved it in his heart; and on Arius himself, for presenting a sham confession of his faith to the emperor Constantine, and ratifying it with his oath, when, at the same time, he really meant no such thing, but endeavoured to patch up matters with conscience by mentally referring the oath he had taken, not to the declaration he had just made, but to a summary of his opinions previously written, and which he had then privately about him concealed in his clothes. I would not be misunderstood as if I meant to put all Arminians on a par with Arians: I only draw the parallel, or rather point out the similitude, so far as prevaricating subscriptions and false declarations of assent are concerned.

In the process of your answer to the author of *Pietas Oxoniensis* you would fain press those two venerable prelates and martyrs, Cranmer and Ridley, into the service of Arminius; and, to prove your point, very pompously refer us, page 71, to a motley, ungainly volume, published 1543, by order of Henry VIII., and entitled "The necessary erudition of a Christian Man." Since you think fit, sir, to lay such mighty stress on this mongrel production, I will enlarge a little in giving some account of it; only premising that it had been for the credit both of yourself and of your tenets had you let this Popish book wholly alone. You introduce it thus: "What their opinions were," *i. e.* the opinions of Cranmer and Ridley, "with regard to the doctrines of free-agency, &c., may be seen in the book called *Pia et Catholica Institutio*, or Erudition of a Christian Man, published 1543, by the king's authority, and authorized by the bishops, with archbishop Cranmer at the head of them." The exact title of your favourite book was this: "A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christen Man, set furthe by the Kynge's Majestie of England, &c. London. By Thomas Barthelet, 1543." (*p*) Henry was vehemently

(*n*) We have lived to see this prediction of Dr. Waterland's too well fulfilled.

(*o*) So the Popish princes of Europe cry up the authority of the Romish bishop, when that authority is to be made use of as an engine to promote their own designs: but when that end is answered, the authority of his holiness is enforced no longer; but treated with the contempt it deserves, and, like an old tool, thrown by until it is wanted.

(*p*) It was first written and published in 1540, a year very unfavourable to the interest of the reformation.

1. Cromwell's fall put the reformation to a stand. Burnet i. 278.

2. The mass-books were prevented to be altered, but stood much as they were, 281.

3. A severe persecution immediately followed: among them suffered the Rev. Mr. R. W., among

bent on the publication of this work, and even took the pains to correct it throughout, while in manuscript, with his own hand. No wonder, therefore, that a prince of Henry's self-opinion and known attachment to the doctrinal parts of Popery (which continued with him to the last) should suffer little or nothing to stand in it but what comported with his own notions. These (his own notions), however crude, ridiculous, and irrational, he was ever resolved, by fair means or foul, to ram down the throats of all his subjects. Witness the unheard-of execution of Protestants and Papists in one and the same day: the former for not being Papists in matters of doctrine; the latter for being Papists in the article of the Pope's supremacy. The book which you so devotedly admire, and to which you so often appeal, very much resembles that promiscuous execution; being such a jumble of errors and contradictions as was, perhaps, never before obtruded on a nation. It should be remembered that the statute of the six articles (passed into a law four years before, and not repealed until the first year of the following reign) was in full force at the very time (*q*) of this publication; therefore it need not seem strange that this book, whose authority you so greatly magnify, and on whose contents (sorry am I for it) you set so high a value, should harmonize with those detestable and bloody articles in the doctrine of transubstantiation and other points relative to the mass. It also gives a paraphrase on the Ave Maria; admits of burning incense to images, and of kneeling before them; asserts the mediation of departed saints in behalf of the living, and that we may lawfully pray to them for an interest in their intercession; that the sacraments are seven in number; and that the fourth commandment, respecting the observation of the sabbath, was purely ceremonial; that it is charitable and commendable to pray for the dead; with much more of the same Popish trumpery. All these particulars shew how little hand Cranmer and Ridley had in composing this book. And if the book itself can be seriously thought by you or by any reasonable man really to contain the genuine sentiments of our reformers, it must be owned that such a reformation left Popery much as it found it, and that the reformers themselves wanted reforming. Good God! what shall we come to at last! A Protestant, a Protestant divine, a Protestant divine of the Church of England, dares, in the face of the sun, to rake into the sink of an antiquated Popish book, in order to throw up mud with which to spatter the doctrines of that reformed Church whose bread he eats and whose raiment he wears! Rather than not carry his point, he who lives on the banks of the Isis is not ashamed to dip his pen in the Tiber! But, at all events, *Delenda est Carthago*: down with Geneva, though Rome itself flourish on its ruins. Think not, sir, that I am too warm. I only, as a Protestant and as a Churchman, feel a becoming indignation at this part of your conduct; an indignation which candour warrants and justice demands.

"On such a theme it were impious to be calm."

Surely on a review, and at your cooler moments of recollection, you will blush that you should ever have attempted to subvert Protestant doctrines by arguments borrowed from Rome! You will, for decency's sake, forbear in future to call in such an ally to your assistance as the *Pia et Catholica Institutio!*

However, from this arsenal you have, at present, thought proper (I hope for the last time) to fetch some of your weapons, which you brandish in quotations, more than once, for whole pages together. Nor are your quotations altogether foreign to the purpose. But supposing them to be ever so peremptory against the Calvinistic doctrines of your Church and mine, whether it be for the honour of the Arminian notions to be propped up by citations taken from such a treatise, drawn up by such bishops as then generally filled the bench, revised by such a king as then occupied the throne, and published at such a period of Anti-Christian darkness, must be submitted to your consideration and that of my other Protestant readers.

Nevertheless, bad as the book is, there are some things in it, particularly under the head of free-will, which you prudently forbore to quote, conscious that they look a little like Calvinism. These, for my own part, I disdain to cite. The ark of Protestant truth needs no such leprous hands, no such rotten props for its support. The doctrinal articles of our own truly evangelical Church happily established since neither want assistance from so corrupt a quarter, nor can suffer the least detriment from the despica-

whose heresies are ranked his denial of merit and free-will. Strype, vol. i. p. 369.

The Protestants were glad to see things were no worse; and the Papists to see them so bad. The former hoped that the ice being now broke Popery would gradually melt away; the latter, seeing the leading articles of their superstition ratified and confirmed afresh, hoped it was prelusive to the re-erection of the whole frame.

(*q*) This year (1543) was a year of Popish triumphs. 1. This book was set forth afresh. 2. A dismal persecution of Protestants followed, especially at Windsor. 3. A conspiracy against Cranmer. 4. A league between the king and the emperor. 5. Enjoined by act of parliament that no women, artificers, &c., should read the Bible. 6. All spiritual persons that should teach any thing contrary to the "Erudition," &c. See Burnet's Ref. vol. i. p. 306—314.

ble, feeble, inconsistent cavils of a Popish medley, in which the print of Gardiner's cloven foot appears throughout. I will only observe, farther, that the then Pelagian, now (since the starting up of Pelagius the second, I mean James Van Harmin, about fifty years after the publishing of the book in question) Arminian, doctrines are most of them to be found in that wretched piece; such as these: that justifying faith includes obedience to all the law of God; that the scriptures say nothing in favour of personal assurance, or whence it may be gathered that men may in this life be certain of their election, much less of their perseverance in grace to the end; that the divine promises respecting grace and salvation are suspended on conditions of man's performing; that there is a double justification, primary and final; that, though we are justified by works, yet that very justification is, in some sense, by grace, because good works are done by God's assistance; that works, done by justified persons, are meritorious towards the attainment of life eternal; and such like. (*r*) With which I take my leave of this contemptible, un-protestant performance.

You have just been dabbling in muddy water; but now the stream

"Works itself clear, and, as it runs, refines;"

your next appeal (*s*) being to the *Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum*, a Protestant codex drawn up in the Protestant reign of Edward VI. But hence, as if you liked neither the book nor the reign in which it was written, you bring only two short quotations, and those not very happily chosen; for neither of them clashes with the doctrines of election and final perseverance, but on the contrary, by evident implication, plainly suppose them to be true. The first passage you render thus: "Wherefore all are to be admonished by us, that, in their undertakings and actions, they are not to refer themselves to the decrees of predestination, since, in the Holy Scriptures, we see promises to good actions and threats to bad ones proposed in general terms." This visibly implies that there are, in fact, decrees of predestination; but that these decrees, being unknown to us, cannot, for that very reason, be the rule by which men are to square their actions and undertakings. What Calvinist ever denied this? I never knew one that did. We all hold that God's revealed, not his secret, will, is the rule of human action; and that we are not to descend from the decree to events; but, on the contrary, should ascend from events to the decree. (*t*) God's hidden will of determination is and can be the rule of his own conduct only, because he only is acquainted with his own purposes in their full extent; but the grand, unerring chart of direction to men, and on which they should constantly fix their eyes, is God's declared will of command, set forth in the written word. So our Church determines, article seventeenth,—"In our doings that will of God is to be followed which we have expressly declared unto us in the word of God."

It is equally true that "In the Holy Scriptures we see promises to good actions and threats to bad ones proposed in general terms:" *i. e.* it is declared in Scripture that such and such causes shall generally be productive of such and such effects. Which is a proposition not only granted, but insisted upon, by myself and by every Calvinist I ever yet read or met with. So much, sir, for your first citation. I go on to the other: "*Etiam illi de justificatis perversè sentiunt, qui credunt illos, postquam justi simul facti sunt, in peccatum non posse incidere aut si fortè quicquam eorum faciunt, quæ Dei legibus prohibentur, ea Deum pro peccatis non accipere.*" I have given the Latin that my readers may judge of your translation, which runs thus: "They form very perverse notions of the justified, who believe that after they are once made just they cannot fall into sin; or if by chance they should do any thing prohibited by the laws of God, that God does not impute it as sin." On reading this, I instantly turned to the table of errata at the end of your pamphlet, but found no correction. What, sir! Does *accipio* properly signify to impute and charge a thing home? Surely both the genius of the Latin tongue and the sense of the passage under consideration require us to render *accipere* in this place by regard, consider, or look upon. The whole paragraph stands thus: "They judge very mistakenly of justified persons who believe that such cannot fall into sin after they are once made just; or if they should happen to commit any of those things which are forbidden by God's law, that God does not look upon those things as sins." To talk (as you would fain make the passage do) of God's actually imputing sin to justified persons would be a contradiction in terms, since the negative part of justification itself lies essentially in the non-imputation of any sin whatever, Psalm xxxii. 1, 2. And the

(*r*) Burnet virtually proves that Cranmer had no hand in that part, at least, of this book which relates to justification. This book makes works a condition, not to say a cause of justification; but Cranmer utterly denied them to be so, as appears from the conclusion of some papers drawn up by him about this time on that important subject; for which see Burnet, Ref. vol. i. 275. See Heylin's Acknowledgment. Life of Laud, p. 3.

(*s*) Page 74.

(*t*) See the bishop of London's (Bancroft) speech to the king in the Hampton Court conference, p 29.

man to whom any one sin is imputed by God is and must be, *ipso facto*, an unjustified person. All, then, that can be inferred from the passage is, 1st. That justified men are not impeccable; the doctrine of sinless perfection in this life, even after grace received, being false, fanatical, and presumptuous. 2. That, consequently, even justified persons may, and too frequently do, fall into sin; and 3. That whenever they do so, God, whose judgment is necessarily according to truth, considers such falling as sinful; sin being sin as much when committed by a child of God as when committed by any other, the state of the offending person not being able to reverse the nature of things. Nay, sin is, if possible, more exceeding sinful in a regenerate man than if he was not so. But what has all this to do with your novel, Arminian, doctrine of totally and finally falling from grace? It rather makes for the opposite doctrine of final perseverance; since the "*reformatio legum*," by only declaring that the justified may fall into sin (which nobody denies but enthusiasts), and that sin is sin, let who will commit it (which every man in his senses allows), Cranmer and his brother commissioners, by going no farther, but letting the matter rest here, tacitly set their seal to the "perpetuity of a regenerate man's estate," according to the known axiom, that *exceptio probat regulum in non exceptis.*

With regard to what you advance from Latimer (page 75), from Hooper (page 76), and from Kidley (page 78), it helps not your cause a jot. I had, in my rough draught of these papers, prepared a vindication of these venerable prelates and reformers from the slander of Arminianism, which you have so unjustly laboured to fasten upon them; together with a refutation of the forced, unnatural inferences deduced by you from the few mangled citations you bring. I find, however, that the insertion of this would swell the present publication beyond the size I intend; and shall therefore postpone submitting that part of my work to the world until I see whether you still have the hardiness to persist in charging those Protestant worthies with opinions they detested. If I might take the liberty of advising you, I would recommend to you at least silence upon that head in time to come. I am clear that you endeavoured to cull out the most unguarded passages you could from the writings of the above excellent men, in order, if possible, to set a grace upon your new doctrines by the sanction of their venerable names. In doing this you have no more than followed the precedent set you by Dr. Peter Heylin, (*u*) an absolute

(*u*) A man of fine natural talents and great acquired knowledge, but who unhappily prostituted both to the most execrable of all purposes, the advancement of civil and religious slavery. Long enough before he wrote the History of the Reformation and the History of the Presbyterians (which were more properly libels upon both), he gave an early specimen of what was to be expected from him in the year 1627, when he publicly maintained, in the Divinity School at Oxford, that the Church cannot err, and that the perpetual visibility of the true Church, *à retrò*, was to be proved. "Not from the persecuted Christians dispersed in several places, as the Berengarians in Italy, the Waldenses in France, the Wickliffists in England, and the Hussites in Bohemia, he rather chose to find out (says the writer of his life, p. 6,) a continual visible Church in Asia, Ethiopia, Greece, Italy, yea, and Rome itself:" and concluded his disputation with passing some very high compliments on the Romish Church, and on Bellarmine in particular, for which the learned (*a*) Dr. Prideaux, who then presided in the divinity chair, had the honesty and courage to call Heylin, publicly and on the spot, *Papicola et Bellarminianus.* Heylin, who well knew what high designs were then carrying on at court, thought he had now laid the foundation of his fortune; and, flushed with hopes of preferment, posts up to London to (*b*) acquaint Laud, then bishop of Bath and Wells, with the meritorious services he had just done, by openly maintaining Popish positions in a Protestant University. "The good bishop (says the aforesaid biographer, p. 7,) commended and encouraged Mr. Heylin, saying that he himself had in his younger days maintained the same positions in a disputation in St. John's college (*c*)." Presently after Heylin is made chaplain to Charles I. and prebendary of Westminster. On the coming out of Mr. Prynne's Histriomastix (written, as the title imports, against plays and stage-players), Heylin is sent for to the council-table, where he received the king's commands to read over that book, and to select such passages from it as the administration could lay hold of; for the queen being, it seems (like a true daughter of France), excessively fond of plays and masques, an attempt to prove those diversions unchristian must needs forsooth be traitorous and seditious, and an insult on the queen herself. A fortnight's space was allowed our Christian divine for the performance of this honourable task. But, says his life-writer, "He had learned that diligence in business would qualify him for the service of kings, and therefore he finished what was required of him in less than four days; for which he had his majesty's thanks, as also new commands to revise his papers, and to write down such logical inferences as might naturally arise from the premises of Mr. Prynne." *ib.* p. 10. The plain English of this is, that Mr. Prynne's own positions, as they stood in his book (though, no doubt, the most exceptionable of them had been industriously culled out by the worthy divine), did not amount to a foundation for prosecuting the author; therefore the same reverend hand was to draw out such logical inferences as might effectually do Prynne's business. With this also the court-chaplain complied. Nor did he stop here: for his historian adds—"About this time, and upon this occasion, he wrote a small tract, touching the punishments due by law and in point of practice," [a distinction well suited to the proceedings of that arbitrary reign, when law and practice were two very different things,] "unto such offenders as Mr. Prynne; and this was observable in the trial of that person, that nothing was urged by the council to aggravate his faults than what was contained in Mr. Heylin's collection." A circumstance, to be sure, much to the Rev. Mr. Heylin's credit; who yet, by the bye, had the modesty to fall foul on the memory of Calvin for the part that reformer is supposed to have borne in the prosecution of Servetus. (*d*)

About two years before all this bustle Mr. Prynne had published a learned and masterly performance, entitled Anti-Arminianism, proving that the Ar-

(*a*) Concerning this excellent person, see the Biogr. Dict.
(*b*) See a curious account of the interview, Life of Laud, p. 166, 167.
(*c*) See two other propositions maintained by Laud's Life, p. 49.

(*d*) Heylin's character of this learned and harmless book is very curious. Life of Laud, p. 217.

creature of archbishop Laud, and an obsequious tool in the persecuting hand of arbitrary power. His Quinquarticular History is the most laboured effort ever yet made to father Arminianism on the Church of England; but all his attempts are like throwing straw against a fort, or playing water against a rock. The Calvinism, both of our reformers and of our Church, stands unimpeached for any thing that either you, sir, or your Heylin, have proved to the contrary. However, supposing (not granting) that you even had so far made good your point as to have evinced that some of our reformers were not altogether such consistent Calvinists as yet their works prove them to have been, still this argument would not have been decisive. Not the sermons and private writings even of our reformers themselves are to be taken for authentic tests of our established doctrines as a Church; but those stubborn things called Articles and Homilies, which have received the sanction of law and the stamp of public authority. These stubborn things (for such they are) still remain, blessed be God, to stare some certain folks in the face, and to demonstrate the glaring apostacy of such as say they are

minian doctrines, then almost fresh imported from Holland, (*e*) were not the doctrines of the Church of England, but novel and exotic. This gravelled Laud, who, not being able to overthrow that vast chain of proofs brought by Prynne, and yet being resolved, by all the allurements of promotion, and (if these failed) by all the terrors of persecution, to new-model the Church, by lopping off Calvinism and grafting Arminianism in its room, greedily laid hold on the subsequent publication of the History; mastik; by the help of logical inferences from which the bishop and his understrapper, Heylin, procured the prosecution of this incorrigible Protestant; who was sentenced in the Star-Chamber to have his book burnt by the hangman; to be himself expelled from Lincoln's Inn; disabled for ever to act as a lawyer, degraded from his university degree; set twice on the pillory; have his ears cut off; be imprisoned for life; and fined in £5000, a moiety whereof very probably went to Mr. Heylin, for his dexterity in drawing logical inferences, and for his activity in publishing a treatise (before the trial came on) setting forth the punishments which the court expected should be inflicted on such offenders as Mr. Prynne. But whether Heylin came in for any of the £5000 or not, the author of his life, immediately after the passage last quoted from him, adds: "For the reward of which and other good services that, with wonderful prudence as well as diligence, he faithfully performed, his majesty was graciously pleased to requite him by bestowing on him the parsonage of Houghton, in the bishopric of Durham, which afterwards he exchanged with Dr. Marshall, for the parsonage of Alresford in Hampshire, that was almost the same value; to which exchange he was commanded by his majesty, that he might live nearer the court for readiness to do his majesty's service:" [and laudable service it was, if we may judge of the whole by the sample.] "Neither was he envied for this or his other preferments, because every one knew his merits the only cause of his promotion." *ib.* And so much for Heylin and his merits; some of which, I suppose, consisted in being a pandour for popery, several of his books, but especially his History of the Reformation, having been the means, it is believed (says the life-writer, p. 24, 25) of perverting "some persons, and those of the most illustrious quality, from the Protestant faith to Popery," after which is added the following passage from bishop Burnet, who observes that Dr. Heylin "delivers many things in such a manner and so strangely that one would think he had been secretly set on to it by those of the Church of Rome; though I doubt not (says the bishop) but he was a sincere Protestant, but violently carried away by some particular conceits." To which the biographer's answer is this, page 25: "If it be true that any have embraced the Roman faith by means of that book, (*f*) he (Burnet) may conclude them to be very incompetent judges in the matters of religion that will be prevailed upon to change it by the perusal of one single history." A very flimsy vindication from so heavy a charge! See Heylin's Life, prefixed to his Miscellaneous Tracts, in fol. 1681.

I thought the reader would not be displeased to see a sketch of that man's character, whose name and writings are still so precious in the estimation of high-flown Arminians and Tories. I shall only prolong this large note with one observation more: viz. What can we think of the Protestantism of that clergyman who has left it on record as a settled opinion that the death of king Edward VI. (though succeeded by the butcheries of a Popish reign) was rather a benefit than a detriment to the Church of England? Yet this says Heylin. His words are—"Scarce had they brought it to this pass when king Edward died; whose death I cannot reckon for an infelicity to the Church of England; for being ill-principled in himself, and easily inclined to embrace such counsels as were offered to him, it is not to be thought, &c." Hist. Ref. Pref. p. 4. This Protestant history was dedicated by the Protestant Doctor to his Protestant majesty king Charles the Second, to whom the above mentioned Protestant remark could not fail of being peculiarly pleasing.

Such was the man whom Dr. Nowell has ventured to commend and to quote. I fancy that by this time the reader will think, with me, that Dr. Nowell (like Charles the First, whom he is not ashamed to stile the best of Kings) is rather unhappy in the choice of his favourites.

Jews and are not, but are found liars. To these stubborn things we are to appeal; by these every subscriber is bound, and from these our doctrines must be learnt.

Before we quit the reign of King Edward, I must advert to what you deliver (page 89) concerning Bishop Ponet's catechism, which you find yourself under the necessity of confessing to have been "set forth by the command of King Edward VI." This Dr. Ponet, or rather Poynet, was in 1550 translated from the see of Rochester to Winchester, upon the deprivation of that ecclesiastical butcher, Stephen Gardiner. In the year 1553 came out, *cum privilegio*, two editions, one in Latin, the other in English, of this excellent prelate's catechism; in which form of sound words (clearly exhibiting the sense both of the Church and legislature) those doctrines, which you have presumed to brand for Calvinistic and Methodistical, are asserted, explained, and enforced. You, indeed, tell us that "the free-agency of man is not there denied." The word free-agency is not mentioned; but the thing is denied peremptorily, in the Arminian sense of it; for thus runs part of the catechism: "From the

(*e*) Heylin owns this; Life of Laud, p. 122. The Arminians afraid to treat the discussion of their doctrines to the Convocation; ibid 146, 147. The king's edict therefore was to do the business.

(*f*) The Duchess of York turned Papist by reading it. Echard

same spirit also cometh our sanctification, the love of God and of our neighbour, justice and uprightness of life. Finally, to say all in summe, whatever is in us, or may be done of us, honest, true, pure, and good, that altogether springeth out of this most pleasant rock, from this most plenteous fountain, the goodness, love, choice and unchangeable purpose of God: he is the cause; the rest are the fruits and effects." You add, that in this catechism "universal redemption is not denied." Nor is the baptism of bells. Were we to go by your negative rule of interpretation, there would be no end to chicanery, absurdities, and mistakes. This I know, and this you know, if you ever cast your eye on the performance now under consideration, that in it eternal, personal, gratuitous, and irreversible election is asserted; whence a limited redemption necessarily follows; unless you will suppose that, in the judgment of the Church, the will of God the Father and the will of God the Redeemer were discordant, and that the latter exceeded his commission by dying for more than the former gave him in charge to save. But, on the contrary, the catechism before us evidently restrains redemption to the elect of God (whether rightly or wrongly is not the present question; I am only proving a fact) who are thus described: "Immortality and blessed life God hath provided for his chosen before the foundations of the world were laid." And again, that through the alone benefit of Christ's sacrifice and cross, "All the sins of all believers, from the beginning of the world, are pardoned by the sole mercy of God." The grace by which men are made true believers, and which is the very root of all real sanctification, is farther represented as the special gift and work of the Holy Ghost: "The Holy Ghost is called holy not only for his own holiness, but because the elect of God and the members of Christ are made holy by him." Now if they only who should believe were redeemed by Christ's sacrifice; and if their belief itself be a part of that sanctification which is wrought by the Holy Ghost; and if this sanctification is peculiar to the elect of God; then, according to this catechism, only the elect of God were redeemed by Christ. You tell us, moreover, referring to this valuable monument of good old church-doctrine, "Nor is the indefectibility of the elect asserted." Indeed but it is, in terms tantamount. The witnessing Spirit of Christ in the hearts of those who are there styled "The forechosen, predestinate, and appointed to everlasting life before the world was made," is expressly termed the "author, earnest, and unfailable pledge of their faith." But was that faith either totally or finally admissible, the pledge by which it is ascertained could not be called unfailable; for that faith itself must necessarily be unfailable which has an unfailable pledge. Besides, God the Holy Spirit could not, with any sort of truth or propriety, be the earnest of their inheritance, if the inheritance itself was precarious, and suspended on conditions of uncertain performance. An earnest is actually a part of payment, and so much of the inheritance advanced beforehand and which ensures the remainder; otherwise it would be no earnest at all. An argument in favour of the saints' final perseverance which I defy all the excuti-fidians in the world (as bishop Hall, no less justly than smartly, terms them) to answer.

You say too little, when you tell us that this catechism "speaks in pretty high terms of election and predestination." It speaks of those doctrines in terms the highest and the strongest: as also of original sin; the utter impotence of man's will by nature, in spiritual things; the eternity and immutability of God's decrees; the absolute freeness of justification; and the efficaciousness of divine grace, by which (as the very words are) "we are made to do those good works which God had appointed for us to walk in." I shall only add one or two very remarkable particulars concerning this excellent catechism. 1. It was published the very next year after the framing and setting forth our Church articles: and therefore may be considered as a professed explication and enlargement of them. 2. I have good reason to believe that, during the short remainder of king Edward's reign, it was usually prefixed to and bound up with those articles. 3. It was prefaced by the king himself, with an authoritative epistle of recommendation, strictly enjoining and commanding, "All schoolmasters whatsoever within his dominions, as they did reverence his authority, and would avoid his royal displeasure, to teach this catechism diligently and carefully in all and every their schools, that so the youth of the kingdom might be settled in the grounds of true religion, and furthered in God's worship."——I think it is sufficiently plain that Arminianism had no footing in the Church of England while headed by our English Josiah. Which, I presume, was the chief reason that made your beloved Peter Heylin impudently term this excellent young monarch (the first Protestant King we ever had) ill-principled.

Come we now to the reign of queen Elizabeth. Under this great princess, the Church of England raised its head again, and matters went happily on in the old Protestant Calvinistic channel. Of this many and ample proofs might be given. I shall offer a very decisive one, upon the authority of the worthy and laborious Mr.

Strype: a historian, whose attachment to our Church was indisputable, and whose faithfulness in relating facts, even when those facts make against his own favourite opinions (for he appears to have been an Arminian) is equally remarkable and praiseworthy. "We are to know," says this respectable annalist, "that, among those who now professed the gospel, there were considerable numbers differing from the rest, that followed some foreign divines of great name in the point of predestination; denying the doctrine of God's being any cause of the sins of men, and thereby of their damnation. One of these was Thomas Talbot, parson of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk-street, London. Those of this persuasion were mightily cried out against by the other, as Free-willers, Pelagians, Papists, Anabaptists, and the like: but they took their opportunity to address the bishops; plainly declaring their opinions and their sufferings, as well as others, for the gospel; and desiring therefore the favour of some act of parliament, to enjoy the liberty of their consciences without restraint or punishment (which some threatened) as others of the queen's Protestant subjects did. "I meet" [adds Mr. Strype] "with such a petition to the Church, the exact time whereof does not appear: but it being evident it was near the beginning of the queen's reign, and while a parliament was sitting, I venture to place it here," [*i. e.* under the year 1562, the very year that our articles of religion were revised and re-established, as we now have them]. The petition, says Mr. Strype "was exhibited by the foresaid Talbot." After which, he gives the petition itself at full length, (see Strype's Annals of the first twelve years of Queen Eliz. chap. xxviii. p. 293—296). The petition represents that the grand point wherein the petitioners differed from the other protestants was their holding "that God does fore-know and predestinate all good and goodness, but doth only fore-know, and not predestinate, any evil, wickedness, or sin, in any behalf." For thus thinking, they complained that they were "Esteemed and taken of their brethren the Protestants, for fautors of false religion; and are constrained hitherto to sustain at their hands, daily, the shameful reproach and infamy of Free-will-men, Pelagians, Papists, Epicures, Anabaptists, and enemies to God's holy predestination and providence; with other such-like opprobrious words; and threatenings of such-like, or as great punishments and corrections as upon any of the aforesaid errors and sects is meet and due to be executed."—Then the petitioners intreat that they may enjoy their opinion of God's not being the predestinator of evil, "Without any prejudice or suspicion to be had towards them of the opprobrious infamy of such heretical names above-named:" And that none of those corrections, punishments, and executions, which the clergy hath in their authority already, and hereafter, by the authority of this present parliament, henceforth shall have in their authority, to exercise upon any of the aforesaid errors and sects, or any other; shall in no wise extend to be executed upon any manner of person or persons as do hold of predestination as is above declared: except it be duly proved that the same person or persons do, by their express words or writings, affirm or maintain that man, of his own natural power, is able to think, will, or work, of himself, any thing that should in any case help or serve towards his own salvation, or any part thereof.

From all which I conclude as follows: 1. That on the accession of queen Elizabeth the Church of England was re-established upon the old Calvinistic bottom on which king Edward had left it. 2. That our Protestant bishops and clergy were then more highly Calvinistic than, perhaps, the Scriptures will warrant: as holding that God was the author both of man's sin and damnation. 3. That nevertheless those persons who did not hold this were looked upon as differing from the rest of our Protestant Churchmen. 4. That our English divines did, in general, carry their notions of God's decrees to this great length: parson Talbot and his followers being expressly said to have imbibed their qualified notions of predestination from foreign divines. That part, therefore, of the present fashionable system which would exempt moral and penal evil from falling under God's decree, is not of English but of foreign growth. 5. Those who held this opinion of God's not being any cause of sin and damnation were, at that time, mightily cried out against by the main body of our reformed Church, as fautors of false religion. 6. That Free-will-men were ranked among Pelagians, Papists, Epicures, Anabaptists, and the enemies to God's holy predestination and providence. 7. That to be called a Free-will-man was looked upon as a shameful reproach and opprobrious infamy: yea, that a person so termed was deemed heretical, and that the doctrine and abettors of free-will were numbered among those errors and sects which called for the correction of the civil magistrate. 8. That the opposers of predestination were then a good deal more modest than they are at present. The parson of Milk-street, who was agent for the rest, only requested an act of toleration for himself and his brethren: which demonstrated a consciousness of their differing from the Church

established. 9. As those sort of people were then more modest, so they were much more orthodox, than the modern Arminians. The Semi-pelagians of queen Elizabeth's reign were, as we have seen, very ready to consent that any ecclesiastical or civil penalty should be levied on those who should, "By their express words or writings affirm and maintain that man, of his own natural power, is able to think, will, or work of himself, any thing that should in any case help or serve towards his own salvation, or any part thereof." Where is the Arminian now who would make such a concession as this? Nay, Where is now the Arminian who does not stiffly maintain the very reverse? Whence I infer that our new Anti-Calvinists are as much degenerated from their forefathers as those forefathers degenerated from the purity of the Protestant faith in general, and from that of our own national Church in particular.

Every man, who has eyes to read, must see that at the restoration of the Church of England under queen Elizabeth the Church was Calvinistic as to doctrinals. Else, where had been either the necessity or the propriety of presenting such a petition as this, craving liberty and indulgence to those who differed from the heads of the Church only in not believing the absolute predestination of evil? Nothing can be more evident than that the bishops and clergy, to whom that petition was addressed believed the predestination of all actions and events whatever, evil as well as good; otherwise the petitioners would never have thought themselves in danger for not believing it.

Page 79, you enter on an academical transaction of a very different kind from that in which you have been recently concerned. I mean the expulsion (for such it virtually was) of the reverend Mr. William Barrett, fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, from that university, in the year 1595, for not being a Calvinist. This gentleman, in a sermon preached at St. Mary's for his degree of bachelor in divinity, had the courage to deny the doctrines of assurance of salvation; the certainty of a true believer's final perseverance; and the eternity and unconditionality of reprobation: interlarding his harangue with fierce invectives against Calvin, Beza, Zanchy, and other great lights of the Protestant Church. This sermon was preached April 29. (*x*) On the 5th of May following, Barrett was summoned before the consistory of doctors, where a solemn recantation was enjoined him, which he read publicly in the same pulpit of St. Mary's, May 10.—For this, you tell us, "We have the authority of that loyal and godly author, Mr. Prynne." Whether Mr. Prynne was really a godly man, or only such in pretence (which your irony seems to insinuate), must be left to the decision of the Judge who cannot err. But as to Mr. Prynne's loyalty, suffer me to remind you, sir, that true loyalty extends to one's country, as well as to the prince: and that to oppose tyranny is no breach of loyalty, but an essential branch of it. Loyalty (as the very word imports) is such an attachment to the king and people, as is founded on the laws: and a hair's breadth beyond law, true loyalty does not go. So allegiance is obedience, *ad legem*, according to law. Whenever therefore (as was eminently the case in Mr. Prynne's time), a prince oversteps law, loyalty itself obliges a loyal people to say to such a prince, as the Almighty to the sea, "Hitherto shalt thou come, and no further."(*y*)—With regard to the authority of Mr. Prynne's Anti-Arminianism, the treatise wherein Barrett's recantation of his Arminian errors is recorded, please to remember that the treatise was published little more than thirty years after the affair happened: and, had a tittle of Mr. Prynne's account been untrue, there were enough living who both remembered the fact, and could very easily have refuted our loyal and godly author. (*z*)—However, the matter is very far from depending entirely on Mr. Prynne's testimony. He refers his reader [Anti-Arm. p. 66.] to bishop Carlton's "Examination of Montague's Appeal;" and to Browne's Appendix to the "Life of Queen Elizabeth." He moreover gives us the recantation, in Latin, as it was delivered; transcribed from the original copy, in Barrett's own hand-writing; which Latin copy, he tells us, differs from his English translation of it only in this one respect, namely, that so much of our 17th article as relates immediately to predestination, and is but mentioned in the English, was inserted in Barrett's own copy, and recited by him at full length, when he was forced to unravel his web at St. Mary's.—The industrious Mr. Fuller, in his History of Cambridge, gives the same account in all material points, with Mr. Prynne, of Barrett's recantation; which having set

(*x*) For the process against him, see Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 336.

(*y*) Besides, Prynne was a loyal man, even in Dr. Nowell's sense of the word. He was devotedly attached to the interest of Charles II., and for that reason was excluded from the House of Commons in the year 1661. Charles himself, ungrateful as he naturally and generally was, was yet so sensible of his obligations to Mr. Prynne that on his restoration, he made him keeper of the records in the Tower, a place worth 500*l.* per ann., which he enjoyed till his death, which happened in the year 1669. See the Biographical Dictionary. See also Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 149.

(*z*) Strype himself appeals to Prynne's testimony as unexceptionable and valid. Life of Whitgift, p. 336.

down at large, he thus concludes: "This recantation was, by the doctors, peremptorily enjoined him; that on the Saturday following, immediately after the *clerum*, he should go up into the pulpit of St. Mary's (where he had published these errors), and there openly, and in the face of the university, read and make this recantation; which by him was done accordingly, but not with that remorse and humility as was expected: for after the reading thereof, he concluded thus, *hæc dixi*; as if all had been oral, rather than cordial. (*a*) Yea, soon after he departed the university; got beyond sea; turned papist; returned into England; where he led a lay-man's life until the day of his death." [Hist. Cambr. p 151.) But I have yet another authority to allege. The great and famous Dr. John Edwards, who flourished in the reigns of king William and queen Anne, and was both a member of the university of Cambridge, and one of its brightest ornaments, informs us that there is a manuscript preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, which puts the certainty of Barrett's recantation beyond all doubt. The doctor's words are; "More of this nature, relating to Mr. Barrett's case, may be seen in that valuable manuscript, which is kept in Trinity-college library, which MS. Mr. Strype, in his Life of Whitgift, very often appeals to. And" [adds the doctor] "from this excellent collection, may be confuted that groundless suggestion and conceit of Heylin, in Quinqu. Hist. that Barrett did not recant: for here it is recorded at length; and several copies of his own" [*i. e.* Barrett's] "Letters, do expressly own as much." *Veritas Redux*, p. 535.

For my own part, I cannot say that I approve the method of obliging any person to make a forced, pretended recantation of what he really believes to be true. It is a very high species of persecution; and calculated not to work conviction, but to make men hypocrites. Besides, as a writer of the first abilities observes, "The arbitrary imposition of opinions naturally creates a reluctance to the reception of them: and as in the collision of bodies, so of minds, the repelling force is equal to that which impels." But still the fact proves the university to have been Calvinists in judgment: otherwise they would never have inflicted censures on one of their own body, purely for broaching Arminian doctrines. Part of the very letter, which you yourself quote (written on this occasion, by the Cambridge divines, to archbishop Whitgift), renders my assertion indubitable: wherein the university observe to that prelate that Barrett had advanced untruths "Against the religion of our Church, publicly received, and always held in her majesty's reign, and maintained in all sermons, disputations, and lectures." (*b*)—I own, sir, it must be peculiarly grating to you, to be confronted with such an academical act as this: but, I suppose you comfort yourself with

Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis.

Yet, remember, that though men and fashions may vary, truth does not: and what was Church of England doctrine in queen Elizabeth's reign is so still. You need not be informed who it is that says, "Veritati nemo præscribere potest: non spatia temporum; non patrocinia personarum; non privilegium regionum."

Next come the celebrated Lambeth articles. These you labour with all your might to depreciate: and good reason why; because the testimony they bear to the avowed Calvinism of the prelates and other eminent clergymen who agreed upon them is too glaring and full to the point. I shall give some account of these famous articles in the words of a historian already referred to, whose signal opportunities of information, and, above all, whose transparent integrity, entitle him to the esteem of all parties. "Now also began some opinions about predestination, free-will, perseverance, &c., much to trouble both the schools and pulpit:" [*i. e.* in the year 1595.] "whereupon, archbishop Whitgift, out of his Christian care to propagate the truth, and suppress the opposite errors, caused a solemn meeting of many grave and learned divines, at Lambeth: where, besides the archbishop; Richard Bancroft, bishop of London; Richard Vaughan, bishop elect of Bangor; Humphrey Tindal, dean of Ely; doctor Whitaker, queen's professor in Cambridge, and others, were assembled. These, after a serious debate, and mature deliberation, resolved, at last, on the now following articles:

"1. Deus, ab æterno prædestinavit quosdam ad vitam: quosdam reprobavit ad mortem."

God, from eternity, hath predestinated certain men unto life: certain men he hath reprobated unto death.

"2. Causa movens, aut efficiens, prædestinationis ad vitam, non est prævisio fidei, perseverantiæ, aut bonorum operum, aut ullius rei, quæ insit in personis prædestinatis: sed sola voluntas beneplaciti Dei."

The moving or efficient cause of predestination unto life is not the foresight of faith, or of perseverance, or of good works,

(*a*) See Strype, ibid, p. 136, 137, and 444. (*b*) See also Strype, p. 446.

or of any thing that is in the persons predestinated: but only the good will and pleasure of God.

"3. Prædestinatorum præfinitus et certus est numerus; qui nec augeri, nec minui potest."

There is pre-determined a certain number of the predestinate, which can neither be augmented, nor diminished.

"4. Qui non sunt prædestinati ad salutem, necessario, propter peccata sua, damnabuntur."

Those who are not predestinated to salvation shall necessarily be damned for their sins.

"5. Vera, viva, et justificans fides, et spiritus Dei justificantis, non extinguitur, non excidit, non evanescit, in electis, aut finaliter, aut totaliter."

A true, living, and justifying faith, and the spirit of God justifying, is not extinguished, falleth not away, vanisheth not away, in the elect, either finally or totally.

"6. Homo verè fidelis, id est, fide justificante prædituς, certus est, plerophoriâ fidei, de remissione peccatorum suorum, et salute sempiternâ suâ per Christum.

A man truly faithful, that is, such a one who is endued with justifying faith, is certain, with the full assurance of faith of the remission of his sins, and of his everlasting salvation by Christ.

"7. Gratia salutaris non tribuitur, non communicatur, non conceditur universis hominibus, quâ servari possint si velint."

Saving grace is not given, is not communicated, is not granted, to all men, by which they may be saved if they will.

"8. Nemo potest venire ad Christum, nisi datum ei fuerit, et nisi Pater eum traxerit: et omnes homines non trahuntur á Patre, ut veniant ad Filium."

No man can come unto Christ, except it shall be given unto him, and unless the Father shall draw him: and all men are not drawn by the Father, that they may come to the Son.

"9. Non est positum in arbitrio, aut potestate unius cujusque hominis servari."

It is not in the will or power of every one to be saved.

Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 229.

After which, our historian gives us the letter, sent by Dr. Matthew Hutton, archbishop of York, to his brother of Canterbury, testifying his concurrence with, and approbation of, the above articles.

Your grand fundamental objection, sir, to these articles is your hatred of the doctrines they contain. This is the worm that lies at the root of your exceptions. 1. You tell us (page 82,) that "They are no part of our faith." You should have said, of your own faith. I am sorry for it. I am sure they ought. 2. They were never "Established by any legal authority." I answer with Fuller, "That, as medals of gold and silver, though they will not pass in payment for current coin, yet will go with goldsmiths for as much as they are in weight; so, though these articles" are not [as that historian observes,] "Provincial acts, yet will they be readily received of orthodox Christians, as far as their own purity bears conformity to God's word:—and will be taken as witnesses beyond exception; whose testimony is an infallible evidence what was the general and received doctrine of England, in that age, about the fore-named controversies." (Fuller, ib. p. 232.)—— 3. You add, "They are urged against us by the author of the Confessional." What if they are? Does that in the least impair their value? I am only concerned that any who now call themselves members of our Church should, by deserting her principles, lay themselves open to the scoffs of such authors. —— 4. "They gave great offence, not only in the university, but at court." Offence they could not give to the university; except only to a few heterodox individuals, whose innovating tenets were in danger of public suppression by counter decisions so clear and peremptory.—Whether or no they gave any real offence at court, is questionable. But, if they even did, it can be no matter of wonder to those who consider the character of queen Elizabeth, and how tenderly jealous (*c*) she was of her own supremacy in ecclesiastical matters. The articles had been transmitted to Cambridge without her leave: which alone had been enough to displease a monarch of less haughtiness than Elizabeth; who was too much her father's own daughter, and too tenacious of her prerogative, to smile on any measures that had not received the previous sanction of her approbation. For the same reason, that archbishop Whitgift is said to have resented (*d*) the university proceedings against Barrett (observe he did not resent their condemnation of Barrett's tenets, for of these the archbishop openly avowed his detestation, (see Strype, p. 447,) as much as they; but their presuming to proceed judicially against that innovator, by virtue of their own sole

(*c*) See Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 194.

(*d*) This gave occasion to that excellent letter of apology, sent to the archbishop from Cambridge: for which see Strype's Whitgift, p. 437. Barrett had been beforehand with the university in writing to the archbishop; which artful expedient did at first prejudice the prelate in his favour. See Strype, p. 438. Conscious, however, of the badness of his cause, he began to rein, and to cut up most of his assertions. See Strype's Appendix to Whitgift p. 188.

authority and without first consulting with their metropolitan. (*e*) For the same reason (*mutatis mutandis*), Elizabeth herself resented, if it be true that she did resent, the subsequent proceedings of Whitgift. At all events this is certain, that her extreme affection for that prelate did not suffer her resentment to proceed far, or to continue long. (*f*) One Corvinus, a noted Dutch Arminian, in a book of his, published beyond sea, seems to have been one of the first who made public mention of the queen's displeasure at this supposed invasion of her prerogative. Concerning the degree of credit due to this foreign writer, who affected to know more of our English affairs than the English themselves, let us hear the candid and judicious historian last cited: As for Corvinus, as we know not whence he had this intelligence, so we find no just ground for what he reporteth, [*viz.*] That Archbishop Whitgift, for his pains incurred the queen's displeasure and a *præmunire*. We presume this foreigner better acquainted with the imperial law and local customs of Holland, than with our municipal statutes and the nature of a *præmunire*. Indeed, there goes a tradition that the queen should, in merriment, say jesting to the archbishop, 'My Lord, I now shall want no money; for I am informed all your goods are forfeited to me, by your calling a council without my consent; but how much of truth herein, God knows. And be it referred to our learned in the law, whether without danger of such a censure the two archbishops by virtue of their place had not an implicit leave from the queen to assemble divines, for the clearing, declaring, and asserting of difficult truths, provided they innovate or alter nothing in matters of religion.' Fuller, p. 232. (*g*)

As to lord Burleigh's supposed disapprobation of the articles, I apprehend it is nothing to the purpose, even admitting it to be true. (*h*) That great person was certainly a very able statesman; but it does not therefore follow that he was a good divine. The famous Mr. Wilkes is, in the opinion of very many, a passable politician; yet I question whether you yourself (though, like you, he is far enough from being a Calvinist) would venture to pronounce that gentleman a consummate theologist.

In consequence of these articles approved of at Lambeth, and thence sent to Cambridge, Peter Baroe, D.D. and Margaret-professor, chose rather to quit the university than either to relinquish his Arminianism, or profess himself a Calvinist when he was not so. The matter is thus related by Fuller: "The end of Dr. Peter Baroe's triennial lectures began to draw near. Now, though custom had made such courtesy almost become a due to continue the same professor, where no urgent reasons to the contrary were alledged; yet the university intended not to re-elect him for the place: meaning fairly to cut him off at the just joint (which would be the less pain and shame unto him) when his three years should be expired. He himself was sensible thereof: and, besides, he saw the articles of Lambeth, lately sent to the university; and foresaw that subscription thereunto should be expected from, yea, imposed on him; to which he could not condescend, and therefore chose to quit his place. So that his departure was not his free act out of voluntary election; but that whereunto his will was necessarily determined: witness his own return to a friend requiring of him the cause of his withdrawing: "*Fugio*," said he, "*ne fugarer*; I fly for fear of being driven away." Some conceive this hard measure to one of Dr. Baroe's qualifications: for, 1. He was a foreigner, a Frenchman: 2. He was a great scholar, &c. Others alledged that, in such cases of conscience, there lies no plea for courtesy; and that Baroe, as he was a stranger, had brought in strange doctrines, to the infecting the university, the fountain of learning and however, this prevaricating Pelagian delayed to make, p. 457, 458. The whole affair is summed up by the archbishop himself, as follows: and is such a proof of this prelate's Calvinism as must for ever leave it incontestible, p. 458, 459.

Here, properly, come in the Lambeth articles; p. 461, which were sent to Cambridge, accompanied with a letter from the archbishop, which breathes the true spirit of a Christian and a Protestant, p. 462: yet was he firmly persuaded of the truth of the doctrine asserted in these articles, p. 463. See Sand. Pax. Eccles. p. 64.

(*f*) See Strype, p. 464. She was, however, enraged at Baroe's impudence in presuming to preach against the Calvinistic doctrines, as we shall presently see.

(*g*) A Cambridge divine, so low down as 1634, was stopped of his degree, for seeming to nibble at the doctrine of justification by faith only. See Usher's Letters, p. 470.

(*h*) It is extremely questionable whether he did quite dislike them. See Strype, 464.

(*e*) See Strype, ib. p. 440. And in this, the university certainly acted imprudently: Whitgift being then at the head of the ecclesiastical commission, and also having a peculiar jurisdiction over Cambridge, *pro tempore*; the see of Ely being then vacant. In short, the dispute between the archbishop and the university was little else but a mere struggle for power. The heads at Cambridge were, at last, apprehensive that in their scuffle with the archbishop concerning the extent of his jurisdiction over them, the truths of religion might eventually suffer; wherefore they present to him a very respectful, but very nervous, petition: which see in Strype, p. 451.

Soon after, Barrett was, by the archbishop's order, strictly examined at Cambridge, upon these eight questions; which, with his answers, see in Strype, p. 452, 453. Then examined again at Lambeth, before the archbishop in person, p. 457; and another form of recantation (more moderate and qualified than that he had before delivered at St. Mary's) was drawn up at Lambeth, with Barrett's consent, and transmitted to Cambridge; but which,

religion; and therefore archbishop Whitgift designed the removing," [or, as Dr. Nowell would have termed it, the Amotion] "of him from his place." [Hist. of Camb. sect. vii. p. 21, 22.] (*i*)

I shall subjoin the account given by Dr. Edwards of these celebrated Lambeth articles, who, after setting them down as I have cited them above, adds: "The archbishop of Canterbury, in the letter to the vice-chancellor of the university, when he sent Dr. Tindal and Dr. Whitaker back from Lambeth with these articles, professed that he thought them to be true, and correspondent to the doctrine professed in the Church of England and established by the laws of the land. And again, in his letter to Dr. Nevil, master of Trinity college, he asserts the propositions to be undoubtedly true, and not to be denied of any sound divine. Matthew Hutton, archbishop of York, in the close of his letter to archbishop Whitgift, adds these words: "*Hæ theses ex sacris literis, vel apertè colligi, vel necessariò consecutione deduci possint, et ex scriptis Augustini.*' *i. e.* These positions may plainly be gathered out of the sacred Scriptures, or by necessary consequence may be deduced out of them and St. Augustine's writings. (*k*) John Young, bishop of Rochester, in a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, allowed of all the articles but one: 'I am something doubtful,' saith he, 'of the fourth proposition, because I do not perfectly understand it: for the rest I have no manner of scruple.' The determination of Dr. Launcelot Andrews concerning these articles is also set down in the Trinity college manuscript, whence I had the foregoing informations. He (bishop Andrews) agrees with the archbishop as to the main, and submits his judgment to the censure of that prelate. There likewise we have Dr. Bisse's opinion of the propositions, wherein he fully gives his suffrage in their behalf, and distinctly sets it down according to the order of the propositions. This and the other particular testimonies may be seen in that fore-mentioned manuscript, which is a standing confutation of those false things that are told by Dr. Heylin concerning the articles of Lambeth, and particularly of that calumny which another of the same genius hath had the confidence to publish to the world, namely, (*l*) that archbishop Whitgift did not in the least approve of the theses, but yet subscribed to them out of facility and fear of discord. (*m*) The contrary manifestly appears from that choice collection of papers which I have made use of, and which was compiled by the archbishop himself, or by his order, so as it may be looked upon as his, which I gather from the manuscript itself, it being bound up in a leather cover, on which are the arms belonging to the archbishop's see. From the whole we may conclude what was the judgment of the prelates and other divines of the Church of England in queen Elizabeth's time concerning those high points. Yea, indeed, the conclusion is made to our hand; for the force of truth hath drawn this acknowledgment from one of our chief adversaries, that in those times 'Predestination and the points depending thereupon were received as the established doctrines of the Church of England.' [Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 51.] And again, 'The books of Calvin were the rule by which all men were to square their writings; his only word, like the *ipse dixit* of Pythagoras, was admitted for the sole canon to which they were to frame and conform their judgments.' He adds, 'It was safer for any man in those times to have been looked upon as a heathen or publican than an Anti-Calvinist." (*n*) [ibid. p. 52.] *Veritas Redux*, p. 537, 538.

It will appear, sir, even to yourself, how greatly mistaken you are in asserting so confidently that the Lambeth articles gave offence in the university, when you consider the letter sent by the university to their chancellor, the lord Burleigh, within four months after those articles had been agreed upon at Lambeth. We have it at length in Heylin's Quinquarticular History, part iii. chap. xxii.; and, I dare believe, this writer has been very careful not to give it in stronger terms than it was written: a historian of his bigotted complexion is more likely to have castrated such a monument of Cambridge Calvinism than added to its vigour. However, in this letter, even as preserved by him, I find the following passages: "The peace of this university and Church being brought into peril by the late reviving of new opinions and troublesome controversies among us, hath urged us, in regard of the places we here sustain, not only to be careful for suppressing the same to our power, but also to give your lordship further information hereof. About a year past (among divers others who have attempted to preach new and strange opinions in religion) one Mr. Barrett, more bold than the rest, did preach divers Popish errors in

(*i*) The queen was enraged with Baroe, for his impudence and ingratitude, shown in his presuming to preach against the Calvinistical doctrine; Strype, p. 464, 465, and so was the archbishop, who was Hutton, archbishop of York, p. 476. The articles, for which this French Semi-pelagian was accused, were chiefly four. Strype, p. 470.

(*k*) See Hutton's Judgment; more fully in Strype, p. 461 and 478.

(*l*) Strype also vindicates the archbishop from this mean insinuation of Elis's, p. 462.

(*m*) J. Elis Hist. Artic. Lamb.

(*n*) See another concession of Heylin's. Life of Laud, p. 121.

St. Mary's, with whose fact and opinions your lordship was made acquainted by Dr. Some, the deputy vice-chancellor. Hereby offence and division growing, as after by Dr. Baroe's public lectures and determinations in the schools, contrary to Dr. Whitaker's and the sound received truth ever since her majesty's reign, we sent up to London, by common consent, in November last, Dr. Tyndal and Dr. Whitaker (men especially chosen for that purpose) for conference with my lord of Canterbury and other principal divines there; that the controversies being examined, and the truth by their consents confirmed, the contrary errors and contentions thereabouts might the rather cease. By whose good travel, with sound consent in truth, such advice and care was taken, by certain propositions" [*i. e.* the Lambeth articles], "containing certain substantial points of religion taught and received in this university and Church during the time of her majesty's reign, and consented unto and published by the best approved divines both at home and abroad, for the maintaining of the truth and peace of the Church, as thereby we enjoyed here great and comfortable quiet, until Dr. Baroe (in January last, in his sermon *ad clerum* in St. Mary's, contrary to restraint and commandment from the vice-chancellor and the heads), by renewing again these opinions, disturbed our peace, whereby his adherents and disciples were and are too much emboldened to maintain false doctrine, to the corrupting and disturbing of this university and the Church, if it be not in time effectually prevented. Now, unless we should be careless of maintaining the truth of religion established, we cannot (being resolved and confirmed in the truth of the long-professed and received doctrine) but continue to use all good means and seek at your lordship's hands some effectual remedy hereof, lest, by permitting passage to these errors, the whole body of Popery should, by little and little, break in upon us to the overthrow of our religion. As we find, by late experience, it hath dangerously began." Such were the ideas which the university then entertained of those Arminian errors which have since grown so rampant among us! (*o*)

Presently after giving us the public letter, whence I have extracted the above passages, this very Heylin has the impudence to call Arminianism the genuine doctrine of the Church. And yet he dates the rise of this genuine doctrine from the time he there treats of, *viz.* the year 1595; and acknowledges, in effect, that Calvinism was the doctrine universally received in our Church until then. His words are: "Such was the condition of affairs at Cambridge at the expiring of the year 1595; the genuine doctrine of the Church" [by which he means Arminianism, propagated by Barrett, Baroe, and Harsnet] "beginning then to break through the clouds of Calvinism, wherewith it was before obscured." Yet he seems to lament that Arminianism made so slow a progress at that time; for he adds, "that there were some still left of the old predestination leaven." Strange that the Church of England should be without her genuine doctrines for the first fifty years after her establishment! I should rather have thought that the Arminian doctrines, which, by the confession of Heylin himself, did not begin to break through the clouds of Calvinism until the Church was half a century old, must, for that very reason, be looked upon as new and adventitious; and that, on the other hand, the old predestination leaven, which met with no considerable opposition until the year 1595, was and must have been the truly genuine doctrine of our English Church.

You next advert to the ever-memorable synod of Dort, held in the reign of James I., (*p*) which renowned assembly and its decisions have always been as great an eyesore to Arminians as ever the council and creed of Nice were to the Arians, or Geneva to his holiness of Rome. That the decrees passed in this synod are not binding in England is what I never knew so much as questioned. All that we refer to it for is to prove that our national Church was not then Arminianized, as appears from the character and principles of those English clergymen who, as representatives of the Church of England, were sent over to Holland to assist the foreign Churches in the solemn condemnation and proscription of the Arminian doctrines. This important convention was at Dort, where the synod, composed of the flower of the reformed Churches, was opened Nov. 13, 1618. Of all the councils that ever sat since the apostles' days, this was, perhaps, taking every thing into the account, by far the most respectable. Scarce ever, I believe, did the Christian world, before or since, see such a number of evangelical divines, so learned, so pious, so discreet, so candid, assembled together under one roof. The English divines, who made so eminent a figure in this synod, and whose orthodoxy, learning, and great abilities reflected so much honour on our church and nation, were George Carlton, D. D., then lord bishop of Llandaff, afterwards of Chichester; Joseph Hall, D.D., then dean

(*o*) How the university of Oxford also stood affected as to these points is evident from the manner in which they treated Laud. See his Life, p. 50.

(*p*) James's view (in his share of the business) was to condemn Arminianism. Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 120.

of Worcester, afterwards successively bishop of Exeter and Norwich; John Davenant, D.D., then Margaret professor and master of Queen's college, Cambridge, afterwards bishop of Salisbury; and Samuel Ward, D.D., then master of Sidney college, Cambridge, and archdeacon of Taunton. To these was soon after added, as representative of the Church of Scotland, George Balcanquall, B.D., and fellow of Pembroke hall. Dr. Hall, after about two months' stay in Holland, was forced, by want of health, to return to England (having first taken a most respectful and tenderly affectionate leave of the synod in a pious and elegant speech still extant), and was replaced by Thomas Goade, D.D., chaplain to the archbishop of Canterbury. That these great divines, who represented our Church with such fidelity and ability, were every one of them doctrinal Calvinists, the reader may see for himself by consulting the acts and memorials of the synod, published at Dort, A.D. 1620, where the determinations of our English divines, their speeches, and their subscriptions, stand on record, and prove how deeply and how inexcusably we, in the present day, are revolted from our first love, and degenerated from our first faith.

I will not call the Arminian writers (as bishop Bull, not very politely, did the Arians) "*mendacissimum genus hominum*," a most lying set of men; but I cannot, without doing violence to truth, acquit them in general of artifice and wilful misrepresentation, hardly compatible with heathen honesty, and still less with Christian integrity, when they treat of doctrines and transactions relative to Calvinism. Even you, sir, do not seem to have quite escaped the ungenerous infection. Hence you venture to assure the world, p. 92, that "It was indeed in great measure owing to the heats and violence with which matters were carried in that synod, and the great severity of the horrible decrees" [a phrase you have apparently borrowed from Mr. John Wesley] "here framed, that our English divines who attended that synod began to have less reverence for the doctrines of Calvin." If ever there was a mistake in the world, this is one. I, as an individual of that public to whom you have submitted your pamphlet, have a right to call upon you for proof of this confident assertion. Bring forth your strong reasons, or the world will be at full liberty to draw conclusions not to your advantage. [*q*]

Never were debates of such intricacy and importance carried on with more decency, solemnity, and unanimity, than in this synod. The Arminians (who were cited to answer for themselves, as corrupters of the Church and disturbers of the state) did indeed endeavour all they could to embarrass and throw matters into confusion; and never did chicanery and insolence of the remonstrant sect more palpably appear than at that period. These mushroom-schismatics were in hopes, by raising a dust, to elude the censures they justly dreaded, and to catch some advantage to themselves by striving to occasion divisions in the synod; thus exactly treading in the steps of their good friends and cousin-germans, the Papists, who, ever since the first dawn of the reformation, have acted on the same plan and with the same views. But the venerable Dordracene fathers saw the drift of the Arminian faction, and happily defeated its wishes by standing together like a chain of rocks, which neither fraud nor force could shake nor sever. Nor were the divines of England staggered in their judgments upon their return hither from Dort, concerning either the justice and moderation of the synod's proceedings, or the orthodoxy of its decisions, as may, if need require, be easily and largely demonstrated from the writings of Hall, Carlton, Davenant, &c., published long enough afterwards. I therefore call, once more, on Dr. Nowell, as he is a clergyman and a man of honour, either to prove or to retract what he has (I would hope unadvisedly) advanced.

Nor can I wholly pretermit your next paragraph, wherein you assure us that the learned Mr. Hales went to Dort "a rigid Calvinist; but there I bid John Calvin good night, said he to his friend Mr. Faringdon." The learned Mr. Hales both was and continued a Calvinist, as appears from that very book to which Mr. Faringdon's letter is prefixed. Yet, if he had changed his judgment ever so greatly, which, by the bye, he never did, if his own (*r*) subsequent writings are allowed to have the casting vote, still that would not affect the Church of England. He did not go to Dort invested with any public commission or character from this kingdom, but merely as a private person. (*s*) However, since you affect to lay so much weight on the pretended change of this learned man, I will subjoin what the famous Dr. Edwards delivers on the subject: "The sentiments of Mr. Hales, of Eton college, who was present at the synod of Dort, may be here inserted; for though some tell us that when Episcopius urged John iii. 16,

(*q*) Here might have been introduced the judgment of these divines at the synod, from the acts of it.

(*r*) See his Golden Remains, passim.

(*s*) He went to Holland in capacity of chaplain to Sir Dudley Carlton, James's ambassador to the States. Hence he came to be present at the synod at Dort, held at that time. Biog. Dict. vol. vi. p. 270.

this Mr. Hales 'bid John Calvin good night,' yet it is likely he was reconciled to him next morning; for his writings, that are since extant, give us the best account of his opinions. He expressly acknowledges the purpose of God's election and the purpose of God's reprobation in a sermon on Matth. xxvi. 75. And in another sermon, on Rom. xiv. 1, he tells us That some with favourable countenance of Scripture make the cause of reprobation only the will of God, determining freely of his own work as himself pleases, without respect to any second cause whatsoever. He owns that this doctrine may be profitably taught and heard, and that matter of singular exhortation may be drawn from it. And he adds, "It is a noble resolution so to humble ourselves under the hand of Almighty God as that we can with patience hear, yea, think it an honour, that so base creatures as ourselves should become the instruments of the glory of so great a majesty, whether it be by eternal life or by eternal death, though for no other reason but for God's good will and pleasure's sake." This is very high, and more than I have ventured to say; but thence we may gather what kindness this great man had for Calvin's opinions, yea, for that which is the most exceptionable of all, and how averse he was to Arminius's system of divinity. (*t*)

"And it is to be observed that Mr. Hales's book, wherein these passages are, is commended to the reader by two excellent divines of our Church, Dr. Pearson, (afterward bishop of Chester), and Mr. Faringdon, who were well skilled in these points. Which puts me in mind [N. B.] of what the former of these learned men told me when he was pleased to admit me to some discourse with him, namely, that 'when he (Bishop Pearson) was a young master of arts, he thought there was no difficulty in these grand articles [of predestination, &c.]; that he was able to determine any of them with ease, especially on the Arminians' side; but since he found it was otherwise; and he disapproved of men's rash censuring and condemning the other side; and, indeed, we may guess this to be his inclination, by his approving of Mr. Hales's remains." Verit. Red. p. 542, 543. Of all the English clergymen who assisted in the synod of Dort, the great and good bishop Hall was the longest survivor. The Arminian fanatic, John Goodwin, in his libel on the Protestant doctrines, entitled "Redemption Redeemed," published during the usurpation, slandered the synod with the blackest calumny his malice could invent, thinking that he might safely vend his falsehoods at a time when the far greater part of the persons who composed that apostolical assembly were gathered home to the Church triumphant. It was a happiness that we had, however, one excellent man living who was able, upon his own knowledge, to wipe off the aspersions of this bigotted miscreant. The pious, the aged bishop Hall, upon the coming out of Goodwin's book, wrote a pretty long letter to Fuller, which that historian published at full length in his Church History, b. x. p. 85. I wish I had room to transcribe the whole; but it concludes thus: "Since I have lived to see so foul an aspersion cast upon the memory of those worthy and eminent divines, I bless God that I yet live to vindicate them, by this my knowing, clear, and assured attestation, which I am ready to second with the solemnest oath, if I shall be thereto required.

"Your most devoted friend, &c.

"JOS. HALL, B. N."

"Higham, Aug. 30, 1651."

About two years after, the same incomparable prelate wrote another letter to the learned Mr. George Kendall (*u*) upon the same subject. The reader may see the whole of it in Mr. Kendall's *Sancti Sanciti*, published in the bishop's life-time. The latter part of it is as follows: "My unhappy

(*t*) The very poets of that and the preceding times were Calvinists. See Spenser, Shakespeare, Waller, Quarles.

(*u*) This great man effectually answered John Goodwin's "Redemption Redeemed" in two separate treatises; the one entitled Θεοκρατια, or a Vindication of the Doctrine commonly received in the reformed Churches concerning God's Intentions of Special Grace and Favour to his Elect in the Death of Christ; as also concerning his Prerogative, Power, Prescience, Immutability, &c.: printed 1653. The other entitled *Sancti Sanciti*, or the Common Doctrine of the Perseverance of the Saints vindicated: published in 1654. In these two volumes the doctrines of grace are explained, asserted, and defended with such solidity of nervous argument—such a display of useful learning—such transparent piety—such pleasing perspicuity—and the whole enlivened with such acumen of wit, as few controversial pieces, written in that age at least, can boast. If, after giving my opinion of this most excellent author, I may, without presumption, subjoin the attestation of the truly primitive bishop Hall, I would lay before the reader that most worthy prelate's letter to Mr. Kendall, signifying how greatly he approved, and even admired, the first of the above performances, which the author had made him a present of soon after its publication. A testimony from such a hand will at once enrich this note, give the utmost weight to my recommendation, and both gratify and edify such of my readers as have not met with it before. The bishop's letter is affixed to *Sancti Sanciti*, between the dedication and the preface, and runs, *verbatim* as follows

"Worthy Mr. KENDALL,

"I cannot forbear, though with a sick hand, to signify my thankful receipt of your excellent work (the Θεοκρατια), part whereof I had eagerly perused before your welcome present came, and had desired my sonne to impart unto you my appreciative thoughts concerning it. I easily foresee how highly you will be tempted with applauses for so acceptable a service. I know I need not, but my tender love of you bids me, desire you, with a humble heart, to sing *Non nobis Domine*; but let the whole praise run clear back to that infinite bounty whence

sickness called me off before the full conclusion of that work" [*viz.* the formal condemnation of the Arminians (called in Holland Remonstrants) by the synod of [Dort]: "but I stayed so long as any public session or appearance of the Remonstrants continued. Thus much, in effect, I have formerly, upon the motion of my worthy successor at Waltham, Mr. Fuller, signified to him, as one who cannot but think it was one end of this unexpected protraction of my days, after all the rest of my fellows, that I might do this right to that godly reverend learned assembly. With the intimation whereof I bid you farewell in the Lord, and do heartily commend your studies to the divine benediction, professing myself

"Your loving and
"much devoted friend,
"JOS. HALL, B. N."

"Higham, July 25, 1653."

When arguments fall short, it is too mmon with controversial writers to call names, and fling dirt, in hopes of casting an odium on what they find themselves unable to confute. I could wish, sir, that you had not stooped to this illiberal resource, your following expostulation had then been spared; page 93. "Consider what faction it was which then" [*i. e.* in the time of Charles I.] "prevailed towards the overthrow of the Church. Was it not that of the Puritans? And were not the doctrines of Calvinism their leading principles?" Permit me, sir, to ask, Were all the disturbers of those times Calvinists? Were Charles and his French queen; were Laud and Buckingham, Calvinists? These were the primary disturbers, whose evil counsels and whose arbitrary measures laid the sad foundation of those disturbances which issued in the overthrow of the Church. The confusions of that unhappy reign, and the miseries that followed, are to be radically charged, not on those who repressed the haughty strides of despotism, but on the despots themselves, whose violent proceedings rendered that opposition absolutely necessary. Matters at last were wound up to that fatal height that both sides found themselves reduced to the dismal necessity of going to much greater lengths than either of them foresaw at first setting out. On one hand there was a court equally despotic and corrupt, and, as the event proved, no less feeble than proud and unyielding. On the other there was patriotic zeal, gradually enflamed into party rage, by a long series of repeated insults and unrelenting oppressions. No wonder, therefore, that, under the confluence of such circumstances, the constitution received that eventual subversion which you, either through forgetfulness of history or by disingenuous misrepresentations, would, untruly and ridiculously, charge on the Calvinism of that age.

As Charles (*x*) and his court were far enough from inclining to the Geneva doctrines, so likewise were some who, though they agreed with that unfortunate prince as an Arminian, yet detested and resisted his measures as a tyrant, and even publicly justified the putting of him to death. Witness John Goodwin, (*y*) that virulent Anti-Calvinist, who wrote an elaborate treatise in professed vindication of Charles's murder, under the title of "A Defence of the Sentence passed on the late King by the High Court of Justice." This was the same John Goodwin who, about the same time, published his Redemption Redeemed, that infamous libel on the doctrines of the reformation, wherein he endeavours throughout to prove Calvin and all the reformed Churches in the wrong, and asserts universal redemption, free-will, justification by works, and falling from grace, not quite so smoothly, but altogether as tenaciously, as you yourself have done, or as the authors of your admired Popish book, the *Pia et Catholica Institutio*. Add to this (and deny it if you can), that those execrable enthusiasts who were the chief authors of Charles's

these precious gifts came. And go on to improve those great parts to the further honour of the Giver.

"With my thankful acceptance of your comfortable letter and rich present I take leave, professing myself

"Your heartily devoted friend
"and fellow labourer,
"JOS. HALL, B.N."

"Higham, March 16, 1652."

Is it possible to read such an apostolical letter without being charmed with the venerable simplicity, improved by the sweet humility, and warmed with the experimental piety, which glow and shine in every sentence?

(*x*) There is indeed a book extant, published in 1651, entitled "Certamen Religiosum, or a Conference between the late King of England and the Lord Marquis of Worcester concerning Religion." It is written with great poignancy, clearness, and learning, and contains a most excellent defence of the Protestant faith, especially of those branches of which now go under the name of Calvinism. Could the authenticity of this masterly performance be satisfactorily ascertained, it would effectually overthrow my supposition of Charles's attachment to Arminianism. If he can be really thought to have borne that part in the conference which this treatise represents, he did indeed literally merit the title of Defensor Fidei, and must have been as sound a Protestant as ever lived, and as strenuous a Calvinist as any Puritan in his whole dominions. But the book bears the signatures of a much finer genius and of far more extensive learning than Charles seems to have possessed, though his abilities were by no means inconsiderable. It was evidently written and fathered upon the king by some learned churchman who was a well wisher to his memory. I have great reason to think its author was archbishop Usher, who certainly was with the king at Ragland at the time the conference is said to have been held. See Parr's Life of Usher.

(*y*) For some account of this Arminian fanatic, see bishop Burnet's Own Times, vol. i. p. 67 and 163, folio; and Ant. Wood in several places.

execution were not Calvinistic divines (*z*) (for these were so far from approving of the king's murder that they offered a petition against it), but a rabble army, composed of the dregs of almost every sect, and particularly of Papists in disguise. (*a*) With regard to the Puritans, properly so called, many of whom had previously made a stand against the despotism arrogated by that misguided king and his delinquent ministers, these (the Puritans), to their credit be it said, joined with those of the Episcopalians who were undissembling lovers of the Church and of their country, in warding off the slavery which it was the endeavour of an infatuated court to obtrude; whence all, whether churchmen or dissenters, who were engaged in this noblest of causes, were lumped together, and stigmatized indiscriminately with the name of State Puritans. The friends of liberty and the constitution stood up in defence of both, not merely as Calvinists, but as Englishmen. What concern, for instance, had the doctrines of efficacious grace and final perseverance in the just opposition that was made to ship-money, star-chamber prosecutions, and ten thousand other intolerable grievances? Let me request you, sir, as you tender your own credit, to think before you write, and weigh matters with some degree of care. Had you done this lately, you had not attempted to palm such absurdities on the public. I must add, that the history of Charles's and the two preceding reigns makes it undeniable that those of the Puritans, who were non-conformists, did not dissent from our Church in doctrinal matters, but solely in the matter of rites and ceremonies. And what had this partial dissent to do with the doctrine of predestination, in which the main body, both of conformists and non-conformists, were reciprocally agreed? It is notorious that the latter had their name, not for disbelieving our doctrinal articles (which was never, that I can find, so much as laid to their charge), but for not conforming to our modes of worship. (*b*) If a Calvinist and a non-conformist were, as you would unjustly insinuate, convertible names, it would follow that we must un-church our own Church for the first hundred years after the Reformation, and date its genuine commencement from the introduction of Arminianism under archbishop Laud. That innovating, hot-headed prelate, if your premises are admitted, is to be considered as the father and founder of the Church of England; whereas he was, in reality, its corrupter, and its eventual destroyer; for he drove so rapidly towards Rome that he overset the Church, of which he unhappily held the reins, and was not a little accessary to the concomitant fall of the state likewise, which, rushing precipitant, entombed both his sovereign and himself in its ruins. I will only observe farther, that, even in the present century, we have had some Calvinistic bishops: bishop Beveridge and bishop Hopkins, for instance. And will you call these truly bright ornaments of our Church Sectarists, Puritans, and Methodists, because they were professed Calvinists?

The farther I advance in your pamphlet, the more my surprise and concern increase. In order to prove what you call the moderation of our articles, you are not content with distilling away and forcing off the sense and spirit of the doctrinal ones, but would even insinuate that the necessity of episcopal ordination itself is not determined in our articles. Treating of article XXIII. you say (page 95), "The compilers were not willing to condemn or unchurch the reformed Churches abroad where episcopacy was not established, and therefore prudently avoided determining the question, whether episcopal ordination is necessary. Those who hold and those who deny the necessity of episcopal ordination may both subscribe to this article: those only are condemned by it who hold that a man may preach without any lawful vocation. The same moderation the compilers of our articles have observed in the points before us," *i. e.* in the Calvinistic ones. I can hardly believe my own eyes. So, rather than not expunge predestination from our articles, you would expunge with it the necessity of episcopal ordination! This is sweeping the Church clean indeed. Though the respect I bear you forbids me to treat your paragraph and your insinuation in the manner they deserve, yet the still greater respect which I bear to the Church constrains me to hang out the

(*z*) Very many Calvinists were on Charles's side; as Usher, Hopkins, Hall, &c.

(*a*) See bishop Bramhall's letter to archbishop Usher. Usher's Life, p. 611. See also Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter, vol. i. and Voltaire's Universal History, vol. iv.

(*b*) "Albeit the Puritans disquieted our Church about their conceived discipline, yet they never moved any quarrel against the doctrine of our Church. Which is well to be observed; for if they had embraced any doctrine which the Church of England denied, they would assuredly have quarrelled about that as well as they did about the discipline. But it was then the open confession, both of the Bishops and Puritans, that both parties embraced a mutual consent in doctrine; only the difference was in matter of inconformity. Then hitherto there was no Puritan doctrine, as distinct from that of bishops and clergy, known." Upon which passage, quoted from bishop Carleton's Examination of Montague's Appeal, Dr. Edwards makes this obvious remark: "This is a full confutation of that idle conceit, taken up by so many in our age, that the Anti-Arminian doctrines were not the doctrines of our Church, of our bishops, and of the rest of our clergy, but only of a few disciplinarians and nonconformists." Veritas Redux, p. 548.

detached paragraph to open view, and leave it to the public indignation. Whoever can persuade himself that our episcopal Church does not insist on the necessity of episcopal ordination may well enough believe, when his hand is in, that our Calvinistic Church has not determined in favour of the Calvinian doctrines. Nor does it follow that the Church of England in believing for herself the necessity of episcopal ordination, does thereby unchurch those of the reformed Churches abroad which have no bishops, any more than that those Churches unchurch us for retaining our excellent and primitive mode of ecclesiastical government. National Churches that are independent of each other have respectively an internal right to establish such forms of *regimen* as to them seem most scriptural and expedient. And this indefeasible right may pass into execution without any violation of that Christian charity and neighbourly affection which ought to subsist between Churches

t agree in the common faith of the gospel. I cannot, however, forbear to repeat the astonishment I feel that a clergyman of this Church should, through zeal against the Geneva doctrines, make such an unwarrantable concession in favour of the Geneva discipline. Who could ever have thought that an Oxford divine should, and that from the Clarendon press, rather let go the hierarchy than give up free-will? Oh, tell it not in Glasgow! publish it not in the streets of Edinburgh! lest the Presbyterians rejoice, and the daughters of the kirk triumph!

No wonder, sir, that, after this, you should assert as follows concerning grace and free-agency. You, indeed, give us to understand that you do not wholly explode all influences of the Holy Spirit: "But the supernatural, extraordinary, and irresistible influences of the Holy Spirit," page 98. If by supernatural, extraordinary, and irresistible, you mean the miraculous gifts and influences of that adorable person, Calvinists as much disclaim all pretension to these as you can do. We believe that the end of their vouchsafement in the primitive ages being fully answered by the confirmation of the gospel, the gifts themselves are long since ceased; and that no man who now makes this claim (if any such mad-man is to be found) can expect to be credited, unless he actually has miraculous powers to prove it by. Yet there is certainly a sober sense in which all the gracious influences of the Spirit may, and ought to be, termed supernatural, or superior to the powers and reach of nature. You will not surely assert that the influences of the Spirit are natural to fallen man; for that would be setting aside the essential difference which Scripture and reason are so careful to maintain between nature and grace. Constant experience also, and daily observation, confirm the apostle's decision, that "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; neither can he" even "know," much less receive, "them, because they are spiritually discerned;" and, until the natural man is renewed by grace, he has no spiritual eyes to discern them by. In exact conformity to this certain truth, the first exhortation in our baptismal office hath these words: "Forasmuch as all men are conceived and born in sin, and that our Saviour Christ saith, None can enter into the kingdom of God except he be regenerate and born anew of water and of the Holy Ghost, I beseech you to call upon God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that of his bounteous mercy he will grant to this child that thing" [namely, regeneration] "which by nature he cannot have." If, then, the new birth and the renovating influences of the Spirit are not natural to man, they must be supernaturally conferred. The same influences may, in some sense, be safely enough termed extraordinary, inasmuch as they are *extra ordinem*, or out of the common course; for all men have them not. But I lay no manner of stress on this remark. Thus much, however, it proves: that the word, so carefully explained, may be used in a rational, harmless sense. Though, for my own part, I always choose to abstain, as much as possible, from the use of such terms as are liable to misapprehension, and require a tedious circuit of explanation. As a great man observes, *Quid hoc malæ rei est, ità ex destinato consilio loqui, ut mox prolixâ explicatione indigeas, apud auditores simplices et candidos; et apologiâ apud minùs faventes ac suspicaces?* I have, therefore, always acquiesced in the usual distinction of the Spirit's influence into ordinary and extraordinary, and understand by the former his supernatural agency in a way of saving grace; by the latter his agency formerly exerted in the collation of miraculous gifts.

By I see not so much reason for absolutely cashiering the epithet irresistible; though I could wish that the term invincible (which more exactly conveys our true meaning) were always substituted in its room. Irresistible may seem (though we intend no such thing) to imply some compulsive force on the will of man in regeneration, whereas we neither assert nor believe that the will is violently compelled, but only that it is effectually changed for the better, without any violation of its natural freedom. An elect sinner is not made good against his will, but is by grace made willing to be good, according to that of the psalmist: "Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power," Psalm cx. 3. We apprehend

this to be effected, as St. Augustin expresses it, *suavi omnipotentiâ et omnipotenti suavitate:* so that, though the effect of the Holy Spirit's operation is infallibly secured, and cannot but issue in conversion (for he does nothing in vain), yet is this blessed effect accomplished in a way suitable to the natural powers wherewith man is endued. By irresistible, therefore, if you understand grace that is efficacious, invincible, and certainly victorious, we are authorized both by Scripture, reason, and the strictest maxims of philosophy, to term converting grace irresistible; since where God really designs to renew a sinner unto righteousness and true holiness, we think it incompatible with every notion of Deity to suppose that the intent of an all-wise Being should be eventually defeated and his plan disconcerted, or that the measures made use of by an Almighty agent should be baffled and issue in nothing. Neither can we apprehend that a Deity of this infinite wisdom and infinite power, who is "excellent in counsel, and mighty in working," can ever find himself at a loss how to carry his immutable purposes, whether of grace or providence, into execution, or be unable to operate effectually on the wills of men, without trespassing on that freedom of which he himself is the author and giver. Surely he who, without our consent, made us reasonable beings, can, by virtue of his own omnipotently transforming grace, make us holy beings! and that without making us mere machines. He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? He that made the eye, shall he not see? He that endued my will with natural freedom, cannot he renew this will of mine without infringement of the freedom he gave? Time was when the Christian world did not entertain such low thoughts of God and such lofty thoughts of man as now too generally prevail. How beautiful, how just, how nervous is that petition which, Grotius (*c*) informs us, was a part of the public devotions of some ancient churches! "*Ad te nostras etiam rebelles compelle propitius voluntates:*" In mercy force over even our obstreperous wills to thy blessed self. That fine prayer of the ascetic Raymond Jordanus (*d*) is animated with the same heavenly spirit of internal humiliation and absolute submission to sovereign grace: "*Per violentiam tui dulcissimi amoris, compelle rebellem animum meum ad te amandum:*" By the overpowering virtue of thy sweetest love, constrain my rebellious soul to the love of thee. O that God would put such a cry into the heart of the person to whom I am writing! You would, then, sir, never more draw your pen against the doctrines of grace; but, if reduced to the alternative, you would rather, with Cranmer, hold your hand in the flames until it was consumed from your arm. I must observe, however, that the holy persons above quoted are not to be understood as if they imagined that God, in his operations of grace, offered violence (properly so called) to the human will, or compelled his people to love him whether they would or no, as an ox was dragged to sacrifice; but the meaning of their supplications was that he would effectually incline and attach their wills to himself, and that the omnipotence of his constraining love would reduce and master their natural obstinacy and perverseness. However, the strong and nervous manner in which their petitions were expressed show what ideas these ancient Christians entertained of the stubbornness, rebellion, and depravity of man's will by nature, and the Almighty exertion of divine grace which is requisite to subdue it. The invincibility of converting grace, and, at the same time, the immunity of the will from all forcible, involuntary compulsion are very happily expressed in the 10th of those articles of religion (*e*) set forth by king Edward VI. "The grace of Christ, or the Holy Ghost which is given by him, doth take from man the heart of stone, and giveth him a heart of flesh. And though it rendereth us willing to do these good works which before we were unwilling to do, and unwilling to do those evil works which before we did, yet is no violence offered by it to the will of man; so that no man when he hath sinned can excuse himself as if he had sinned against his will or upon constraint, and therefore that he ought not to be accused or condemned upon that account."

As for the passages of Scripture which you have accumulated as making for your own notions of free-will, conditional grace, &c., and which, having wrenched and detached from their contexts, you would fain torture into a sense which, it is demonstrable, the inspired writers never thought of, you will find all those perverted passages, and many others which are no less impertinently pressed into these controversies by the partizans of Arminius, restored to their primitive and obvious meaning in Dr. Edwards's *Veritas Redux*, or in Dr. Gill's Cause of God and Truth. As to the forms of these valuable books, I cannot find that it was ever attempted to be answered. And for the latter it has stood unanswered for, I believe, near thirty years; and you,

(*c*) In Luc. xiv. 23.

(*d*) Long known by the borrowed name of Idiota. For the prayer referred to, see his Contempl. cap. 5, sect. 3.

(*e*) See Heylin's Hist. of Reform. in the Appen. p. 182.

sir, or any other expert Arminian, would do well to try your skill upon it if you are able, while the learned and judicious author is detained from Abraham's bosom. But surely so long as such capital books as those remain in full possession of the field, it is idle, to the last degree, for the gentlemen of your side of the question to amuse themselves and trifle with the public by letting off pop-guns and throwing paltry squibs at what they call Calvinism.

Speaking of the doctrines of election and reprobation, you justly observe that you are "pressed with the authority of the 17th article," p. 103. Indeed you are, and pressed hard too; else you would never have added, as you do in the next page, "The article speaks of a predestination decreed by God's counsel, secret to us, and to be discerned only by the working of the Spirit of Christ mortifying the works of the flesh; and directs us to receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in the Holy Scripture." Is it possible that these truly Calvinistic sentences should drop from the pen of a Dr. Nowell? *O vis veritatis, invitis etiam pectoribus erumpentia!* What a concession is here! You have granted as much as any Calvinistic writer could have granted, or a Calvinistic reader can desire. You are got into the very midst of Geneva before you are aware; a place where I no more expected to have met you than the Normans did, at one time, think of seeing the great lord Clarendon at Roan.

Nor is your concession weakened a jot by what you immediately subjoin: "But there" [*i. e.* in Scripture] "we shall find all these promises conditional." For, 1. All the divine promises are not conditional; witness that famous one in which every other spiritual promise is virtually comprised: "I will be their God, and they shall be my people." 2. It does not follow, because some promises seem to run conditionally, *i. e.* hypothetically, that therefore the performance of the conditions themselves is suspended on the free-agency of man. In the distribution of the blessings promised to the elect, a certain order and economy are observed. Grace is first given, then glory. Thus we believe and say, with the apostle, that without holiness no man shall see the Lord; or, that a man must be sanctified before he can be finally glorified. God does not eventually save an elect person until he has previously regenerated that person. Hence final salvation is frequently in Scripture held forth to the view of his people, not only under the character of elect, but likewise under every other character they sustain, such as penitents, believers, saints, and workers of righteousness, because, in consequence of their predestination to life, they are endued with the graces of repentance, faith, and sanctification, in order to their meetness for, and enjoyment of, that eternal life which they were predestinated to. Regeneration must, and always does, come between the decree of election and the ultimate accomplishment of that decree, the means and the end being inseparably linked together, both in God's own purpose and his execution of it. Yet means are one thing; conditions are another. And I challenge any one Arminian to point out any one spiritual qualification represented in the Bible as previously requisite to everlasting life, which qualification is not in the same Bible declared to be the gift of God, and the work of his own grace in every one that shall be saved. So much for the Scriptures. Next for our Liturgy. You assert, page 106, that "The sentences of Scripture with which the morning and evening prayer are appointed to begin fully declare the free-will of man." They declare neither more nor less than this: that persons, possessed of such and such graces, have an evidential right to such and such privileges, by virtue of God's free promises. You add, "In the absolution the priest declares that Almighty God desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he may return from his wickedness and live." Granted. But what sort of sinner is here meant? Let the absolution itself decide. It is such a sinner as belongeth to "his people," the people of Almighty God, who are farther described under the visible characters of "them that truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his holy gospel." But are all sinners partakers of this true repentance and unfeigned faith? And can you really persuade yourself that God actually wills the salvation of those in whom these graces are not finally wrought? This would be opening a door to licentiousness indeed; nay, it would be a most tremendous misrepresentation of the Deity himself, as if it was possible for him to love the wicked as wicked. Surely you will never offer to father such horrid doctrine upon the Church of England! Did all sinners truly repent and unfeignedly believe, they would come under the opposite denomination of saints. The plain meaning, then, of this declarative absolution is that, until repentance and faith (the two grand constituents of regeneration) are wrought in us, and show forth themselves by the peaceable fruits of righteousness, we have no right to look upon ourselves as pardoned and absolved; but that, when these are wrought in us, we have, in the judgment of our Church, a safe and scriptural warrant to conclude that we are in a pardoned state. Our reconciliation unto God by the death of his son being to be inferred from, and proved by (though in

no sense founded upon) the grace he hath given us, and the good works he enables us to do. And that the faith and repentance which the absolution mentions were, in the intention of the compilers, considered as the effects of God's free grace, and not of man's free-will, appears incontestibly from a subsequent part of the absolution itself, which runs thus: "Wherefore let us beseech him to grant us true repentance and his Holy Spirit, that those things may please him which we do at this present, and that the rest of our life hereafter may be pure and holy." But, upon your principles, in vain we do pray for these blessings; since, if your hypothesis be right, we had them in our own power before. Were Arminian free-willers to act consistently with their darling tenet, they would never pray at all.

As a proof of the Church of England's denial of final perseverance you gravely inform us (p. 106.) that, "In the Lord's Prayer we petition God not to lead us into temptation." A most formidable argument indeed! reduced to some little sort of form, it stands thus:

The Church of England hath adopted the Lord's Prayer into her public service:

But in that prayer, we request to be preserved from temptation:

Ergo, the Church believes that the truly regenerate may totally and finally fall from grace.

Here are premises without a conclusion; and a conclusion without premises. For are temptation and final apostacy terms synonymous? If they are, it would follow that every saint is actually a final apostate; because there is no saint who is not tempted to evil, more or less, every day of his life. If the terms are not synonymous, then your inference, drawn from this topic, falls to the ground and vanishes into air.

Enter, now, a proof, no less cogent, in behalf of unlimited redemption. "The hymn called *Te Deum* thus celebrates the universal redemption by the incarnation and death of Christ; 'when thou tookest upon thee to deliver man, thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb: when thou didst overcome the sharpness of death, thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to all believers.'" (page 107.) The conclusion you would deduce hence must be this, if any:

Christ, by the merits of his death, opened the kingdom of heaven to all believers:

Ergo, he opened the kingdom of heaven to every individual of mankind, that ever did, that now does, or ever shall, exist.

I could not have expected such reasoning from the public orator of our English Athens. Indeed, sir, you can never prove, from these two verses of the *Te Deum*, that our Church holds absolutely universal redemption, until you have previously made good these two points: 1. That all mankind, not a single individual excepted, are believers: and 2. That faith is not the gift of God. My argument, drawn from this part of that seraphic hymn, stands thus (and I leave to the judgment of the impartial whether it be not perfectly obvious and unforced):

Our Church, in the *Te Deum*, asserts, That Christ, by his incarnation and death, opened the kingdom of heaven to all believers:

But the whole of mankind are not believers:

Ergo, our Church, in the *Te Deum*, does not assert that Christ opened the kingdom of heaven to the whole of mankind.

Nay, I will go a step further. The Church, in this place, does evidently limit redemption to only a part of mankind. For, by saying that Christ opened the kingdom of heaven to all believers, she virtually declares that he opened heaven to believers only: so that in the judgment of the Church they alone were intentionally redeemed by Christ who should finally believe. And what is this but the very essence of that innocent, yet much dreaded thing, called Calvinism? in running away from which, you plainly run away from the Church. *Ità fugis, ut præter casam.* Still your ammunition is not exhausted; for, in the same page, you hurl another thunderbolt at John Calvin's head: "The suffrages offered up by the priest, and all the congregation alternately, are quite inconsistent with the notion of absolute predestination and indefectible assurance:—'Grant us thy salvation'—'Take not thy holy Spirit from us.'" The suffrages themselves are most excellent: but your inference from them is a mere *telum imbelle sine ictu.* As if prayer (which is one of the very means by which the end is decreed to be come at)—as if prayer, on man's part, was incompatible with predestination on God's! So far is this from being true, that the belief of his immutable purposes is the very thing which excites and warrants effectual fervent prayer, and puts life and confidence into our approaches to the throne of grace. I shall give two remarkable instances of this: one from Scripture, the other from our Liturgy. 1. From Scripture. David, having received some gracious intimations of what good things God had decreed to bestow on his family after him, instead of sitting down idle, and restraining prayer before God, as if human duty was superfluous on the supposition of divine decrees, the holy monarch breaks forth into supplication for the very mercies which had been so peremptorily promised:

—Thou, O Lord of hosts, God of Israel, hast revealed to thy servant, saying, I will build thee a house; therefore hath thy servant found in his heart to pray this prayer unto thee, 2 Sam. vii. 27. It is equally plain, 2. That the compilers of our admirable liturgy considered matters in the same view. Those evangelical divines well knew that God hath determined the times before appointed (Acts xvii. 26.); and that the day of Christ's second coming is, in particular, fore-ordained and fixed in God's determinate counsel and fore-knowledge (Acts xvii. 31.) "Surely, then," might an Arminian say, "those compilers have not directed us to pray for the coming of this predestined period." Indeed but they have; and that on a very solemn occasion, and in these very solemn words: Humbly beseeching thee of thy gracious goodness shortly to accomplish the number of thine elect, and to hasten thy kingdom. (*f*) Prayer, therefore, and the other means of grace are not superseded, but even rendered needful by the certainty of God's predestination: for *Qui vult finem, vult etiam media ad finem.* The manifestation of God's goodness, in the final salvation of his people, being the end designed by him in his gracious decree, must necessarily have been first in the divine intention: but this end being last in actual execution, certain correlative means must necessarily intervene in order to carry the divine intention into actual execution, and to connect the decree and the accomplishment of it together. Of these means prayer is one. Therefore, supposing our Church had directed her regenerate members to pray, even in express terms, (which, however, I do not recollect she has) for preservation from total and final apostacy; that would not have proved the defectibility of the saints: watchfulness and prayer being means of perseverance no less decreed than perseverance itself. Thus the apostle, like a wise master-builder in Sion, joins the certainty of perseverance with prayer for it: The very God of peace sanctify you wholly; and I pray God your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Faithful is he that calleth you, who also will do it. 1 Thess. v. 23, 24.

You tell us, p. 107, that some infer the doctrine of election from that petition in our liturgy, "make thy chosen people joyful." They do: and not only directly, the doctrine of election; but indirectly, that of assurance likewise. The petition evidently proceeds on this *datum*, that God really had a chosen people; and, agreeably to such a belief, beseeches him to make his chosen people joyful: *i. e.* to rejoice them with the comfortable sense and persuasion of their belonging to that chosen number. But you object (*ibid*) that, "The word chosen, or elect, signifies in Scripture, either all Christians in general, or such Christians as walk worthy of the vocation wherewith they are called." Easily said; but, so far as I have been able to find, never yet proved. Every text appealed to in your references demonstrates the very reverse to be true. The word εκλεκτος, elect, chosen; is evidently formed from the participle εκλελεγμενος, which, as every body knows, signifies selected, picked out, and chosen from among others. But I have such an authority to vouch, for this sense of the word, as is infinitely superior even to the natural proper etymology of the word itself: I mean the authority of no less person than the eternal Son of God; the incarnate Λογος, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. He surely, if any, both perfectly knew, and was able to fix rightly the meaning of this religious term. And how does he define the word elect? In Dr. Nowell's vague, jejune manner? Quite the contrary. Consult Mark xiii. 20. And except the Lord had shortened those days, no flesh should be saved: but for the elects' sakes whom he hath chosen, he hath shortened the days. According therefore to Christ's own definition, οι εκλεκτοι the elect, are ους εξελεξατο, those whom he [the Lord] hath chosen. Consequently, this important word does not signify, either all professing Christians at large, nor yet such Christians as walk worthy of their vocation. But simply and singly, the objects of gracious God's choice, abstractedly considered as such, without

(*f*) See the Funeral Office. From the petition cited above, it is undeniable, that according to the doctrine of the Church of England, there is 1. A body of elect persons; which elect persons are, 2. chosen and elected of God himself: whence she terms them thine elect. These elect of God are, 3. a certain determinate number; and this round number will, 4. be accomplished, perfected, and made up; so that not one of the number shall be missing: it being a rule that holds good, no less in divinity than in metaphysics, *subtatâ quâcunque parte, tollitur totum.* Hence the Church, ever consistent with herself, begins one of her collects thus: "O Almighty God, who hast knit together thine elect into one communion and fellowship in the mystical body of thy Son," &c. And surely those whom God hath knit together can never be put asunder: for what God doth, it shall be for ever; nothing can be put to it, nor any thing taken from it, Eccles. iii. 14. The above collect is for the festival of All Saints. Now, if all saints are thus divinely knit together, and make up the Mediator's mystical body; it follows, that not one true saint can perish. As not a bone in Christ's natural body was suffered to be broken, so neither shall his mystic body be maimed, by the loss of any the meanest member: for the world of the elect, collectively taken, constitute the mystical fulness of him who filleth all in all, Eph. i. 23. So that, without every one of them, Christ himself (considered relatively, as the head and Saviour of his spiritual body) would not be made perfect.

any respect had to aught in them, or done by them, whether actual or foreseen. A cordial profession of Christ, and a walking worthy of their high calling are after-parts of their character; and have no place in the persons chosen, until, in consequence of their election from everlasting, they are regenerated and made new creatures in Christ Jesus. As real conversion is the fruit and result of predestination; so holiness of heart and purity of life are the fruits of real conversion: which is the immediate (as election is the remote) cause of all the good that is wrought in us, and that is done by us. Upon the whole, then, as long as the good old definition of the elect remains on record in the above Scripture, so long we obstinate Calvinists must beg leave to reject Dr. Nowell's new-fangled vapid explication, as utterly inconsistent with the plain obvious import of language, and (which is still worse) as totally counter to the express determination of Christ himself.

Your slashing treatment of Scripture-phrases and scripture-doctrines, which you hack and mangle so unmercifully when they happen to militate with your own preconceived opinions, unhappily realizes but too well that remark of Dr. Middleton; "We may observe," says this able writer, "how impossible it is for men, even of the greatest learning and piety, to interpret Scripture with success, when they come to it prepossessed with systems, which they are listed, as it were, to defend. For instead of searching candidly the true meaning of the text, they come provided with senses which they are obliged to ingraft upon it; until by a practice and habit of wresting the Scripture on all occasions, they acquire a dexterity of extracting what doctrines they please out of it." Miscell. Tracts, p. 12.

The fashion of explaining away the word elect, by saying it only means good Christians, was invented at a pinch, for much the same reason that people look at the sun through a fumigated glass; namely, to diminish and obscure the native lustre of its beams, by the intervention of a dark, discoloured medium. Thus some artful Arminians, in order to secure a majority, would persuade superficial enquirers (who make up the bulk of mankind) that the word elect does not signify elect, but something very different from its own meaning. By virtue of which artificial fumigation the meridian truth is clouded; and all who believe election to be election, are set down for Calvinists, Puritans, Methodists, and low church men; only because they are so very unmannerly (*g*) as not to look at Scripture through the Arminian's dark glass; which glass has just the same effect on gospel-truths as Dr. Hooke's helioscope has on the rays of the sun; which he tells us will be so weakened if beheld through that qualifying tube, "as only to strike the eye with a 256th part of their force."

Still, sir, you harp on the same beloved string; and would fain fumigate our catechism among the rest. There the Church tells us that the Holy Ghost sanctifies all the elect people of God; that is say you, (p. 107). "All Christians, or at least all good Christians, who are ready to comply with his motions." And can a person of your good sense really believe this to be the meaning of elect? I will not offer you such an affront as to suppose it. And yet, alas! on the other hand, if you do not believe your own interpretation, what becomes of your integrity? "The Holy Ghost sanctifies all good Christians:" so then men must be good Christians before they are sanctified, and when they have made themselves good Christians, then the blessed Spirit sanctifies them. A piece of information for which the poor ignorant Calvinistic Church of England men are solely indebted to the labours of Dr. Nowell. I really before was so weak as to imagine, with St. Paul, that goodness was a fruit of the Spirit, and a constituent part of sanctification itself; but now I perceive goodness precedes sanctification; and that the office of the Holy Ghost (I tremble to write it, but let them answer for the conclusion who avow the premises) is, only to make such people good as were good before. Hence you revert once more to universal redemption, which you infer from that passage in the catechism, "Who hath redeemed me and all mankind;" on which your comment is, p. 108, "All those, therefore, whom God the Son hath redeemed, God the Holy Ghost sanctifies." Excellent. You now write indeed like a true minister of the Church. Not a Calvinist, in the whole world, but would subscribe to this with both hands. But pray, sir, is every individual of mankind sanctified by the Holy Ghost? If the contrary is but too evident, then it follows from your own positive premises that every individual of mankind was not redeemed; since you justly assert redemption and sanctification to be equilateral and commensurate with each other; "All those whom God the Son hath redeemed, God the Holy Ghost sanctifies." That all mankind, there-

(*g*) In like manner Peter, with his triple hat, kicked his two brothers, Martin and Jack, out of doors, because they would insist upon it that a loaf was a loaf, and could not be a shoulder of mutton. See the Tale of a Tub.

fore, which our Church hath declared to be interested in Christ's redemption, is not to to be understood of every individual, but of some of all nations, even those and those only, whom God the Holy Ghost sanctifies. Thus your own explication of the phrase all mankind exactly comports with the explication of it, which the Church herself gives in the very next paragraph, " All the elect people of God."

I should congratulate you, sir, on your candour and attention to evidence, did you not immediately recant, and build up the things you had just destroyed. Your whole paragraph stands thus: " All those, therefore, whom the Son of God hath redeemed, God the Holy Ghost sanctifies; but both only on condition of their own concurrence and compliance with the terms offered." The Church of England says no such thing. You have clogged redemption and sanctification with dead weights of your own putting on. There is not a word in the catechism, directly or indirectly, about concurrence and compliance. Redemption itself is there represented as a finished peremptory thing; not as a term or condition tendered to man's acceptance, but as a real price actually paid down for the ransom of mankind. " God the Son who hath redeemed me, &c." Not who will redeem me, if I am pliable and concurring; but who hath done it, to make me so. Whatever conditional salvation may be, a conditional redemption is a contradiction in terms; for either the ransom price is paid, or it is not; there is no medium, nor room for any qualifying salvo or drawback. The doctrine of the Church, as well as of the Scriptures, and of plain common sense is, that Christ hath, " by the one offering of himself, perfected for ever them that are sanctified," or set apart for God. Nor is the notion of a conditional sanctification less absurd. I must be either sanctified by the Holy Ghost, or not. If I am, I comply and concur with him of course, by virtue of that very sanctification which he imparts; if I am not sanctified by him, I shall neither concur nor comply; because this concurrence and compliance are a part of sanctification itself, and can have no existence without it. I blame no man for believing according to the best light of his own judgment, let his faith to me seem ever so ill-grounded; but I blame any man who dares to palm his own private notions upon the Church.

However, by way of canvassing your paragraph as minutely as I am able, and letting it have all the fair play it possibly can, by considering it in every point of view, I will suppose, for once, that both redemption and sanctification are conditional. What will you get by it? You will plunge head foremost, *quantus quantus es*, into the lake of Geneva, and come out a limited redemptionist. A very able writer observes that all violent extremes, how widely remote soever they may seem, have, in fact, a common central point, to which they mutually verge, and in which they ultimately coincide. You yourself, sir (with all due respect I dare to speak it), are an instance of the justice of this remark. " God the Son," you tell us, " hath redeemed us only on condition of our concurrence and compliance." We will put the case, that some persons do eventually neither concur nor comply. Such persons were, by your own acknowledgment, unredeemed. Therefore, say I, admitting these premises, redemption is not universal; they only (according to Dr. Nowell) being redeemed by Christ who " concur and comply with the terms offered;" which all do not.

We enter now on a new scene. Prepare thyself, reader, for a fresh discovery; even such a one as I, for my own part, should never have dreamt of, but for the assistance of Peter Heylin and Dr. Nowell. Calvinism it seems is downright Popery; and Popery is orthodox Calvinism. But by what art of transubstantiation is this proved? The proof follows; page 108, " The word elect frequently occurs in the Roman breviary, the Papists make use of it in their rituals, as well as we; so that if the use of this word will prove the compilers of our liturgy predestinarians, it will prove the Church of Rome so too, and that in this respect it is as orthodox as Calvinism itself." Not quite so fast, sir. Let us weigh premises before we jump to conclusions. The sense of the word elect, as it stands in a reformed Liturgy, is not to be determined by the sense affixed to it in a Romish breviary. Such an insinuation comes with a very ill grace from the pen of a Protestant divine. It would at least have saved appearances had you referred us for the sense in which the Church of England uses the word elect, to her own 17th article, where she professedly treats of election; instead of sending us back again into Egypt, to consult mass-books and breviaries. The spouse of Christ is not to learn the meaning of her husband's language from the mother of abominations. 2. The amount of your observation is this, if I understand it right; " By the word elect, when used by Papists, they do not mean God's predestinated children, but all good Catholics; *ergo*, the same word, when used by Protestants, is to be understood as denoting all good Christians." I deny the consequence. Because Papists are perverters of language, Scripture, common sense and every thing that is good, it does not follow that Protestants should be so too. 3. Neither does it follow that the

Church of Rome are predestinarians, because the word elect occurs by chance in their public offices. Popish priests when they mutter out the word elect, are (like ladies on some occasions) to be understood by contraries; in which too many professing Protestants who ought to know better, are not ashamed to imitate those locusts of the bottomless pit.

In farther opposition to the doctrines of predestination and perseverance, you appeal to our baptismal office. Excellent as that office is, we have had some truly great and good men who thought it not quite unexceptionable. But for my own particular part (if I may, without presumption, offer my own judgment), I know not of one syllable in the whole which does not harmonize with those doctrines. That part of it on which you seem to lay the greatest stress is where the Church appears to take the regeneration of the baptized for granted. Whence Arminians would endeavour to infer that, since many baptized persons persist finally in sin, and may be supposed to perish at last, therefore, the regenerate are not secured from absolute apostacy. That baptism is a typical regeneration I grant; as also that it is the ordinance of initiation, whereby a person whether infant or adult, is incorporated into the visible Church, and entered on the list of Christian professors. From the maturest consideration of what our Church has delivered concerning the nature and effect of this sacrament, it appears to me that, in her judgment, the administration of baptism is very frequently attended with the true, real, renovating influences of the Holy Ghost; which influences being internal, spiritual and invisible, and consequently not to be discerned by the baptiser; he is directed to acquaint the byestanders with the charitable hope of the Church, both in his subsequent address to the sponsors, and in his presumptive thanksgiving to Almighty God. Yet I can no where find, that the Church pretends to tie the regenerating grace of the Spirit to the bare administration of this ordinance; as if that infinitely glorious and absolutely independent person always seconded the good intentions of the Church, by invariably crowning that rite with real regeneration. The Church (*h*) of Rome, indeed, bawls out that every sacrament does, *ipso facto*, confer grace *ex opere operato* and curses them that will not believe it; as also, that baptism impresses I know not what spiritual mark on the soul, even such a mark as can never be effaced; which assertion she likewise arms with a sting in the tail; pronouncing them accursed who deny it. But our own Church has nothing like this. On the contrary, she positively defines a sacrament to be "An outward and visible sign of an inward spiritual grace, given unto us, ordained by Christ himself, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof." She adds that, "The outward visible sign, or form in baptism," is "water, wherein," or wherewith, "the person is baptized in the name of the Father, &c." Baptism itself, therefore, is not regeneration, but a sign or type of it; and is then only a proof of regeneration when accompanied with "the inward and spiritual grace," which the Church does not affirm it always is. And, indeed, I should wonder if she had; since, if all baptized persons were truly regenerate, christendom would be a much better part of the world than it is. This inward and spiritual grace, of which baptism is the sign and figure, is defined by our Church to consist in "A death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness. For being by nature born in sin, and the children of wrath, we are hereby [*i. e.* by inward and spiritual grace, the last immediate antecedent] "made" [constituted and proved to be] "children of grace." Exactly coincident with our catechism is our 27th article: "Baptism is not only a sign of profession, and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened; but it is also a sign of regeneration or new birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the Church, &c." I conclude hence that in the judgment of the Church of England baptism and internal regeneration (the former being simply considered in itself only a sign or symbol of the latter) are two distinct things; which, though they sometimes go together (when the Holy Spirit pleases to make baptism the channel of his gracious influences), yet do not necessarily nor constantly accompany each other; and, therefore, the subsequent apostacy of some baptized persons does not in the least (as bishop Burnet would infer, and you from him) shake the doctrine either of immutable predestination on God's part, or of infallible perseverance on the part of the truly regenerate. But you observe, page 109, that, "With regard to infants, the rubrick declares it is certain by God's word that children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved." I firmly believe the same. Nay, I believe more. I am convinced, that the souls of all departed infants whatever,

(*h*) Si quis dixerit, per ipsa novæ legis sacramenta ex opere operato non conferri gratiam, &c., anathema sit. Concil. Trid. Sess. vi. Can. viii. Si quis dixerit, in tribus sacramentis, baptismo, scilicet, confirmatione, et ordine, non imprimi characterem in anima, hoc est signum aliquod spirituale et indelibile, &c. anathema sit. Ib. Canon ix.

whether baptized or unbaptized, are with God in glory. And I think my belief warranted by an authority which cannot err, Matt. xviii. 14. You have, therefore, no occasion to lug in children by head and shoulders, page 110, and to ask, with an air of insult, where then is the "doctrine of absolute, irrespective predestination and reprobation, which would include children as well as adults?" I believe that, in the decree of predestination to life, God hath included all whom he hath decreed to take away in infancy; and that the decree of reprobation has nothing to do with them.

Now we come to what you and others of your party represent as *monstrum, horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum*: I mean the doctrine of reprobation. Absolute reprobation, you say, "Is no where taught in our articles, nor in the scriptures; but just the contrary." I, on the other hand, maintain, that it is plainly implied in our articles, and expressly asserted in the Scriptures. Of the latter I shall say little here; but I cannot in justice to the Church omit a short proof or two respecting the former. In doing this, I must really be so unpolite as to hold up the 17th article to you, though I am sensible it is an article you have no great affection for However, as it has received the sanction of your own solemn subscription, you are bound, both in honour, conscience, and law, to stand or fall by the evidence it brings. "Predestination to life" [which implies, on the other hand, a predestination to death; otherwise the article is lame] "is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby, before the foundations of the world were laid, he hath constantly decreed by his counsel, secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those [observe that restrictive word], whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind," [all mankind, therefore, were not chosen, but some were passed by; for if there was no decretive distinction in God's election, the elect could not be said to be chosen out of mankind], "and to bring them by Christ" [and not the rest, out of whom they were chosen], "to everlasting salvation as vessels made to honour." [There are, therefore, some vessels not made unto honour.] In thus asserting everlasting, personal, immutable election; the Church, tacitly, indeed, but virtually, and by necessary (*l*) consequence, sets her seal to the opposite doctrine of preterition; since there can be no choice, without a refusal; no election of some without a rejection of others; no partial admission, without a partial exclusion. The Church, indeed, does not expressly say as much; but, from the premises she has laid *down*, the conclusion follows as unavoidably as if she had; and I defy all the sophistry of man to affirm the premises, without admitting the conclusion. Election without reprobation cannot stand: it must have the other leg or it will tumble down. But I recur to the article; and shall begin where I left off. After asserting the decree of predestination unto life, and telling us what it is; the Church goes on to affirm that this decree cannot be frustrated, but shall certainly have its accomplishment, in the salvation of its objects at the appointed time, and through the appointed means: "Wherefore they which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God" [namely, with the excellent benefit of God's election and predestination to life], "be called" [and that not with a random call, but] "according to God's purpose, by his Spirit working in due season;" [nor with a precarious, ineffectual call; but with such a spiritual and internal call as insures the end for which it was vouchsafed: for] "They, through grace, obey the calling; they be justified freely; they be made sons of God by adoption; they be made like the image of his only begotten Son Jesus Christ: they walk religiously in good works;" [not only for a while, but to the end of their days; otherwise it would not be added] "and at length, by God's mercy, they attain to everlasting felicity, [so that they who do not eventually attain to everlasting felicity, were never in the number of God's elect.] (*m*)

In the next place this article proceeds by way of practical improvement, to point out the most obvious uses and abuses of the doctrine of predestination. 1. Its uses. "As the Godly consideration of predestination and our election in Christ is [1.] full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh and their earthly members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things; as well because [2.] it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal salvation to be enjoyed through Christ, as because [3.] it doth fervently kindle their love towards God;" [now follow the abuses of it] "so for curious and carnal persons, lacking the Spirit of God" [*i. e.* the reprobate, who are described in Scripture (Jude 19.) under this very character of not having the Spirit], "to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's predestination, is a most dangerous downfall; whereby the devil doth thrust them either [1.] into desperation, or [2.]

(*l*) See Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 30, and Cambr. Tracts, 175.

(*m*) See a most remarkable concession of Heylin's. (Life of Laud, p. 29.)

into wretchedness of most unclean living, no less perilous than desperation." The article then plainly speaks of two distinct sorts or persons; the elect, and the non-elect. With regard to the converted elect, the consideration of their predestination in Christ fills them with sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort; it greatly establishes and confirms their faith; and doth fervently kindle their love towards God; which love is the never-failing source of all good works. But with regard to the others, the article expressly declares God's predestination to be a sentence; and a dismal sentence it is to such; the contemplation of which serves to thrust them into desperation and unclean living. Never was any ecclesiastical decision a more exact unison with scripture. Who can read this 17th article, and not be reminded of that passage in the apostle, 1 Pet. ii. 8, 9?

The article closes with two wise and useful cautions; "furthermore, we must [1.] receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth in Holy Scripture; and [2.] in our doings, that will of God is to be followed which we have expressly declared unto us in the word of God." Two propositions these, which every Calvinist allows; and the latter of which, by the by, is evidently formed on the Calvinistic distinction of the divine will into secret and revealed.

But you still wage war against the import of the word elect. Hence, page 112 you serve up the *crambe repetita* again, and will have it that "the elect and chosen of God are all good Christians." You have given us to understand before that God the Son redeemed, and God the Holy Ghost sanctifies, none but good Christians; as if the effect went before the cause; and now (if your definition has any meaning at all), you would insinuate, again, that God the Father does not elect and choose men until they become good; and then, I suppose, if they lose this goodness (for upon Arminian principles, it is a very slippery thing), they are presently cashiered and un-chosen; but if their free-will should once more yield itself so pliable as to grow good again, they are re-elected anew; and, perhaps, after they have been, in the course of a few years elected and un-elected, redeemed and unredeemed, sanctified and unsanctified, born again and unborn, some hundreds of times; these "elect and chosen of God, these good Christians," may (for it is all a chance) perish and go to hell at last. A very suitable representation this of the God who changeth not, and of the everlasting covenant which is ordered in all things and sure! "The elect and chosen of God are all good Christians!" invert the proposition and you will advance a certain truth; "all good Christians," those that are renewed, and sanctified in the spirit of their minds by divine grace, "are the elect and chosen of God; known and discovered to be his chosen, by the grace which he hath given them." I am sure, St. Paul represents sanctification, not as a cause or condition of election, but as a fruit, effect, and one subordinate end of it; according as he hath chosen us in him [in Christ] before the foundation of the world, [not because we were, or he foresaw we would be, "good Christians," but] that we should be holy and without blame before him in love; having predestinated us unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ to himself, according to the good pleasure of his will, Eph. i. 4, 5. I wish you would read what bishop Fell observes on this passage; the testimony of that learned and worthy bishop of Oxford might be a means of making you see the absurdity, as well as impiety, of turning the gospel plan upside-down, by bottoming God's decrees on any qualification (whether actual or foreseen) in the creature. You go on, (ibid.) "Christ's sheep are they who hear his voice, and follow him, and abound in good works." We all grant that his sheep, or his elect, "hear his voice" sooner or later, in effectual calling; that they are made to "follow him" in the regeneration, "and abound in good works," from the genuine principles of faith and love. But then we assert with the Scripture, and conformably to the doctrine of our Church, that this sanctification of them is not the cause of their being his sheep and his chosen, but proofs, marks, and evidences of their having been so from everlasting. Our Lord himself, John x. styles the elect his sheep, previously to their hearing his voice; My sheep hear my voice, &c. they do not hear it in order to their becoming his sheep, but hear it as such, and because they were such. So, verse 16, the elect, even while unregenerate, and who had not yet heard his voice, are termed his sheep; And other sheep I have, which are not of this [of the Jewish] fold; them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; according to what he says elsewhere, All that the Father giveth me shall come unto me. He tells the reprobate Jews, chap. x. Ye believe not, because ye are not of my sheep, *i. e.* in the number of my elect. But if the word sheep does not signify elect persons, but good Christians; the sense of our Lord's declaration would be this, "Ye are not believers and good Christians, because ye are not believers and good Christians!"

As you will not let the word elect have fair play for itself, the word Church must, it seems, come in for a share of the same fate, page 112 "The Church, in Scripture, sig-

nifies the whole body of Christians, of which Christ is the head." Do you mean the visible, or the invisible Church? If the visible, it does most certainly consist of the whole body of professing Christians, of whom Christ is the acknowledged head. But if you mean the invisible Church (that Church which Christ loved, and for which he gave himself unto death, Eph. v. 25.) your definition is much too vague and lax: this Church being συνεκλεκτη, co-elect with Christ, and ordained to grace and glory through him; the Church of the first-born who are enrolled in heaven, Heb. xii. and whose names are from before the foundation of the world, in the Lamb's Book of Life, Luke x. 20. Phil. iv. 3. Rev. xvii. 8. The constituent members of this invisible Church, when brought to the knowledge of Christ by effectual calling, and added to the visible fold are, in Scripture, the true εκκλησια, or the company of men called out of the world, and gathered in from among mankind; so that, during their abode on earth, they are a kingdom within a kingdom, as being not only subjects of the kingdom of Providence (which they were before, in common with the rest), but, likewise exalted to be subjects of the kingdom of grace, which all mankind are not.

I could wish, Sir, that you had observed some regular plan in your handling of the points in debate. Instead of this, the method you observe is as rambling and embarrassed as the system you have embraced. Your performance had been less intricate and confused if you had reduced it to some order, and delivered all you had to say on predestination, free-will, and final perseverance, under each of those heads respectively, without running them one into another. For want of this I am forced to follow you through your various windings, and measure back the ground already trod by perpetually reverting to the same subjects.—After giving us your definition of the word Church, you recur to the doctrine of universal redemption, which you aver to be taught by our homilies. That the Church, when treating of Christ's sacrifice and death, does not always, in so many words, expressly limit redemption to the elect only, is no argument of her holding the absurd doctrines of a random salvation, and of redemption without a plan. It is her own stated rule, and a very just one, that "The promises of God are to be received in such wise as they be generally set forth in Holy Scripture." This rule she has generally followed, and in it we follow her too; and assert, *pleno ore*, that "God so loved the world," *i. e.* Gentiles as well as Jews, "that he gave his only begotten Son to the end that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." The question, then, between the Arminians and us is, not whether all true believers shall be saved, for we hold that as a certain truth; but whether saving faith (which always works by love) is of man's acquisition, or of God's operation.

Now, again, for perseverance, p. 118. "The 16th article teaches that, after we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given and fall into sin; and that deadly sin is here meant appears from the beginning of the article. It follows that, by the grace of God, we may rise again; which plainly implies that we also may not rise again." Pray, Sir, let the article speak for itself. The title of it runs thus: "Of sin after baptism;" and the article itself is as follows: "Not every deadly sin wilfully committed after baptism is sin against the Holy Ghost and unpardonable. Wherefore the grant of repentance is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after baptism. After we have received the Holy Ghost" [*i. e.* after we have been baptized, as the words immediately preceding explain it] "we may depart from grace given," &c. The conclusions to be inferred from this article are, 1. That it treats of sins committed, not after spiritual and internal regeneration, but simply after baptism. 2. That it is probable some common, restraining influences of the Spirit may usually be vouchsafed to the recipients of this ordinance; but still these influences do not, for any thing the article says, amount to real regeneration; consequently it has nothing to do with the doctrine of final perseverance, which relates to the truly regenerate, and to them only. 3. The departure from grace given, of which the article makes mention, is only simply stiled a departure, without declaring that departure to be either total or final; consequently it does not at all affect the present argument. 4. The whole apparently relates, not to matters of spiritual grace, but to ecclesiastical censures and the exercise of Church discipline. If, for example, a member of the Church be under excommunication for some atrocious crime committed, or for some public scandal given, after baptism, the Church, upon such a person's open repentance, is to accept of his submission and recal her censures, as appears, not only from the main drift of the article, but in particular from those words of it, "The grant of repentance is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after baptism." Hence this article, 5. Expressly condemns the severity of the old *Novatians*, who held that such baptized persons as had fallen away in persecuting times were for ever to be excluded from the communion of the Church. 6. It follows from the article

that they are no less to be condemned who would set up for sinless perfection; and that, 7. Baptized persons and professing Christians are liable to fall into sin, and may, by grace, recover and rise again. All which is very true, and doubted of by no Calvinist within the sphere of my acquaintance. Bishop Burnet would gladly enough have caught at this article in proof of the saints' apostacy, had the article itself looked at all that way. But he saw it did not, and therefore explains it in a manner very different from the glosses and perversions with which Dr. Nowell would darken it. Surely the cause must be very weak which, in so able a hand as your's, is so feebly and so unfairly supported! Why should you labour so ardently to make the Church contradict herself? In the 17th article, as I observed before, the elect are expressly said to be "Justified, called, conformed to the image of Christ, to walk religiously in good works, and at length to attain to everlasting felicity:" but how could they be said to actually attain to everlasting felicity if all or any of them might perish by the way?

Nor do our homilies run counter to our articles. Your citations from the former only prove these five things: 1. That the regenerate are not, in this life, impeccable. 2. That, without carefulness and circumspection, the most advanced in grace may not only sin, but even sin grievously. 3. That the spiritual life of the soul must be cherished and kept up by a diligent and humble attendance on the several means of grace. 4. That good works and holy obedience are the inseparable effects of true faith; and 5. That all hope of interest in Christ, and expectation of salvation by him, are vain and groundless, unless we prove ourselves his children by walking as he walked.

Lastly, we come to the doctrine of justification by faith. On this important subject you deliver your judgment as follows, p. 123: "We all hold that we are justified freely by God's grace: that there is no merit in good works: that we are not to place our dependance or rest our plea on any works, that we have done or can do; but only on the mercy of God and the merits of our Redeemer." And again, p. 124: "We hold, as well as you, that justification is the act of God alone, conferred on us freely by his grace: that our own good works have no proper efficiency in the act of our justification; have no worth or merit in them: that we have all sinned and come short of the glory of God, and can be justified and saved only by faith," which faith you immediately define to be "a reliance on the mercies and merits of Christ." After giving us such a confession of your faith, who could have imagined that you would, almost in the same breath, blow down the whole fabric? by saying, p. 123, "On the other hand I should hope that all who believe the gospel would agree that good works are the necessary condition both of our justification and salvation." How! justified and saved only by faith, and yet good works the necessary condition both of our justification and salvation! which soever of these two propositions is right, one of them must be wrong, because two contradictory assertions cannot be both true. If faith be, as you say it is, neither more nor less than a reliance on the mercies and merits of Christ, and we are justified and saved by faith only, it follows that good works cannot possibly be the necessary condition of our justification and salvation.

To tell you plainly, Sir, the doctrine of the Scriptures and of our Church is that justification itself consists in God's esteeming and counting us righteous: that he thus esteems and counts us righteous neither for our faith, nor for our works, nor for both of them together, but solely and entirely on account of Christ's sacrifice and obedience imputed to us freely and fully: that the sacrifice and obedience of Christ, as the alone matter of our justification, are to be received, embraced, and rested upon by faith only, which faith is the gift of God: and that this faith, thus divinely given and wrought in the soul by the Holy Ghost, is lively, active, and purifying, having its fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life. Sanctification, then, and good works are not conditions of, but consequences resulting from, interest in Christ and acceptance with God; not antecedent requisites, *à priori*, in order to our being justified, but subsequent evidences, *à posteriori*, of our being so. Hence our excellent Church puts justification before good works, and makes good works follow justification. In her 11th article she treats of justification, and then in the 12th considers good works.

Article XI.

"Of the Justification of Man.

"We are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works or deservings. Wherefore that we are justified by faith only is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the homily of justification."

If works, if all works of our own, of every sort and in every point of view, are not here totally excluded from having any thing to do with justification, *à parte ante*, there is no such thing as meaning in language. Yet our reformers, in the next article, speak, if possible, clearer still; and, as if they thought it not enough simply to exclude works from having the

least hand in any part of our justification, go on to acquaint us that, until men actually are justified, they cannot so much as do a good work; good works being the effect and fruits of which justification, previously received, is itself the source and cause. And if justification itself is the cause of good works, then good works cannot possibly be either the cause or condition of justification; because causes and conditions necessarily precede that which they are the causes and conditions of.

ARTICLE XII.

" Of Good Works.

"Albeit that good works, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification, cannot put away our sins and endure the severity of God's judgment, yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith; insomuch that, by them, a lively faith may be as evidently known as a tree discerned by the fruit."

Hence I conclude that if we are justified or accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord Jesus Christ received by faith, and if good works themselves are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification, then good works cannot, in the very nature of things, go before justification, any more than fruit can exist prior to the tree that bears it, or an effect can be wrought antecedently to the cause that produces it. Has the determination of our own Church any weight with her members? If it has, they must and will acknowledge that good works do not precede justification, and consequently cannot be (as Papists and Arminians pretend) a condition, without which God will not justify. The good works which he has ordained for us to walk in succeed and follow upon justification *ex post facto*, as marks and evidences of our being already in a justified state. But our reformers foresaw that some would probably ask, "Since justification is not, in any sense whatever, founded upon good works, but, on the contrary, all good works flow from justification; and these, flowing from it, can never be the source of that from which themselves issue as the stream; what are we to think of those works which are done prior to this justification by faith?" To an enquiry of this sort, the next article returns such an answer as effectually clinches the nail, and lays the axe to the very root of legal, conditional justification; declaring that no works whatever done by us before justification are pleasing to God, and by consequence that no man can, directly or indirectly, be justified by works of his own. It being, of all absurdities, the absurdest to imagine that those sinful works with which God is actually displeased should be conditions of obtaining his favour, or recommend us to his acceptance.

ARTICLE XIII.

" Of Works done before Justification.

"Works done before the grace of Christ and the inspiration of his Spirit are not pleasant to God; forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ, &c."

With these decisions our homilies are perfect unisons. Witness the following citation, which being extremely important, most judiciously worded, and as pertinent to the subject, as if it had been purposely drawn up against Dr. Nowell, I request the reader to peruse it slowly, and to weigh it with the most careful attention. "These works" [namely, such as are becoming of "new creatures in Christ"] "the apostle calleth good works; saying, we are God's workmanship, created in Christ Jesus to good works, which God hath ordained that we should walk in them. And yet his meaning is not by these words to induce us to have any affiance, or to put any confidence in our works, as by the merit and deserving of them to purchase to ourselves and others remission of sin, and so consequently everlasting life; for that were mere blasphemy against God's mercy, and great derogation to the blood-shedding of our Saviour Jesus Christ. For it is of the free grace and mercy of God, by the mediation of the blood of his Son Jesus Christ, without merit or deserving on our part, that we are reconciled and brought again into his favour, and are made heirs of his heavenly kingdom. Grace, saith St. Augustine, belonging to God, who doth call us; and then hath he good works whosoever received grace. Good works, then, bring not forth grace, but are brought forth by grace. The wheel, saith he, turneth round, not to the end that it may be made round, but because it is first made round, therefore it turneth round. So no man doeth good works to receive grace by his good works, but because he hath first received grace, therefore, consequently, he doeth good works. And in another place he (St. Austin) saith: good works go not before in him which shall afterwards be justified, but good works do follow after when a man is first justified. (*a*) St. Paul therefore teacheth that we must do good works for divers respects:

(*a*) Hence it appears that St. Austin's famous adage, *bona opera non precedunt justificandum, sed sequuntur justificatum*, is, by its insertion into the above homily, become an article of our faith, which every son of the Church professes to hold, and to which every minister of it has subscribed with his own hand.

1. To shew ourselves obedient children to our heavenly Father, &c. 2. For that they are good declarations and testimonials of our justification. 3. That others, seeing our good works, may the rather by them be stirred up and excited, &c." Homily of Fasting. Part I.

Good works, therefore, being the effects of justification, cannot be the cause of it, any more than the volubility of a wheel is the cause of its rotundity. A wheel rolls not in order to be made round, but in consequence of being already so: in like manner men do good works not in order to be justified, but in consequence of being justified already. On this grand, fundamental Church of England principle, the doctrine of conditional justification is the grossest of contradictions. For (suffer me to repeat the important remark) if no good works whatever can be done before justification, it is absolutely impossible that justification should be at all suspended on good works; for then justification would be suspended on a nonentity. How, sir, can those good works be the condition of my justification, not one of which can have any existence until I am justified! Your assertion, therefore, p. 124, "That good works, though imperfect and worthless, are yet required by God as necessary terms, qualifications, and conditions, both of our justification and salvation," is flatly giving the lie not only to Scripture, but to every article and homily of our Church upon the subject. Let me likewise observe, by the way, that as, on the one hand, you extol good works too high, in representing them as conditions of justification, so, on the other, you sink them as much too low in presuming to call them worthless. Works resulting from grace, and wrought with a view to glorify God, deserve a better epithet than that of worthless. Had a Calvinist stiled them so, you would have set him down at once for an Antinomian; and not without reason. Good works, though imperfect, are yet very far from being worthless things. Seeing, as the above homily justly observes, they are proofs of our obedience to God, testimonies of our justification, and conducive to the edification of our fellow Christians. We Calvinists value sanctification and good works as the writings of our heavenly estate; which, though they have no hand in procuring the estate itself (for that is already done by the precious merits of the sole Mediator between God and man), yet prove that the estate is our's through the free grace of God and the alone righteousness of Christ. Good works, therefore, though no part of our dependence, nor any condition of our present or everlasting acceptance, are still by no means worthless, as you have contemptuously, and inconsistently with your own plan, ventured to style them. However worthless you may affect to deem them, woe be to you and me if we are eventually found without them.

I have now, so far as the Church of England is properly concerned, touched on the most material parts of your pamphlet; and am of opinion, for my own part, that your design is not very happily executed, nor your objections very solidly founded. I really think, upon a review of the whole, that you have no reason to sing *Te Deum* for your imaginary triumph over the doctrines of the reformation. Yet is it matter of lamentation that you should even have attempted to subvert them; and that the Church should receive any blow, how slight soever, from so respectable a hand. You have been fighting against those very truths which, when you received ordination, you, on your knees, were solemnly commissioned to defend, and which, previous to that solemnity, you had ratified as your own belief by the deliberate subscription of your name. Form to yourself the idea of an English officer who, false to the cause and service of his Britannic Majesty, should ungratefully and perfidiously endeavour to promote the interest of the French king, at the very time that he wears the regimentals and receives the pay of his own lawful sovereign. Very pertinent to the present argument is that expostulation of the great Dr. South: "To be impugned from without and betrayed from within is certainly the worst condition that either Church or state can fall into; and the best of Churches, the Church of England, has had experience of both. It had been to be wished, and one would think might very reasonably have been expected, that when Providence had took the work of destroying the Church of England out of the Papists' hands, some would have been contented with her preferments, without either attempting to give up her rites and liturgy, or deserting her doctrine; but it has proved much otherwise." (*o*) It has indeed. How much farther God will suffer us to fall is best known to him that knows all things. I only wish that "we may not part with one thing after another till we have nothing left." How wide a difference there is between the doctrine of the Church and that of some churchmen (as Dr. South well distinguishes) will appear yet plainer by the following extracts from a book which, I fear, is subscribed by too many who have never read it; I mean the homilies of our

(*o*) Preface to his Animadversions on Sherlock, 1693.

established Church. Let these decide whether Calvinists or Arminians best deserve the name of churchmen.

I. Concerning predestination, as it respects Christ the Mediator, our Church delivers herself thus: "When the fulness of time was come, that is, the perfection and course of years appointed from the beginning, then God, according to his former covenant and promise, sent a Messias." Hom. on the Nativity, p. 243. (*p*)

Again: "Remember that ye be bought from your vain conversation, and that your freedom is purchased neither with gold nor silver, but with the price of the precious blood of that innocent Lamb, Jesus Christ, which was ordained to the same purpose before the world was made." Hom. on the Resurrection, p 266.

Of predestination, as it respects mankind, I find as follows:

"When God had chosen to himself a peculiar and special people from amongst all other nations that knew not God, he gave unto them certain ordinances, &c." Hom. against Idolatry, p. 104. This refers to the ancient Jews. Let us now hear what is said concerning the Christian Church: "The true Church is a universal congregation or fellowship of God's faithful and elect people, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the head corner-stone." Hom. for Whitsunday, p. 283.

"Let us only trust to be saved by his death and passion, and to have our sins clean washed away through his most precious blood, that in the end of the world, when he shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead, he may receive us into his heavenly kingdom, and place us in the number of his elect and chosen people." Hom. ii. on the Passion, p. 261.

Once more: "God of his mercy and special favour, towards them whom he hath appointed to everlasting salvation, hath so offered his grace especially, and they have so received it fruitfully, that although, by reason of their sinful living outwardly, they seemed before to have been the children of wrath and perdition, yet now, the Spirit of God mightily working in them, they declare, by their outward deeds and life, in the shewing of mercy and charity (which cannot come but of the Spirit of God and his especial grace), that they are the undoubted children of God appointed to everlasting life. And so as, by their wickedness and ungodly living, they shewed themselves according to the judgment of men, which follow the outward appearance, to be reprobates and castaways, so now, by their obedience unto God's holy will, and by their merciful and tender pity (wherein they shew themselves to be like unto God, who is the fountain and spring of all mercy) they declare openly and manifestly to the sight of men that they are the sons of God, and elect of him unto salvation." Hom. ii. on Alms-deeds, p. 235, 203. Hence it is clearly the doctrine of our Church, 1. That there are some persons elect, chosen, and appointed of God to everlasting life. 2. That this his choice of them, and their subsequent regeneration, are founded on his own mercy and special favour towards them. 3. That the elect, even before they are converted and sanctified, are not, in reality, objects of God's hatred, but only seem to be such in the judgment of men. 4. That the conversion of the elect is wrought by God's especial grace, and by his Spirit mightily working in them. 5. That sanctification and good works are (not the causes and conditions of election, but) the marks, proofs, evidences, and consequences of it, whereby the regenerate declare openly and manifestly that they are the undoubted children of God, appointed to everlasting life, and elect of him unto salvation

Nor is our Church silent as to that other branch of God's decree, commonly called reprobation. "Christ himself, the prophets before him, the apostles after him, all the true ministers of God's holy word, yea, every word in God's book, is unto the reprobate the savour of death unto death." Hom. ii. on certain places of Scripture, p. 228. And elsewhere, more roundly still: God "will have none in council with him, nor any to ask the reason of his doing; for he may do what liketh him, and none can resist him. For he worketh all things in his secret judgment to his own pleasure; yea, even the wicked to damnation, saith Solomon." Rogation, i. Hom. p. 289.

Intimately connected with (and, indeed, solely founded upon) predestination is the doctrine of absolute Providence; concerning which latter the Church thus speaks:—"Epicures they be that imagine that he (God) walketh about the coasts of the heavens, and hath no respect of these inferior things, but that all these things should proceed either by chance, or at adventure, or else by disposition of fortune, and God to have no stroke in them. What other thing is this to say, than, as the fool supposeth in his heart, there is no God?" Rogation, ii. Hom. p. 293.

II. With regard to the extent of redemption, our Church expressly declares that Christ "is the high and everlasting priest who hath offered himself once for all upon the altar of the cross, and, with that one

(*p*) My edition of the Homilies is that printed in 1673.

oblation, hath made perfect for evermore them that are sanctified" Hom. i. of Salvation, p. 10. More minutely still: "The end of his coming was to save and deliver his people." Hom. on the Nativity, p. 247. Again: "Christ put himself between God's deserved wrath and our sin, and rent that obligation wherein we were in danger to God, and paid our debt. Our debt was a great deal too great for us to have paid; and without payment God the Father could never be at one with us. Neither was it possible to be loosed from this debt by our own ability. It pleased, him, therefore, to be the payer thereof, and to discharge us quite." Hom. i. on the Passion, p. 249, 250. Hence it appears that, in the opinion of our Church, Christ did not lay down his life, to put men into a salvable state, and render their salvation barely possible; but, actually and absolutely secured the discharge of those he redeemed, and, indeed, it would have been no redemption without this. Christ is here said to have positively paid our debt; and to have so paid it as to discharge us quite. Seems it not, therefore, to flow from these premises that the spiritual debts of those who shall be condemned in the last day, were not paid by him? for, if they were, how can it come to pass that some of those very persons shall be thrown into prison, and there tormented, whose debts have been really paid to the uttermost farthing? Will not the Judge of the whole earth do right? Is it consistent with our ideas of justice, that God the Father should demand double payment of the self-same debts, by charging sin first to the Surety's account and then the sinner's afterwards? Christ, says our homily, discharged us quite: but can such persons be said to be quite discharged on whom divine justice hath still an unsatisfied claim, and against whom the debt-book is yet uncrossed, and for whom penal vengeance is laid up in store? Upon these two correlative suppositions, 1. That the death of Christ was a vicarious punishment; and 2. that it was a proper, real, adequate atonement for sin (both which are the avowed doctrines of our Church); either universal salvation, or a limited redemption, must necessarily follow. But the church does not hold universal salvation; therefore, you must either grant that she contradicts her own fundamental principles, or, that she believes redemption to be only co-extensive with election.—There is, I apprehend, but one way to elude the force of this argument; and that is, fairly and above-board, to take refuge in (*q*) Socinianism, (as the great Grotius at length unhappily did) by denying that Christ died as our substitute, and in our room and stead. But this refuge is attended with ten thousand times worse consequences than either the doctrine of unlimited salvation, or that of partial redemption. The Arminian salvo, that "Christ died for us, only to put us into a capacity of being saved if we are willing to close in with certain terms offered," leaves the matter every jot as embarrassed as it found it. Since it can never, with any colour of reason, be supposed, that he would ascertain the end, without securing the means; for that would be doing just nothing at all. He cannot be said to have purchased salvation for any, for whom he did not likewise obtain those influences of saving grace without which final salvation cannot be had; nor am I able to conceive how a Being of infinite wisdom would actually pay down a price of infinite value, and yet leave it quite uncertain whether the purchased blessing should be enjoyed by those for whom he bought them. This will still appear more unlikely (or rather impossible), if we take his foreknowledge into the account. Would he (with the deepest reverence be it asked) shed his inestimably precious blood for those persons who, as himself knew at that very time he did it, would certainly reject the redemption wrought? If he did not foreknow this, what becomes of his deity? If he did foreknow it, and yet died for such, it was, in effect, redeeming them unto greater condemnation: and then redemption (so far as these persons are concerned) can hardly be considered as an act of mercy. For my own part, these and similar considerations strike me so strongly that I find myself obliged, by dint both of rational and scripture evidence, to believe that Christ actually and infallibly secured the salvation of every individual for whom he died: that repentance, faith and holiness are wrought in those he hath ransomed; and that God giveth grace and glory to all them for whom he gave his Son.—This train of reasoning is not a little countenanced by the following passage in another of our homilies. "Now it followeth to have, with this knowledge, a sure and constant faith, not only that the death of Christ is available (*r*) for the redemption of all the world, for the remission of sins, and reconciliation with God the Father; but also that he hath made, upon the cross, a full and sufficient sacrifice for thee, a perfect cleansing of thy sins: So that thou

(*q*) The alliance between Socinianism and Arianism is evident from the confession of an Arminian divine; Tindal; Cont. of Rap. vol. 15. p. 237. note *a*. Also Biogr. Dict. vol. 10. p. 404.

(*r*) That is, of sufficient value: which it most certainly is. But availableness, or intrinsic sufficiency, is one thing; intentional and actual efficacy is another. The argument *à Potentia ad Actum* concludes nothing.

mayest say, with the apostle, that he loved thee, and gave himself for thee." Hom. on the sacrament, p. 272. But, if Christ loved all men, and gave himself for every individual of mankind, he must of course have loved me and gave himself for me: consequently, this assured faith of his being my lover, my sacrifice, and my Saviour in particular, could not, upon the principle of universal redemption, be so high and distinguishinging a privilege as the homily here represents it. Upon the whole, when the homilies appear to speak of redemption, as general, it seems but fair to understand them rather in an indefinite, than in a strictly unlimited sense. Such a declaration as this that follows should be looked upon as explanatory of the Church's meaning in other places, where the restriction is not so expressly laid down · Christ "was obedient even to the very death, the death of the cross. And this he did for us all that believe." First homily on the passion, p. 250.

III. Man's exceeding depravation by nature and total inability as to spiritual good are largely and strongly asserted in our homilies. "The Holy Ghost, in writing the holy Scriptures, is in nothing more diligent than to pull down man's vain glory and pride; which of all vices is most universally grafted in all mankind, even from the first infection of our first father Adam." First homily on the misery of man, p. 6.

"St. Paul, in many places, painteth us out in our colours, calling us the children of the wrath of God when we be born: saying also, that we cannot think a good thought of ourselves; much less can we say well, or do well ourselves." *Ibid.* p. 8.

"We be, of ourselves, of such earth as can bring forth but weeds, nettles, brambles, briars, cockles, and darnel. Our fruits be declared in the 5th chapter to the Galatians. We have neither faith, charity, hope, patience, chastity, nor any thing else that good is, but of God; and therefore these virtues be called there, the fruits of the Holy Ghost, and not the fruits of man. Second homily on ditto, p. 9.

"Of ourselves, and by ourselves, we have no goodness, help, nor salvation: but, contrariwise, sin, damnation, and death everlasting. Which, if we deeply weigh and consider, we shall the better understand the great mercy of God, and how our salvation cometh only by Christ; for, in ourselves (as of ourselves), we find nothing whereby we may be delivered from this miserable captivity, into the which we were cast, through the envy of the Devil, by breaking of God's commandment in our first parent Adam. We are all become unclean, but we all are not able to cleanse ourselves, nor to make one another of us clean. We are by nature the children of God's wrath, but we are not able to make ourselves the children and inheritors of God's glory. We are sheep that run astray, but we cannot of our own power come again to the sheep-fold; so great is our imperfection and weakness." *Ibid.* p. 10.

"St. Ambrose concludeth in a few words, saying, he that by nature would withstand vice, either by natural will, or reason, he doth in vain garnish the time of this life, and attaineth not the very true virtues." First homily on good works, p. 28.

"These sentences (good people), unto a natural man, seem mere absurdities, contrary to all reason. For a natural man, as St. Paul saith, understandeth not the things that belong to God: neither can he, so long as old Adam dwelleth in him." Second homily on certain places of Scripture, p. 225.

"God therefore, for his mercy's sake, vouchsafe to purify our minds, through faith in his Son Jesus Christ, and to instil the heavenly drops of his grace into our hard stony hearts to supple the same." *Ibid.* p. 229.

"Let us, throughout our whole lives, confess all good things to come of God, of what name or nature soever they be: not of these corruptible things only, but much more of all spiritual graces behovable for our soul." Second rogation homily, p. 226.

"If any gift we have, wherewith we may work to the glory of God, and profit to our neighbour, all is wrought by his own and self-same spirit, which maketh his distributions peculiarly to every man as he will." Third rogation homily, p. 299.

"We have, of our own selves, nothing to present us to God." First homily on repentance, p. 326.

Such are the ideas inculcated by the Church of England, concerning man's free-will, and the powers of nature.

IV. Equally careful she is to assert the absolute energy, independence, and efficacy of divine grace. "As the good fruit is not the cause that the tree is good, but the tree must first be good, before it can bring forth good fruit; so the good deeds of men are not the cause that maketh man good, but he is first made good by the spirit and grace of God, that effectually worketh in him, and afterward he bringeth forth good fruits." And a little lower we meet with this expression, "The grace of God, which worketh all in all." Second homily on almsdeeds, p. 236.

"Where the Holy Ghost worketh there nothing is impossible: as may further also appear by the inward regeneration and sanctification of mankind." Whence, taking occasion to speak of Nicodemus, the homily adds, "Behold a lively pattern of a fleshly and carnal man. He had little or no intelligence of the Holy Ghost, and therefore he

goeth bluntly to work, and asketh how this thing" [namely inward regeneration by the Spirit of God] "were possible to be true? Whereas otherwise, if he had known the great power of the Holy Ghost in this behalf, that it is he which inwardly worketh the regeneration and new birth of mankind; he would never have marvelled at Christ's words, but would rather take occasion thereby to praise and glorify God. First homily for Whitsunday, p. 279.

"Man, of his own nature, is fleshly and carnal, corrupt and nought, sinful and disobedient to God, without any spark of goodness in him, without any virtuous or godly motion, only given to evil thoughts and wicked deeds. As for the works of the Spirit, the fruits of faith, charitable and godly motions; if he have any at all in him, they proceed only of the Holy Ghost, who is the only worker of our sanctification, and maketh us new men in Christ Jesus. Such is the power of the Holy Ghost to regenerate men, and, as it were, to bring them forth anew, so that they shall be nothing like the men that they were before." *Ibid.* p. 280.

"Let them all come together that be now glorified in heaven, and let us hear what answer they will make in these points before rehearsed, whether their first creation was in God's goodness, or of themselves. Forsooth, David would make answer for them all and say, Know ye for a surety, even the Lord is God; he hath made us, and not we ourselves. If they were asked again, who shall be thanked for their regeneration? for their justification? and for their salvation? whether their deserts, or God's goodness only? Let David answer by the mouth of them all at this time, who cannot choose but say, Not to us, O Lord, not to us, but to thy name give all the thanks, for thy loving mercy and for thy truth's sake. If we should ask again, whence came their glorious works and deeds, which they wrought in their lives, wherewith God was so highly pleased and worshipped by them? Let some other witness be brought in to testify this matter, that in the mouth of two or three may the truth be known. Verily, that holy prophet Esay beareth record, and saith, O Lord, it is thou, of thy goodness, that hast wrought all our works in us, not we ourselves. And to uphold the truth of this matter against all justiciaries and hypocrites, which rob Almighty God of his honour, and ascribe it to themselves, St. Paul bringeth in his belief: We be not (saith he) sufficient of ourselves once to think any thing: but all our ableness is of God's goodness. For he it is, in whom we have all our being, and living, and moving. If ye will know, furthermore, where they had their gifts and sacrifices, which they offered continually in their lives to Almighty God; they cannot but agree with David, where he saith, Of thy liberal hand, O Lord, we have received that we gave unto thee. If this holy company, therefore, contest so constantly, that all the goods and graces wherewith they were endued in soul, came of the goodness of God only; what more can be said, to prove that all that is good cometh from Almighty God? To justify a sinner, to new create him from a wicked person to a righteous man, is a greater act (saith St. Augustine) than to make such a new heaven and earth as is already made." First rogation homily, p. 289, 290.

"All spiritual gifts and graces come especially from God. Let us consider the truth of this matter, and hear what is testified; first of the gift of faith, the first entry into the Christian life, without the which, no man can please God. For St. Paul confesses it plainly to be God's gift; saying, Faith is the gift of God. It is verily God's work in us, the charity wherewith we love our brethren. If any will we have to rise, it is he that preventeth our will, and disposeth us thereto. Who worketh these great miracles in us? our worthiness, our deservings and endeavours, our wits and virtue? Nay, verily, St. Paul will not suffer flesh and clay to presume to such arrogancy; and, therefore saith, All is of God, who hath reconciled us unto himself by Jesus Christ." Third rogation homily, page 297.

We must "Beware and take heed, that we do in no wise think in our hearts, imagine, or believe, that we are able to repent aright, or to turn effectually unto the Lord, by our own might and strength. For this must be verified in all men, Without me ye can do nothing. Again, Of ourselves we are not able as much as to think a good thought. And in another place, It is God that worketh in us both the will and the deed. For this cause, though Hieremie had said before, Turn unto me, saith the Lord; yet afterwards he saith, Turn thou me, and I shall be turned, for thou art the Lord my God. And, therefore that ancient writer and holy Father, Ambrose, doth plainly affirm that the turning of the heart unto God is of God; as the Lord himself doth testify by his prophet, saying, And I will give thee a heart to know me, that I am the Lord; and they shall be my people, and I will be their God, for they shall return unto me with their whole heart." First homily on repentance, p. 330, 331. So far is the Church of England from making the grace of God strike to the freewill of his creatures!

Next, for the doctrine of justification.

V. "Let us know our own works, of what imperfection they be, and then we

shall not stand foolishly and arrogantly in our own conceits, nor challenge any part of justification by our merits or works." Second homily on Man's Misery, p. 9.

"All the good works that we can do be imperfect, and, therefore, not able to deserve our justification; but our justification doth come freely, by the mere mercy of God. First homily of Salvation, (*s*) page 13.

"By grace are ye saved, through faith, and that not of yourselves; for it is the gift of God, and not of works, lest any man should glory. And, to be short, the sum of all Paul's disputation is this: That if justice" [*i. e.* justification] "come of works, then it cometh not of grace; and, if it come of grace, then it cometh not of works. And to this end tend all the prophets, as St. Peter saith in the xth of the Acts. 'Of Christ all the prophets,' saith Saint Peter, 'do witness, that, through his name, all they that do believe in him shall receive the remission of sins.' St. Hilary speaketh these words plainly, in the ixth canon upon Matthew, 'Faith only justifieth.' And St. Basil, a Greek author, writeth thus; 'This is a perfect and whole rejoicing in God, when a man advanceth not himself for his own righteousness, but acknowledgeth himself to lack true justice and righteousness, and to be justified by the only faith in Christ. And Paul,' saith he, 'doth glory in the contempt of his own righteousness, and that he looketh for the righteousness of God by faith.' These be the very words of St. Basil. And St. Ambrose, a Latin author, saith these words: 'This is the ordinance of God, that they which believe in Christ should be saved without works, by faith only, freely receiving remission of their sins.' Consider diligently [adds the Homily] these words, without works — by faith only—freely—we receive remission of our sins.' What can be spoken more plainly, than to say, freely, without works, by faith only, we obtain remission of our sins?" Second part of the Homily of Salvation, pp. 14, 15.

"Man cannot make himself righteous by his own works, neither in part, nor in the whole. For that were the greatest arrogancy and presumption of man that Anti-christ could set up against God, to affirm that a man might, by his own works, take away and purge his own sins, and so justify himself. But justification is the office of God only, and is not a thing which we render unto him, but which we receive of him; not which we give to him, but which we take of him, by his free mercy, and by the only merits of his most dearly beloved Son, our only Redeemer, Saviour, and Justifier." *Ibid.* pp. 15, 16.

"It is of the free grace and mercy of God, by the mediation of the blood of his Son Jesus Christ, without merit or deserving on our part, that our sins are forgiven us, that we are reconciled and brought again into his favour, and are made heirs of his heavenly kingdom." First homily on Fasting, p. 165.

"To fast, with this persuasion of mind, that our fasting and our good works can make us perfect and just men; and, finally, bring us to heaven; this is a devilish persuasion." *Ibid.* p. 168.

"It [namely, the parable of the pharisee and publican] is spoken to them that trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and despised others. Now, because the pharisee directeth his works to an evil end, seeking by them justification, which indeed is the proper work of God, without our merits; his fasting twice in the week, and all his other works, though they were never so many, and seemed to the world never so good and holy, yet, in very deed, before God, they are altogether evil and abominable." *Ibid.* p. 169.

He must have piercing eyes, indeed, who can discover any thing in our homilies, whence to infer the conditionality of justification. What Arminans call conditions our Church calls gifts of God; and those graces, which are the gifts of his own free favour, can never be the conditions of obtaining it. "Two things," says the Church, "are chiefly to be respected, in every good and godly man's prayer: his own necessity, and the glory of Almighty God. Necessity belongeth either outwardly to the body, or inwardly to the soul; which part of man" [*i. e.* the soul,] "because it is much more precious and excellent than the other, therefore we ought, first of all, to crave such things as properly belong to the salvation thereof; as the gift of repentance; the gift of faith; the gift of charity and good works; remission and forgiveness of sins, &c. and such other like fruits of the Spirit." Third Homily on Prayer, p. 198.

Some Arminians, of more subtilty and refinement than the rest of their sect, ac-

(*s*) Mr. Strype has an observation which deserves to be noticed here. "In the first framing of this Homily," says he, viz. the Homily of Salvation, "there was a great controversy between Archbishop Cranmer, the chief composer thereof, and Bishop Gardiner, concerning that branch of it that asserted justification by faith: as may be seen in the memorials of that great archbishop, under the year 1547." (Annals of the reformation under Queen Elizabeth, p. 296.) And well there might; since nothing plunges the dagger deeper into the very heart of Popery than that great fundamental doctrine of the gospel, free, unconditional justification by faith in the imputed righteousness of Christ. This admirable Homily is itself a standing demonstration that not Gardiner, but Cranmer, prevailed.

knowledge, indeed, that we are not justified by moral works and performances of our own, but by the *Tò credere*, or the act of believing; which faith itself, say they, is imputed to the believer, in lieu of that perfect righteousness which the law demands. This opinion is as totally unscriptural, and anti-scriptural, as the doctrine of justification by works. It is equally absurd in itself, and derogatory to the merits of Christ I shall, however, in this place, content myself with proving that this imaginary imputation of faith for righteousness is not the doctrine of the Church of England. "The true understanding of this doctrine we be justified freely by faith without works, or that we be justified by faith in Christ only; is not, that this our own act, to believe in Christ, or this our faith in Christ, which is within us, doth justify us and deserve our justification unto us (for that were to count ourselves to be justified by some act or virtue that is within ourselves). So that, as St. John the Baptist, although he were never so virtuous and godly a man, yet in this matter of forgiving sin, he did put the people from him, and appointed them unto Christ, saying thus unto them: Behold, yonder is the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world; even so, as great and as godly a virtue as faith is yet it putteth us from itself, and remitteth or appointeth us unto Christ, for to have only by him remission of our sins, or justification. So that our faith in Christ (as it were) saith unto us thus: It is not I that take away your sins, but it is Christ only, and to him only I send you for that purpose; forsaking therein all your good virtues, words, thoughts and works, and only putting your trust in Christ." Homily of Salvation, part II. p. 16.

Once more. "God, of his own mercy, through the only merits and deservings of his Son Jesus Christ, doth justify us. Nevertheless, because faith doth directly send us to Christ, for remission of our sins; and that by faith, given us of God. We embrace the promise of God's mercy, and of the remission of our sins (which thing none other of our virtues or works properly doth); therefore, Scripture useth to say that faith without works doth justify. And, forasmuch that it is all one sentence in effect to say, faith without works, and only faith doth justify us; therefore, the old ancient fathers of the Church, from time to time, have uttered our justification with this speech, only faith justifieth us; meaning none other thing than St. Paul meant, when he said, faith without works justifieth us. And because all this is brought to pass, through the only merits and deservings of our Saviour Christ, and not through our merits, or through the merit of any virtue that we have within us, or of any work that cometh from us; therefore, in that respect of merit and deserving, we forsake (as it were) all together again, faith, works, and all other virtues. For our own imperfection is so great, through the corruption of original sin, that all is imperfect that is within us; faith, charity, hope, dread, thoughts, words, and works; and, therefore, not apt to merit and discern any part of our justification for us. And this form of speaking use we in the humbling of ourselves to God; and to give all the glory to our Saviour Christ, who is best worthy to have it." *Ibid.* part III. p. 17.

It is plain, from these testimonies, that, according to the judgment of the Church, God does not dishonour his law, nor compromise and patch up matters with justice, by accepting of faith, in the room of perfect obedience, and imputing that for righteousness, which is not such; the office of faith in the affair of justification, being to send us directly, or transmit us through and from itself, to Christ; and to embrace God's promises of mercy in him.

It may here be enquired, since neither faith nor works are the matter of justification; what is it, for the sake of which God does justify? Our Church answers with Scripture, the righteousness and blood-shedding of Christ alone. "God sent his only Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, into this world to fulfil the law for us; and, by shedding of his most precious blood, to make a sacrifice and satisfaction, or (as it may be called) amends to his Father for our sins. Homily of Salvation, part I. page 12.

"With his endless mercy he joined his most upright and equal justice. His great mercy he shewed unto us, in delivering from our former captivity, without requiring of any ransom to be paid, or amends to be made upon our parts; which thing by us had been impossible to be done. And whereas it lay not in us that to do, he provided a ransom for us, that was the most precious body and blood of his own most dear and best beloved Son Jesus Christ; who, besides this ransom, fulfilled the law for us perfectly. And so the justice of God and his mercy did embrace together, and fulfilled the mystery of our redemption. Christ is the end of the law unto righteousness, to every one that believeth." *Ibid.* p. 13.

The apostle toucheth three things specially, which must go together in our justification. Upon God's part his great mercy and grace. Upon Christ's part, justice; that is the satisfaction of God's justice, or the price of our redemption, by the offering of his body, and the shedding of his blood; together with fulfilling of the law perfectly and thoroughly. And, upon

our part, true and lively faith in the merits of Jesus Christ, which yet is not ours, but by God's working in us." *Ibid.*

"It pleased our heavenly Father, of his infinite mercy, without any our desert or deserving, to prepare for us the most precious jewels of Christ's body and blood, whereby our ransom might be fully paid, the law fulfilled, and his justice fully satisfied. So that Christ is now the righteousness of all them that truly do believe in him. He for them paid their ransom by his death. He for them fulfilled the law in his life. So that now in him and by him every true Christian man may be called a fulfiller of the law." *Ibid.* page. 14. (*s*)

VI. I shall now proceed to remind you, sir, of what our Church asserts, concerning the influence and in-dwelling of the Holy Spirit.

"In reading of God's word, he most profiteth not always that is most ready in turning of the book: or in saying of it without the book: but he that is most turned into it; that is most inspired with the Holy Ghost; most in his heart and life altered and changed into the thing which he readeth." First Homily on the knowledge of Scripture, p. 3.

"He" [Christ] "speaketh presently unto us in the holy Scriptures, to the great and endless comfort of all them that have any feeling of God in them." First Homily on certain places of Scripture, p. 221.

"Such is the power of the Holy Ghost to regenerate men, and as it were to bring them forth anew; so that they shall be nothing like the men that they were before. Neither doth he think it sufficient inwardly to work the spiritual and new birth of man, unless he do also dwell and abide in him." First Homily for Whitsunday, p. 280.

"Unless the Holy Ghost had been always present governing and preserving the Church from the beginning; it could never have sustained so many and great brunts of affliction and persecution, with so little damage and harm, as it hath. And the words of Christ are most plain in this behalf, saying, that the Spirit of truth should abide with them for ever; that he would be with them always (he meaneth by grace, virtue and power), even to the world's end. Also in the prayer that he made to his Father, a little before his death, he maketh intercession, not only for himself and his apostles, but indifferently for all them that should believe in him, through their words; that is to wit, for his whole Church. Again, St. Paul saith, If any man have not the spirit of Christ, the same is not his. Also, in the words following, we have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba, Father. Hereby then, it is evident and plain to all men that the Holy Ghost was given, not only to the apostles, but also to the whole body of Christ's congregation; although not in like form and majesty as he came down at the feast of Pentecost." Second Homily for Whitsunday, p. 282.

"God give us grace (good people) to know these things, and to feel them in our hearts. This knowledge and feeling is not in ourself. By ourself it is not possible to come by it.——Let us, therefore meekly call upon that bountiful spirit the Holy Ghost, which proceedeth from our Father of mercy, and from our mediator Christ, that he would assist us and inspire us with his presence; that in him we may be able to hear the goodness of God declared unto us to our salvation. For, without his lively and secret inspiration, can we not once so much as speak the name of our Mediator, as St. Paul plainly testifieth: no man can once name our Lord Jesus Christ, but in the Holy Ghost (*t*).—St. Paul saith, that no man can know what is of God but the spirit of God. As for us, saith he, we have received, not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God; for this purpose, that we might know the things that be given us by Christ. This leads me

VII. To consider the sense of our Church, with relation to the doctrine of assurance. She tells us that "The right and true Christian faith is not only to believe that Holy Scripture and all the aforesaid articles of our faith are true; but also to have a sure trust and confidence in God's merciful promises, to be saved from everlasting damnation by Christ; whereof doth follow a loving heart to obey his commandments.—For, how can a man have this true faith, this sure trust and confidence in God, that by the merits of Christ, his sins be forgiven, and he reconciled to the favour of God, and to be partaker of the kingdom of heaven by Christ, when he liveth ungodly, and denieth Christ in his deeds?" Third Homily of salvation, p. 18.

"A quick, or lively faith—is not only the common belief of the articles of our faith, but it is also a true trust and confidence of the mercy of God through our Lord Jesus Christ,

(*s*) "Whose mediation," [*i. e.* the "mediation of Christ] "was so acceptable to God the Father, through his absolute and perfect obedience, that he took his act for a full satisfaction of all our disobedience and rebellion; whose righteousness he took, to inveigh against of sins; whose redemption he would have stand against our damnation." Third Rogation Homily, page 297.

(*t*) 1 Cor. xii. 3. No man can, for himself in particular, with an assured and appropriating faith, and from a real principle of experimental love, call Jesus his Lord, but by the Holy Ghost; whose gracious office it is to bring Christ and the soul together, in a way of spiritual intercourse and communion.

and a steadfast hope of all good things to be received at God's hand." First Homily on faith, p. 20.

"They" [the Old Testament saints] "did not only know God to be the Lord, Maker, and Governor of all men in the world; but also they had a special confidence and trust that he was and (*u*) would be their God, their comforter, aider, helper, maintainer, and defender. This is the Christian faith which these holy men had, and we also ought to have." Second Homily on faith, p. 23.

"Finally he (St. John) concludeth, and sheweth the cause why he wrote this epistle; saying, For this cause have I written unto you, that you may know that you have everlasting life which do believe in the Son of God. *Ibid.* p. 24.

"He that doth consider all these things, and believeth them assuredly as they are to be believed, even from the bottom of his heart, being established in God in this true faith, having a quiet conscience in Christ, a firm hope, and assured trust in God's mercy, through the merits of Jesus Christ, to obtain this quietness, rest, and everlasting joy; shall not only be without fear of bodily death &c." Third Homily against fear of death, p. 61, 62.

This is meant by what the Church calls the "effectuous presence of his heavenly grace." First Homily of the right use of the Church, p. 94.

"Then we shall be assured, after this life, to rest in his holy hill, and to dwell in his tabernacle." Second Homily of the right use of the Church, p. 102.

"By this then, you may well perceive that the only mean and instrument of salvation, required of our parts is faith: that is to say a sure trust and confidence in the mercies of God, whereby we persuade ourselves that God both hath and will forgive our sins." Second Homily on the passion, p. 260.

"Thou hast received his body to endow thee with everlasting righteousness; to assure thee of everlasting bliss and life of thy soul." Homily on the resurrection, p. 265.

"The faithful see, hear, and know the favourable mercies of God sealed, the satisfaction by Christ towards us confirmed, and the remission of sin established. Here they may feel wrought the tranquillity of conscience; the increase of faith; the strengthening of hope; the large spreading abroad of brotherly kindness; with many other sundry graces of God.—Whence you may perceive and know both the spiritual food of this costly supper, and the happy trustings and effects that the same doth bring with it. Now it followeth to have with this knowledge a sure and constant faith, that he hath made upon his cross a full and sufficient sacrifice for thee; a perfect cleansing of thy sins."—First Homily on the sacrament, p. 271, 272.

"If, after contrition, we feel our consciences at peace with God, through remission of our sin, &c." Third Rogation Homily, p. 297.

Intimately connected with the privilege of assurance, is,

VIII. The blessing of final perseverance. Noah, Lot, Abraham, Jacob, David, and Solomon, though they committed very flagrant and atrocious offences, things (as the homily expresses it) "plainly forbidden by the law of God, and now repugnant to all public honesty:" yet, the opinion of our Church seems to be that, even under such shocking circumstances as these, those Jewish saints were not totally fallen from grace. Her words are as follow; "We ought then to learn by them this profitable lesson, that if, so godly men as they were, which otherwise felt inwardly God's Holy Spirit inflaming in their hearts with the fear and love of God, could not by their own strength keep themselves from committing horrible sin, but did so grivеously fall, that without God's great mercy they had perished everlastingly; how much more then ought we miserable wretches, who have no feeling of God in us at all, continually to fear, not only that we may fall as they did, but also be overcome and drowned in sin which they were not?" First Homily on certain places of Scripture, p. 224, 225.

Perseverance, in another homily, is represented as the gift of God. "Let us, throughout our whole lives confess all good things to come of God, of what name or nature soever they be; not of these corruptible things only, whereof I have now last spoken, but much more of all spiritual graces behovable for our soul: without whose goodness no man is called to faith, or stayed therein." Second Rogation Hom. p. 296.

Again, "St. Peter saith, it is of God's power that ye be kept through faith to salvation. It is of the goodness of God, that we falter not in our hope unto him." Third Rogation Hom. p. 297.

The following passages, I should imagine, seem scarcely reconcilable with the doctrine

(*u*) Hence it appears, that in the judgment of our Church, the assurance of faith looks forward to what shall be, as well as regards the present. The saints, even under the Jewish dispensation, had, according to this homily, not only a special confidence and trust that God was then their God; but likewise that he would be so still, and be their maintainer in the grace he had given them. But how is this consistent with the new Arminian doctrine of finally falling from grace?

of the total and final amissibility of real grace. "True faith will shew forth itself, and cannot long be idle: for, as it is written, the just man doth live by his faith; he never sleepeth nor is idle when he would wake and be well occupied. And God, by his prophet Jeremy, saith, That he is a happy and blessed man which hath faith and confidence in God: for he is like a tree set by the water side, and spreadeth his roots abroad towards the moisture, and feareth not heat when it cometh: his leaf will be green and will not cease to bring forth his fruit: even so faithful men (putting away all fear of adversity) will shew forth the fruit of their good works as occasion is offered to do them." First Homily on Faith, p. 21.

"All those, therefore, have great cause to be full of joy that be joined to Christ with true faith, steadfast hope, and perfect charity; and not to fear death nor everlasting damnation. For death cannot deprive them of Jesus Christ, nor any sin can condemn them that are grafted surely in him who is their only joy, treasure, and life." Second Homily against Fear of Death, p. 56.

"The just man falleth seven times, and riseth again. Though the godly do fail, yet they walk not on purposely in sin; they stand not still, to continue and tarry in sin; they sit not down like careless men, without all fear of God's just punishment for sin: but, defying sin, through God's great grace and infinite mercy, they rise again and fight against sin." Second Homily on certain places of Scripture, p. 226.

"Christ Jesus, the prophets, the apostles, and all the true ministers of his word; yea, every jot and tittle in the Holy Scripture, have been, is, and shall be for evermore, the savour of life unto eternal life unto all those whose hearts God hath purified by true faith." Ibid. p. 228.

"After the loving kindness of God our Saviour appeared towards mankind, not according to the righteousness that we had done, but according to his great mercy, he saved us by the fountain of the new-birth, and by the renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he poured upon us abundantly, through Jesus Christ our Saviour; that we, being once justified by his grace, should be heirs of eternal life, through hope and faith in his blood." Homily on the Nativity, p. 247.

"St. Peter thanketh God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, for his abundant mercy; because he hath begotten us (saith he) unto lively hope, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from death, to enjoy an inheritance immortal, that never shall perish, which is laid up in heaven for them that be kept by the power of God through faith." Homily on the resurrection, p. 264.

"He hath ransomed sin, overcome the devil, death and hell, and hath victoriously gotten the better hand of them all, to make us free and safe from them. And knowing that we be, by this benefit of his resurrection, risen with him by our faith, unto life everlasting; being in full surety of our hope, that we shall have our bodies likewise raised from death, to have them glorified in immortality, and joined to his glorious body: having, in the mean while, this Holy Spirit within our hearts, as a seal and pledge of our everlasting inheritance. By whose assistance we are replenished with all righteousness; by whose power we shall be able to subdue all our evil affections, rising against the pleasure of God." Ibid. p. 265, 266.

"The faithful have their life, their abiding in him; their union, and, as it were, their incorporation with him." First Homily on the Sacrament, p. 272.

"Neither doth he," [the Holy Ghost] "think it sufficient inwardly to work the spiritual and new-birth of a man, unless he do also dwell and abide in him." First homily for Whitsunday, p. 280.

"Very liberal and gentle is the spirit of wisdom. In his power shall we have sufficient ability to know our duty to God. In him shall we be comforted and encouraged to walk in our duty. In him shall we be meet vessels to receive the grace of Almighty God: for it is he that purgeth and purifieth the mind by his secret working. And he only is present every where by his invisible power, and containeth all things in his dominion. He lighteneth the heart, to conceive worthy thoughts of Almighty God: he sitteth in the tongue of man, to stir him to speak his honour. He only ministereth spiritual strength to the powers of our soul and body. To hold the way which God had prepared for us, to walk rightly in our journey, we must acknowledge that it is in the power of his Spirit, which helpeth our infirmity." Third Homily for Rogation week, p. 299.

So speaks the Church of England; and so will she ever speak while her liturgy, her articles, and homilies stand as they do. These are the doctrines which she holds; these the truths to which all her clergy have subscribed; (x) truths these which have no more to do with Methodism (properly so called) than they have with Mahometanism. To our departure from the above principles of the Reformation are chiefly owing, 1. That the Church and churchmen are the scorn of infidels. 2.

(x) Well, therefore, might the House of Commons pass a condemnatory vote concerning Montague's Book, written in favour of Arminianism: see Life of Laud, p. 148 and 180, with Laud's Anim. p. 181.

That so great a part of the common people of this land are sunk into such deplorable ignorance of divine things as is unparalleled in any other Protestant country. 3. That our churches are, in many places, so empty, while dissenting meetings are generally as full as they can hold. The plain but melancholy truth is, that in various parts of this kingdom multitudes of persons, who are churchmen upon principle, are forced to go to meeting in order to hear the doctrines of their own Church preached. And as to the totally ignorant and openly profane, they care not whether they attend on any public worship or not. To the same deviation from our established doctrines we may, 4. Impute, in great measure, the vast and still increasing spread of infidelity amongst us. Christianity, shorn of its peculiar and distinguishing principles, and reduced to little more than a dry system of Ethics, can take but small hold of men's hearts, and is itself but a better species of Deism. Many graceless persons are yet men of good sense; and when such consider the present state of religion in this country, how is it possible for them not to reason in a manner similar to this? (*y*) "There is a book called the Bible, in which such and such doctrines are written as with a sun-beam. There is also an establishment, called the Church, which teaches the self-same doctrines, and is the very echo of that book. This Bible is said by the clergy to be of divine authority, and a revelation from God. And for the Church, they tell us, it is the best and purest in the world; and, indeed, unless they thought it so, nothing could justify their solemn subscription to its decisions. Yet how many of them open their mouths and draw their pens against those very decisions to which they have set their hands! Can those of them who do this really believe the Scriptures to be divine, and their Church to be in the right? Does it not rather look as if religion was no more than a state-engine on one hand, and a genteel trade on the other?" Such I more than fear is the conclusion unhappily inferred by thousands from the conduct of some who lift up their heel against the Church while they eat her bread, or, as Dr. Young expresses it, "Pluck down the vine, and get drunk with the grapes." To the same source may be traced the rapid and alarming progress of Popery in this kingdom. Would we lay the axe to the root of this evil? Let us forsake our Arminianism, and come back to the doctrines of the Reformation. That these are Calvinistic has, I think, been fully proved; and should these proofs be deemed insufficient, there are more in reserve. A man must draw up a prodigiously large *index expurgatorius* to our articles, homilies, and liturgy, before he can divest the Church of her Calvinism. As long as these, in their present form, remain the standards of her faith, so long will predestination be an eminent part of it. We might more plausibly, with the philosopher of old, deny that there is any such thing as motion, than deny this glaring, palpable, stare-face truth. Whilst the Calvinistic doctrines were the language of our pulpits as well as of our articles, the Reformation made a swift and extensive progress. But ever since our articles and our pulpits have been at variance, the Reformation has been at a stand. At a stand, did I say? I said too little. Protestantism has ever since been visibly on the decline. Look round England; look round London. Is not Popery gaining ground upon us every day? And no wonder. Arminianism is the basis of it. Figuratively speaking, the Arminian points are five of the seven hills on which the mystic Babylon is built. It gives a true Papist less pain to hear of pope Joan than of predestination. That I do not affirm things at random, in calling Arminianism the very essence of Popery, will appear from the following short antithesis, wherein the doctrines of our own Church and those of Rome, respecting some of the articles under debate, are contrasted together in the very words of each Church.

Church of England.	Church of Rome.
I. The godly consideration of predestination and our election in Christ is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons. Art. XVII.	I. No man, so long as he liveth in this mortal life, ought so far to presume concerning the hidden mystery of divine predestination as positively to conclude that he is actually in the number of the predestinate. *Concil. Trid. Sess. 6. c.* xii.
II. The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith and calling upon God. Art. X.	II. If any person shall say that since the fall of Adam man's free-will is lost and extinct, &c. Let him be accursed. *Ibid. Sess. 6. can.* v.
III. We are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and not for our own works or deservings. Art. XI.	III. If any person shall say that men are justified, either by the alone righteousness of Christ, or by a bare forgiveness of sins, Let him be accursed. *Ibid. can.* xi.
IV. That we are justified by faith only is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort. Art. XI.	IV. If any one shall say that the ungodly is justified by faith only, so as to mean that nothing else is required, &c. Let him be accursed. *Ibid. can.* ix.
V. Art. XIII. Of works done before justification.	V. If any one shall say that all the works done be-

(*y*) See Mr. Sloss on the Trinity, pref. p. 10.

Works done before the grace of Christ and the inspiration of his Spirit are not pleasant to God; yea, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.

VI. Good works, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification. ART. XII.

fore justification, in what way soever they are done, are actually sins, and deserving of God's displeasure, &c. Let him be accursed.

Ibid. can. vii.

VI. If any man shall say that justification [*justitiam*] received is not preserved, and even increased before God by good works, but that those good works themselves are no more than the fruits and evidences [*fructus et signa*] of justification already obtained, &c. Let him be accursed.

Even from this slight survey, must not a man be blind not to discern that Calvinism is the religion of England, and that Arminianism is the heresy of Rome; (*z*) yet far be it from me to think that all among us who espouse the Arminian tenets are intentional Papists, or have any affection for Popery, as such. But this I cannot help believing, that Arminianism is the forerunner which prepares the way for Romanism, and, if not discarded in time, will one day open the door to it.

To close all, our doctrines are the precious depositum committed in a particular manner to the guardianship of us who have the honour to minister in holy things. How those who make no scruple to betray this inestimable trust, which they have so solemnly and repeatedly engaged to preserve, can answer it in conscience, must be submitted to God and themselves. For a clergyman to subscribe to our articles in the presence of his bishop, and after his admission to a benefice, to read over those articles in his Church deliberately and word by word, and there, in the presence of God, and in the hearing of his own parishioners, publicly to testify his unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing therein contained, while he disbelieves, and, it may be, the same day contradicts in the pulpit what he had so lately assented to from the desk, is, I believe, a species of guilt unknown to any Protestant nation but this. I fear such a clergyman, if such a clergyman is to be found, may take home those awful words to himself, Thou hast not only lied unto men, but unto God.

We have had long experience of the sad effects that have attended that mere ethical way of preaching which has been in fashion ever since the restoration. When that happy event took place, the generality of the clergy ran so fast and so far from Puritanism, that they out-ran the thirty-nine articles, (*a*) and lost sight of the Church itself. "Good works, good works," was the cry of that age, and is the cry of the present. I heartily wish good works abounded more among us than they do; but I am certain they never will until they are enforced on Christian principles, even the doctrines of grace. Under a pretence of magnifying good works, we have almost kicked faith out of doors; whereas they will always stand or fall together. There can be no good works which do not flow from faith; and no true faith but what is productive of good works. I appeal to demonstration, the life of argument. Faith is banished, and good works are posting after it as fast as they can. Contempt of gospel doctrines and neglect of gospel morals are inseparable. That morality which does not result from faith is (as Luther says of free-will) no more than *titulus et nomen sine re*. Faith, according to the united determinations of Scripture and our own Church, is the root and source of all true obedience. And shall we idly think to render the tree more fruitful by severing it from its root? or to enlarge the stream by cutting off its communication with the fountain? When the genuine doctrines of the Church of England are restored to her sons, then, and not till then, will good works flourish and abound.

Veneration and affection for the Church of England gave birth to the preceding pages. I have endeavoured to rub off the extraneous varnish with which you, Sir, have disguised her, and to restore her complexion to its native beauty and simplicity. The doctrines which she avows cannot but appear amiable in the eyes of all her genuine sons; and, upon a nearer view, Calvinism, I would hope, is not found to be that horrid, hideous thing which they would make it who first dress up the dove in raven's plumes, and then cry out "How black she looks!"

I shall conclude with apologizing for this freedom; which, however, I should not have taken, had not you first made so free with the Church. I have no interest abstracted from her's to promote, no resentment to gratify, no party to serve. I never had, to my knowledge, the pleasure of so much as seeing the author of *Pietas Oxoniensis*, nor have I the least acquaintance with any one of the expelled students. So far, at least, as the doctrines of the Church are concerned, it seems incumbent on you to retract what you have done. The ablest lawyers, when they find themselves embarked in an absolutely indefensible cause, think it no disparagement, but a point of honour, to throw up their briefs. However, as I am addressing myself to a clergyman, I

(*z*) So Heylin expressly owns; Life of Laud, p. 33. After which he adds, impudently, "so near, &c.," p. 36, and wishes for a reconciliation with Rome, *ib.*

(*a*) See Hume's Hist. vol. v.

shall remind you of a very great man, an ornament to his country as well as to the Church, who, after having long been a zealous Arminian, sacrificed his prejudices, submitted to superior evidence, and boldly avowed those Calvinistic doctrines which once he laboured to destroy. You will readily guess that I mean the justly famous Dr. South, who, moreover, was, like you, public orator of Oxford. After the mention of such a name, it can be no insult to Dr. Nowell to wish that he may go and do likewise. The doctrines of the Church have not been changed since she happily emerged at the reformation. Religious truths are not, like lead, or any other fusible metal, to be melted down and thrown into what form we please, but, like their adorable author, are the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. Nor until the Church changes should we.

You will excuse my not subjoining my name. Where truth is sought, names are of little account. An arrow from an unknown hand may do as much execution as if the contending parties were acquainted. I shall therefore only subscribe myself, with undissembled respect,

Rev. Sir,

Your most obedient
and most humble Servant,
CLERUS.

LONDON, Feb. 13, 1769.

THE DOCTRINE
OF
ABSOLUTE PREDESTINATION
STATED AND ASSERTED:
WITH
A PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE
ON
THE DIVINE ATTRIBUTES.

TRANSLATED IN GREAT MEASURE
FROM THE LATIN OF JEROM ZANCHIUS; WITH
SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE.

Quamvis ad infimæ Caveæ Plausum facilè ambiant *Universalis Gratiæ* Assertores; et, ex Ambone, hoc Argumentum multis Phaleris splendidè adornari possit; tamen, ubi penitiùs excutitur, Argutiæ omnes evanescunt, et ascendendum, tandem, ad Deum discriminantem, æterno Decreto suo, Hominem ab Homine: quo, in aliquibus, *Gratiæ* suæ; in aliis *Justitiæ* suæ: in Utrisque, *Gloriæ* suæ πολυτροπως. SPANHEM. *Syntagm. Disp.* p. 236.

PREFACE.

WHEN I consider the absolute independency of God, and the necessary total dependence of all created things on him their first cause, I cannot help standing astonished at the pride of impotent, degenerate man, who is so prone to consider himself as a being possessed of sovereign freedom, and invested with a power of self-salvation, able, he imagines, to counteract the designs even of infinite wisdom, and to defeat the agency of Omnipotence itself. Ye shall be as gods, said the tempter to Eve in Paradise; and ye are as gods, says the same tempter, now, to her apostate sons. One would be apt to think that a suggestion so demonstrably false and flattering; a suggestion the very reverse of what we feel to be our state; a suggestion alike contrary to Scripture and reason, to fact and experience, could never meet with the smallest degree of credit. And yet, because it so exactly coincides with the natural haughtiness of the human heart, men not only admit, but even relish the deception, and fondly incline to believe that the father of lies does, in this instance at least, speak truth.

The Scripture doctrine of predetermination lays the axe to the very root of this potent delusion. It assures us that all things are of God; that all our times and all events are in his hand Consequently, that man's business below is to fill up the departments and to discharge the several offices assigned him in God's purpose from everlasting; and that, having lived his appointed time, and finished his allotted course of action and suffering, he that moment quits the stage of terrestrial life, and removes to the invisible state.

The late deservedly celebrated Dr Young,

though he affected great opposition to some of the doctrines called Calvinistic, was compelled, by the force of truth, to acknowledge that "there is not a fly but has had infinite wisdom concerned, not only in its structure, but in its destination." (*b*) Nor did the late learned and excellent bishop Hopkins go a jot too far in asserting as follows: "A sparrow, whose price is but mean, two of them valued at a farthing (which some make to be the tenth part of a Roman penny, and was certainly one of their least coins), and whose life, therefore, is but contemptible, and whose flight seems giddy and at random, yet it falls not to the ground, neither lights any where, without your Father. His all-wise providence hath before appointed what bough it shall pitch on, what grains it shall pick up, where it shall lodge and where it shall build, on what it shall live and when it shall die. Our Saviour adds, the very hairs of your head are all numbered. God keeps an account even of that stringy excrescence. Do you see a thousand little motes and atoms wandering up and down in a sun-beam? It is God that so peoples it, and he guides their innumerable and irregular strayings. Not a dust flies in a beaten road but God raiseth it, conducts its uncertain motion, and by his particular care conveys it to the certain place he had before appointed for it; nor shall the most fierce and tempestuous wind hurry it any farther. Nothing comes to pass but God hath his ends in it, and will certainly make his own ends out of it. Though the world seem to run at random, and affairs to be huddled together in blind confusion and rude disorder, yet God sees and knows the concatenation of all causes and effects, and so governs them that he makes a perfect harmony out of all those seeming jarrings and discords. It is most necessary that we should have our hearts well established in the firm and unwavering belief of this truth, that whatsoever comes to pass, be it good or evil, we may look up to the hand and disposal of all, to God. In respect of God there is nothing casual nor contingent in the world. If a master should send a servant to a certain place, and command him to stay there till such a time, and presently after should send another servant to the same [place], the meeting of these two is wholly casual in respect of themselves, but ordained and foreseen by the master who sent them. So it is in all fortuitous events here below. They fall out unexpectedly as to us, but not so as to God. He foresees and he appoints all the vicissitudes of things." (*c*)

To illustrate this momentous doctrine, especially so far as God's sovereign distribution of grace and glory is concerned, was the chief motive that determined me to the present publication. In perusing the works of that most learned and evangelical divine, one of whose performances now appears in an English dress, I was particularly taken with that part of his confession of faith (presented A. D. 1562, to the senate of Strasburgh), which relates to predestination. It is, from beginning to end, a regular chain of solid argument, deduced from the unerring word of divine revelation, and confirmed by the coincident testimonies of some of the greatest lights that ever shone in the Christian Church. Such were Austin, Luther, Bucer. Names that will be precious and venerable as long as true religion has a friend remaining upon earth.

Excellent as Zanchy's original piece is, I yet have occasionally ventured both to retrench and to enlarge it in the translation. To this liberty I was induced by a desire of rendering it as complete a treatise on the subject as the allotted compass would allow. I have endeavoured rather to enter into the spirit of the admirable author than, with a scrupulous exactness, to retail his very words. By which means the performance will prove, I humbly trust, the more satisfactory to the English reader; and for the learned one, he can at any time, if he pleases, by comparing the following version with the original Latin, both perceive wherein I have presumed to vary from it, and judge for himself whether my omissions, variations, and enlargements are useful and just.

The Arminians (I know not whether through ignorance or to serve a turn) affect at present to give out that Luther and Calvin were not agreed in the article of predestination. A more palpable mistake was never advanced. So far is it from being true, that Luther (as I can easily prove, if called to it) went as heartily into that doctrine as Calvin himself. He even asserted it with much more warmth, and proceeded to much harsher lengths in defending it, than Calvin ever did, or any other writer I have met with of that age. In the following performance I have, for the most part, carefully retained Zanchy's quotations from Luther, that the reader, from the sample there given, might form a just idea of Luther's real sentiments concerning the points in question.

Never was a publication of this kind more seasonable than at present. Arminianism is the grand religious evil of this age and country. It has, more or less, infected every Protestant denomination amongst us, and bids fair for leaving us in a short time not so much as the very profession of godli-

(*b*) Centaur not Fab. Letter II.

(*c*) Sermon on Providence; from Matth. x. 29, 30.

ness. The power of Christianity has, for the most part, taken its flight long ago, and even the form of it seems to be on the point of bidding us farewell. Time has been when the Calvinistic doctrines were considered and defended as the palladium of our established Church by her bishops and clergy, by the universities and the whole body of the laity. It was during the reigns of Edward VI., queen Elizabeth, James I., and the greater part of Charles I., as difficult to meet with a clergyman who did not preach the doctrines of the Church of England, as it is now to find one who does. We have generally forsaken the principles of the reformation, and Ichabod, or thy glory is departed, has been written on most of our pulpits and church-doors ever since.

Thou, O God, has brought a vine out of Egypt; thou hast cast out the heathen, and planted it.

Thou preparedst room before it, and didst cause it to take deep root; and it filled the land.

The hills were covered with the shadow of it, and the boughs thereof were like the goodly cedars.

She sent out her boughs to the sea, and her branches unto the river.

Why hast thou then broken down her hedges, so that all they who pass by the way do pluck her?

The boar out of the wood doth waste it, and the wild beast of the field doth devour it.

Return, we beseech thee, O God of hosts! Look down from heaven, and behold and visit this vine;

And the vineyard which thy right hand hath planted; and the branch that thou madest strong for thyself!

So will we not go back from thee: quicken us, and we shall call upon thy name.

Turn us again, O Lord God of hosts! Cause thy face to shine, and we shall yet be saved. Psalm lxxx.

Never was description more strikingly expressive of the state our national Church is at present in! Never was supplication more pertinently adapted to the lips of her genuine sons!

In vain do we lament the progress of Popery; in vain do we shut up a few private mass-houses, while our presses teem and our pulpits ring with the Romish doctrines of merit and free-will; doctrines whose native and inevitable tendency is to smooth the passage for our fuller coalition with antichrist. If we are really desirous to shun committing spiritual adultery with the mother of harlots and abominations, we must withdraw our feet from the way that leadeth to her house.

Blessed be God, the doctrines of grace are again beginning to lift up their heads amongst us; a sign, it is to be hoped, that the Holy Spirit hath not quite forsaken us, and that our redemption from the prevailing errors of the day draweth near. Now, if ever, is the time for all who love our Church and nation in sincerity to lend a helping hand to the ark, and contribute, though ever so little, to its return.

The grand objection usually made to this important truth, which is the main subject of the ensuing sheets, proceeds on a supposition of partiality in God, should the Calvinistic doctrine be admitted. If this consequence did really follow, I see not how it would authorize man to arraign the conduct of Deity. Should an earthly friend make me a present of 10,000*l.*, would it not be unreasonable, ungrateful, and presumptuous in me to refuse the gift and revile the giver only because it might not be his pleasure to confer the same favour on my next-door neighbour? In other cases the value of a privilege or of a possession is enhanced by its scarceness. A virtuoso sets but little esteem on a medal, a statue, or a vase, so common that every man who pleases may have one of the same kind; he prizes that alone as a rarity which really is such, and which is not only intrinsically valuable, but which lies in few hands. Were all men here upon earth qualified and enabled to appear as kings, the crown, the sceptre, the robe of state, and other ensigns of majesty, would presently sink into things hardly noticeable. The distinguishing grandeurs of royalty, by ceasing to be uncommon, would quickly cease to be august and striking. Upon this principle it was that Henry IV. of France, said on his birth-day, "I was born as on this day; and no doubt, taking the world through, thousands were born on the same day with me; yet, out of all those thousands, I am, perhaps, the only one whom God hath made a king. How signally am I indebted to the peculiar bounty of his providence!" Similar are the reflections and the acknowledgments of such persons as are favoured with the sense of their election in Christ to holiness and heaven.

"But what becomes of the non-elect?" You have nothing to do with such a question, if you find yourself embarrassed and distressed by the consideration of it. Bless God for his electing love, and leave him to act as he pleases by them that are without. Simply acquiesce in the plain Scripture account; and wish to see no farther than revelation holds the lamp. It is enough for you to know that the Judge of the whole earth will do right. Yet will you reap much improvement from the view of predestination, in its full extent, if your eyes are able stedfastly to look at all which God hath made known concerning it. But if your

spiritual sight is weak, forego the enquiry, so far as reprobation is concerned, and be content to know but in part, till death transmits you to that perfect state where you shall know even as you are known. Say not, therefore, as the opposers of these doctrines did in St. Paul's days, "Why doth God find fault with the wicked? For who hath resisted his will? If he who only can convert them refrains from doing it, what room is there for blaming them that perish, seeing it is impossible to resist the will of the Almighty?" Be satisfied with St. Paul's answer: Nay, but who art thou, O man, that repliest against God? The apostle hinges the matter entirely on God's absolute sovereignty. There he rests it; and there we ought to leave it. (*e*)

Were the whole of mankind equally loved of God and promiscuously redeemed by Christ, the song which believers are directed to sing would hardly run in these admired strains: To him that hath loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God, &c. Rev. i. 5, 6. A hymn of praise like this seems evidently to proceed on the hypothesis of peculiar election on the part of God, and of a limited redemption on the part of Christ; which we find still more explicitly declared, Rev. v. 9, where we have a transcript of that song which the spirits of just men made perfect are now singing before the throne and before the Lamb: Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us unto God, by thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation. Whence the elect are said to have been redeemed from among men. Rev. xiv. 4.

In short there is no such thing as casualty or accident even in things of temporal concern, much less in matters spiritual and everlasting. If the universe had a maker, it must have a governor; and if it has a governor, his will and providence must extend to all things, without exception. For my own part I can discern no medium between absolute predestination and blank Atheism.

Mr. Rollin, (*f*) if I mistake not, has somewhere a fine observation to this effect: that "it is usual with God so carefully to conceal himself, and to hide the agency of his providence behind second causes, as to render that very often undiscernable and indistinguishable from these." Which wisdom of conduct and gentleness of operation (not less efficacious because gentle and invisible), instead of exciting the admiration they deserve, have, on the contrary, given occasion to the setting up of that unreal idol of the brain called chance. Whereas, to use the lovely lines of our great moral poet,

> All nature is but art unknown to thee;
> All chance, direction which thou canst not see.

Words are only so far valuable as they are the vehicles of meaning. And meaning, or ideas, derive their whole value from their having some foundation in reason, reality, and fact. Was I, therefore, to be concerned in drawing up an expurgatory index to language, I would, without mercy, cashier and proscribe such words as chance, fortune, luck, casualty, contingency, and mishap. Nor unjustly. For they are *voces et præterea nihil*. Mere terms without ideas. Absolute expletives, which import nothing. Unmeaning cyphers, either proudly invented to hide man's ignorance of real causes, or sacrilegiously designed to rob the Deity of the honours due to his wisdom, providence, and power.

Reason and revelation are perfect unisons in assuring us that God is the supreme, independent first cause, of whom all secondary and inferior causes are no more the effects. Else proper originality and absolute wisdom, unlimited supremacy and almighty power, cease to be attributes of Deity. I remember to have heard an interesting anecdote of king William and bishop Burnet. The Arminian prelate af-

(*e*) Some of the more considerate heathens treated God's hidden will with an adoring reverence which many of our modern Arminians would do well to imitate. Thus Bion (Κλεοδ. και Μυρρ. 10.): It is not for man to sit in judgment on the actions of God.

So Theognis (γνωμ. 141, 142): We men are foolish in our imaginations, and know nothing; but the gods accomplish all things according to their own mind.

And again (Lin. 687, 688): It is not lawful for mortals to enter the lists with the gods, nor to bring in an accusation against them

(*f*) Since the above was written, I have met with the fine passage to which it refers: "Providence delights to conceal its wonders under the veil of human operations." Rollin's *A*- and Sciences of the Ancients, vol. iii. p. 480

Mr. Hervey has likewise a most beautiful and judicious paragraph to the same effect; where, speaking of what is commonly termed accidental death, this admirable writer asks: Was it then a random stroke? doubtless the blow came from an aiming, though invisible, hand. God presideth over the armies of heaven. God ruleth among the inhabitants of the earth. And God conducteth what men call chance. Nothing, nothing comes to pass through a blind and undiscerning fatality. If accidents happen, they happen according to the exact foreknowledge, and conformably to the determinate counsels of eternal wisdom. The Lord, with whom are the issues of death, signs the warrant, and gives the high commission. The seemingly fortuitous disaster is only the agent or instrument appointed to execute the supreme decree. When the king of Israel was mortally wounded, it seemed to be a casual shot. A certain man drew a bow at a venture, (1 Kings xxii. 34.) At a venture, as he thought. But his hand was strengthened by an omnipotent aid, and the shaft levelled by an unerring eye. So that what we term casualty is really providence, accomplishing deliberate designs, but concealing its own interposition. How comforting this reflection! Admirably adapted to soothe the throbbing anguish of the mourners, and compose their spirits into a quiet submission! Excellently suited to dissipate the fears of godly survivors, and create a calm intrepidity even amidst innumerable perils! Hervey's Meditations, vol. i. p. 27, 28.

fected to wonder "How a person of his majesty's piety and good sense could so rootedly believe the doctrine of absolute predestination." The royal Calvinist replied: Did I not believe absolute predestination, I could not believe a providence. For it would be most absurd to suppose that a being of infinite wisdom would act without a plan; for which plan predestination is only another name.

What, indeed, is predestination, but God's determinate plan of action? and what is providence but the evolution of that plan? In his decree God resolved within himself what he would do, and what he would permit to be done: by his providence, this effective and permissive will passes into external act, and has its positive accomplishment. So that the purpose of God, as it were, draws the outlines; and providence lays on the colours. What that designed this completes: what that ordained this executes. Predestination is analogous to the mind and intention, providence to the hand and agency of the artificer. Hence, we are told that God worketh [there's his providence] all things after the counsel of his own will [there's his decree], Eph. i. 11. And again, he doth according to his will in the army of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth; and none can stay his hand [*i. e.* his will, and the execution of it, are irresistible], nor say unto him, what dost thou? *i. e.* his purpose and providence are sovereign, and for which he will not be accountable to his creatures. Dan. iv. 35.

According, therefore, to the Scripture representation, Providence neither acts vaguely and at random, like a blind archer, who shoots uncertainly in the dark, as well as he can; nor yet *pro re natâ*, or as the unforeseen exigence of affairs may require; like some blundering statesman, who plunges (it may be) his country and himself into difficulties, and then is forced to unravel his cobweb, and reverse his plan of operations, as the best remedy for those disasters, which the court-spider had not the wisdom to foresee. But shall we say this of God? It were blasphemy. He that dwelleth in heaven laugheth all these miserable afterthoughts to scorn. God, who can neither be over-reached, nor overpowered, has all these wretched post-expedients in derision. He is incapable of mistake. He knows no levity of will. He cannot be surprised with any unforeseen inconveniencies. His throne is in heaven, and his kingdom ruleth over all. Whatever, therefore, comes to pass, comes to pass as a part of the original plan: and is the offspring of that prolific series of causes and effects which owes its birth to the ordaining and permissive will of Him, in whom we all live, and are moved, (*g*) and have our being. Providence, in time, is the hand that delivers God's purpose of those beings and events with which that purpose was pregnant from everlasting. The doctrine of equivocal generation is not more absurd in philosophy than the doctrine of un-predestinated events is in theology.

Thus the long train of things is, though

A mighty maze, yet not without a plan.

God's sovereign will is the first link; his unalterable decree is the second; and his all-active providence the third; in the great chain of causes. What his will determined that his decree established, and his providence, either mediately or immediately effects. His will was the adorable spring of all; his decree marked out the channel; and his providence directs the stream.

"If so," it may be objected, "it will follow that whatever is is right." Consequences cannot be helped. No doubt God, who does nothing in vain; who cannot do any thing to no purpose, and still less to a bad one; who both acts and permits with design; and who weighs the paths of men; has, in the unfathomable abyss of his counsel, very important (though to us secret) reasons, for permitting the first entrance of moral evil, and for suffering both (*h*) moral and natural evil still to reign over so great a part of the c eation. Unsearchable are his judgments [κριματα, decrees] and his ways [the methods and dispensations of his providence] past finding out. Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his counsellor? For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things. Rom. ii. 33, 34, 36. As to myself, I can, through grace, most heartily adopt the maxim of Bengelius, *non plus sumere, non minus accipere*: (*i*) I neither wish to know more than God has revealed, nor remain ignorant of what he has revealed. I desire to advance, and to halt, just when and where the pillar of God's written word stays or goes forward. I am content that the impenetrable veil, divinely interposed between his purposes and my comprehension, be not drawn aside, until faith is lost in sight, and my spirit return to him who gave it. But of this I am assured, that echo does not reverberate sound so punctually as the actual disposal of things answers to God's predetermination concerning

(*g*) Κινουμεθα, Acts xvii. 28.

(*h*) Grotius himself is forced to own, "quæ verò permittuntur Scelera, non carent interim suo fructu," *i. e.* even the crimes which God permits the perpetration of are not without their good consequences. (De Veritat. Rel. l. 1, sect. 19.) A bold saying, this! But the sayer was an Arminian; and, therefore, we hear no outcry on the occasion.

(*i*) Ordo Temporum, cap. viii. p. 302.

them. This cannot be denied, without dethroning providence, as far as in us lies, and setting up fortune in its room. There is no alternative. I defy all the sophistry of man to strike out a middle way. He that made all things either directs all things he has made, or has consigned them over to chance. But, what is chance? a name for (*k*) nothing. Arminianism, therefore, is Atheism.

I grant that the twin doctrines of predestination and providence are not without their difficulties. But the denial of them is attended with ten thousand times more and greater. The difficulties, on one side, are but as dust upon the balance: those on the other, as mountains in the scale. To imagine that a being of boundless wisdom, power, and goodness, would create the universe, and not sit at the helm afterwards, but turn us adrift to shift for ourselves, like a huge vessel without a pilot, is a supposition that subverts every notion of Deity, gives the lie to every page in the Bible, contradicts our daily experience, and insults the common reason of mankind.

> Say'st thou, the course of nature governs all?
> The course of nature is the art of God.

The whole creation, from the seraph down to the indivisible atom, ministers to the supreme will, and is under the special observation, government, and direction, of the Omnipotent Mind—who sees all, himself unseen; who upholds all, himself unsustained; who guides all, himself guided by none; and who changes all, himself unchanged.

"But does not this doctrine tend to the establishment of fatality?" Supposing it even did, were it not better to be a Christian fatalist, than to avow a set of loose Arminian principles, which, if pushed to their natural extent, inevitably terminate in the rankest Atheism? For without predestination there can be no providence; and without providence, no God.

After all, what do you mean by fate? If you mean a regular succession of determined events, from the beginning to the end of time; an uninterrupted chain without a single chasm; all depending on the eternal will and continued influence of the great First Cause: if this is fate, it must be owned that it and the Scripture predestination are at most very thinly divided; or rather, entirely coalesce. But if, by fate is meant either a constitution of things antecedent to the wil of God, by which he himself was bound *ab origine*; and which goes on of itself, to multiply causes and effects, to the exclusion of the all-pervading power and unintermitting agency of an intelligent, perpetual, and particular providence; neither reason nor Christianity allows of any such fate as this. Fate thus considered is just such an extreme on the one hand as chance is on the other. Both are alike unexistible.

It having been not unusual with the Arminian writers to tax us with adopting the fate of the ancient Stoics, I thought it might not be unacceptable to the English reader to subjoin a brief view of what those philosophers generally held (for they were not all exactly of a mind) as to this particular. It will appear to every competent reader, from what is there given, how far the doctrine of fate, as believed and taught by the Stoics, may be admitted upon Christian principles. Having large materials by me for such a work, it would have been very easy for me to have annexed a dissertation of my own, upon the subject; but I chose to confine myself to a small extract from the citations and remarks of the learned Lipsius; who seems, in his *Physiologia Stoicorum*, to have almost exhausted the substance of the argument, with a penetration and precision which leave little room either for addition or amendment. In a cause, therefore, where the interest of truth is so eminently concerned, I would rather retain the ablest counsel, when it can be had, than venture to be myself her sole advocate.

For my own particular part, I frankly confess that, as far as the coincidence of the Stoical fate with the Bible-predestination (*l*) holds good; I see no reason why we should be ashamed to acknowledge it. St. Austin, and many other great and excellent men, have not scrupled to admit both

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(*k*) The late learned and indefatigable Mr. Chambers has in his valuable Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, under the word Chance, two or three observations, so pertinent and full to this remark, (*viz.* of chance being a name for nothing) that I cannot help transcribing them. "Our ignorance and precipitancy lead us to attribute effects to chance which have a necessary and determinate cause.

"When we say a thing happens by chance, we really mean no more than that its cause is unknown to us: and not, as some vainly imagine, that chance itself can be the cause of any thing. From this consideration Dr. Bentley takes occasion to expose the folly of that old tenet, The World was made by Chance.

"The case of the painter, who unable to express the foam at the mouth of the horse he had painted, threw his sponge in despair at the piece, and by chance did that which he could not before do by design, is an eminent instance of the force of chance. Yet it is obvious all we here mean by chance is, that the painter was not aware of the effect; or that he did not throw the sponge with such a view. Not but that he actually did every thing necessary to produce the effect. Insomuch that, considering the direction wherein he threw the sponge, together with its form and specific gravity; the colours wherewith it was smeared, and the distance of the hand from the piece; it was impossible, on the present system of things, that the effect should not follow."

(*l*) "Now I am in some measure enlightened" (says the Rev. Mr. Newton, of Olney), "I can easily perceive, it is in the adjustment and concurrence of seemingly fortuitous circumstances, that the ruling power and wisdom of God are most evidently dis-

the word [*viz.* the word fate] and the thing properly understood (*m*). I am quite of Lipsius's mind: "*et verò non aversabor Stoici nomen; sed Stoici Christiani:*" I have no objection to be called a Stoic, so you but prefix the word Christian to it (*n*).

Here ended the first lesson: *i. e.* here ended the preface to the former edition of this tract. A tract, whose publication has raised the indignant quills of more than one Arminian porcupine.

Among those enraged porcupines, none has hitherto bristled up so fiercely as the high and mighty Mr. John Wesley. He even dipt his quills in the ink of forgery, on the occasion; as Indians tinge the points of their arrows with poison, in hope of their doing more effectual execution. The quills, however, have reverberated, and with ample interest, on poor Mr. John's own pate. He felt the unexpected pain, and he has squeaked accordingly. I will not here add to the well-deserved chastisement he has received: which, from more than one quarter, has been such as will probably keep him sore while his surname begins with W. Let him for his own sake learn, as becomes a very sore man, to lie still. Rest may do him good: motion will but add to his fever, by irritating his humours already too peccant. Predestination is a stone, by rashly falling on which he has more than once been lamentably broken. I wish him to take heed, in due season, lest that stone at length fall on him. For, notwithstanding all his delinquencies, I would still have him avoid, if possible, the catastrophe of being ground to powder.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE OF JEROM ZANCHIUS.

It has been asserted (*o*) that this great divine was born at Alzano, a town of Italy, situate in the valley of Seri, or Serio. But the learned John Sturmius, who was not only Zanchy's contemporary, but one of his most intimate friends, expressly affirms, in a (*p*) speech delivered on a public and important occasion, that he was *nobili natus familia Bergomi*; born of an illustrious family, at Bergamo, the capital of a little province, in the north-west of Italy: anciently a part of Gallia Cispadana; but, A.D. 1428, made a parcel of the Venetian territory; as it still continues (*q*). I look upon Sturmius's testimony as decisive: it being hardly credible that he could mistake the native place of a colleague whom he so highly valued, who was living at the very time, and with whom he had opportunity of conversing daily. Sturmius adds that there was then remaining, at Bergamo, a fortress (built by some of Zanchy's ancestors) known by the name of the Zanchian Tower.

In this city was our author born, Feb. 2 1516. At the time of his birth, part of the public service then performing was, A light to lighten the Gentiles, &c. And, by God's good providence the Reformation broke forth the very next year in Germany, under the auspices of Luther; and began to spread far and wide.

At the age of twelve years Zanchy lost his father, (*r*) who died of the plague, A.D. 1528. His (*s*) mother survived her husband but three years. Deprived thus of both his parents, Zanchy resolved on a monastic life; and accordingly joined himself to a society of canons regular (*t*). He did this partly to improve himself in literature, and partly for the sake of being with some of his relations, who had before entered themselves of that house. Here he continued nineteen years: chiefly devoting his studies to Aristotle, the languages, and school-divinity.

It was his happiness to become acquainted, very early in life, with Celsus Maximian, count of Martinengo; who, from

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played in human affairs. How many such casual events may we remark in the history of Joseph, which had each a necessary influence in his ensuing promotion! If the Midianites had passed by a day sooner, or a day later; if they had sold him to any person but Potiphar; if his mistress had been a better woman; if Pharaoh's officers had not displeased their lord; or if any or all these things had fallen out in any other manner or time than they did, all that followed had been prevented: the promises and purposes of God concerning Israel, their bondage, deliverances, polity and settlement, must have failed: and as all these things tended to and centred in Christ, the promised Saviour; the desire of all nations would not have appeared. Mankind had been still in their sins, without hope; and the counsels of God's eternal love, in favour of sinners, defeated. Thus we may see a connection between Joseph's first dream, and the death of our Lord Christ, with all its glorious consequences. So strong though secret, is the concatenation between the greatest and the smallest events! What a comfortable thought is this to a believer to know that, amidst all the various interfering designs of men, the Lord has one constant design, which he cannot, will not, miss; namely, his own glory, in the complete salvation of his people! And that he is wise, and strong, and faithful, to make even those things, which seem contrary to this design, subservient to promote it!" See p. 96 et seq. of a most entertaining and instructive piece, entitled 'An authentic Narrative of some remarkable and interesting Particulars in the Life of *******,' in a Series of Letters. 1765.

(*m*) For a sample, the learned reader may peruse the judicious chapter, De Fato, in Archbishop Bradwardin's immortal book De Causâ Dei, Lib. i. cap. 28.

(*n*) Oper. Tom. i. Def. Posthum. cap. ii. p. 118.

(*o*) Melch. Adam. Vit. Theolog. Exteror. p. 148. and Bayle's Hist. Dict. under the article Zanchius.

(*p*) Addressed by Sturmius to the Senate of Strasburg, March 20, 1562, and inserted afterwards into the Works of Zanchy, tom. vii. part 2. col. 408.

(*q*) Complete Syst. of Geog. vol. i. p. 843.

(*r*) Francis Zanchius: who seems to have been a native of Venice: and was, by profession, a counsellor.

(*s*) Barbara; sister to Marc Antony Mutius, a nobleman of great worth and distinction.

(*t*) At Lucca. See the Biogr. Dict. vol. viii. p. 267, under the article Peter Martyr.

being, like Zanchy, a bigotted papist, by education, became, afterwards a burning and shining light in the reformed Church. Of our author's intimacy with this excellent nobleman, and its blessed effects, himself gives us the following account (*u*): "I left Italy for the Gospel's sake; to which I was not a little animated by the example of count Maximian, a learned and pious personage, and my most dear brother in the Lord. We had lived together under one roof, and in a state of the strictest religious friendship for the greater part of sixteen years; being both of us canons regular of nearly the same age and standing; unisons in temper and disposition; pursuing the same course of studies; and, which was better still, joint hearers of Peter Martyr, when that apostolic man publicly expounded St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and gave private lectures on the Psalms to us his monks." From this memorable period we are evidently to date the æra of Zanchy's awakening to a true sight and experimental sense of divine things. His friend the count, and the learned Tremellius were also converted about the same time under the ministry of Martyr.

This happy change being effected, our author's studies began to run in a new channel. "The count," says he, "and myself betook ourselves to a diligent reading of the Holy Scriptures: to which we joined a perusal of the best of the fathers, and particularly St. Austin. For some years we went on thus in private; and in public we preached the gospel as far as we were able in its purity. The count, whose gifts and graces were abundantly superior to mine, preached with much greater enlargement of spirit and freedom of utterance than I could ever pretend to: it was therefore no wonder that he found himself constrained to fly his country before I was. The territory of the Grisons was his immediate place of retreat: whence, removing soon after, he settled at Geneva, where he commenced the first pastor of the Protestant Italian Church in that city. Having faithfully executed this sacred office for some years, he at length comfortably fell asleep in Christ, (*x*)" A.D. 1558, after having, on his death-bed, commended the oversight of his flock to the Great Calvin.

It was in the year 1550, that Peter Marter himself was obliged to quit Italy; where he could no longer preach, nor even stay, with safety. Toward the latter end of the same year, eighteen of his disciples were forced to follow their master from their native land: of which number Zanchy was one. Being thus a refugee, or, as himself used to express it, "delivered from his Babylonish captivity," he went into Grisony, where he continued upwards of eight months: and then to Geneva, where, after a stay of near a twelvemonth, he received an invitation to England (upon the recommendation of Peter Martyr, then in this kingdom), to fill a divinity professorship here; I suppose at Oxford, where Martyr had been for some time settled. Zanchy embraced the offer and began his journey: but was detained on his way by a counter invitation to Strasburgh; where the divinity chair had been lately vacated by the death of the excellent Caspar Hedio.

Zanchy was fixed at Strasburgh A.D. 1553, and taught there almost eleven years: but not without some uneasiness to himself, occasioned by the malicious opposition of several who persecuted him for much the same reason that Cain hated righteous Abel, 1 John iii. 12. Matters, however, went on tolerably, during the life-time of Sturmius; who was then at the head of the university, and Zanchius's fast friend. At Strasburgh it was that he presented the famous declaration of his faith concerning predestination, final perseverance, and the Lord's Supper. He gave it in to the senate, October 22, 1562. Of this admirable performance (*i. e.* of that part of it which respects the first of these points) the reader may form some judgment by the following translation.

In proportion as the old senators and divines died off one by one, Zanchy's situation at Strasburgh grew more and more uncomfortable. Matters at length came to that height that he was required to subscribe to the Augsburgh confession on pain of losing his professorship. After mature deliberation, he did indeed subscribe: but with this declared restriction *modò orthodoxè intelligatur*. Notwithstanding the express limitation with which he fettered his subscription, still this great and good man seems, for peace's sake, to have granted too much concerning the manner of Christ's presence in the Lord's Supper: as appears, by the first of the three theses, maintained by him at this time: 1. *Verum Christi corpus, pro nobis traditum; et verum ejus sanguinem, in peccatorum nostrorum remissionem effusum, in Cœnâ vere manducari et bibi.* Though the other two positions do effectually explain his meaning: 2. *Verùm id, non ore, et dentibus corporis, sed verâ fide.* 3. *Idéoque, à solis fidelibus.* I shall here beg leave to interpose one question, naturally arising from the subject. What good purpose do the imposition and the multiplication of unnecessary subscriptions to forms of human composition, tend to promote? It is a fence far too low to keep out men of little or no principle; and too high sometimes for men of real integrity to surmount. It often opens a door of ready

(*u*) Zanchii Epist. ad Lantgrav. Operum. tom. vii. part i, col. 4.

(*x*) Zanch. ut supra.

admission to the abandoned; who, ostrich like, care not what they swallow, so they can but make subscription a bridge to secular interest: and for the truly honest, it frequently either quite excludes them from a sphere of action, wherein they might be eminently useful, or obliges them to testify their assent in such terms, and with such open, professed restrictions, as render subscription a mere nothing.

Not content with Zanchy's concessions, several of the Strasburgh bigots (*y*) persisted in raising a controversial dust. They tendered accusations against him, of errors in point of doctrine: particularly, for his supposed heterodoxy concerning the nature of the Lord's supper; his denial of the ubiquity of Christ's natural body, and his protesting against the lawfulness of images, &c. Nay, they even went so far as to charge him with unsound opinions concerning predestination and the perseverance of the truly regenerate: so early did some of Luther's pretended disciples, after the death of that glorious reformer (and he had not been dead at this time above fifteen years), begin to fall off from the doctrines he taught, though they still had the effrontery to call themselves by his name!

A grand occasion of this dissension was a book concerning the eucharist, and in defence of consubstantiation, written by one Heshusius; a fierce, invidious preacher, who lavished the opprobrious names of heretic and atheist on all, without distinction, whose religious system went a hair's breadth above or below his own standard. In his preface he grossly reflected (*z*) on the elector Palatine (Frederic III.), Peter Martyr, Bullinger, Calvin, Zuinglius, Œcolampadius, and other great divines of that age. Zanchy, in mere respect to these venerable names, did, in concert with the learned Sturmius, prevail with the magistrates of Strasburgh to prohibit the impression. Mr. Bayle is so candid as to acknowledge that "Zanchy caused this book to be suppressed, not on account of its doctrine, which he left to the judgment of the Church; but for the calumnies of the preface." Zanchy was a zealous friend to religious liberty. He had too great a share of good sense and real religion to pursue any measures, which simply tended either to restrain men from declaring their principles with safety, or to shackle the human mind in its inquiries after truth. But he ardently wished to see the contending parties of every denomination carry on their debates with Christian meekness, modesty and benevolence: and, where these amiable ingredients were wanting he looked upon disputation as a malignant fever, endangering the health, peace, and safety of the Church. When candour is lost, truth is rarely found. Zanchy's own observations (*a*) subjoined below exhibit a striking picture of that moderation, detachment from bigotry, and liberality of sentiment, which strongly characterize the Christian and the Protestant.

Notwithstanding the precautions taken by the magistrates, Heshusius's incendiary piece stole through the press: and Zanchy's efforts to stifle its publication were looked upon by the author's party as an injury never to be forgiven. They left no methods unessayed to remove him from his professorship. Many compromising expedients were proposed by the moderate of both parties. The chapter of St. Thomas (of which Zanchy himself was a canon) met to consider what course should be pursued. By them it was referred to a select committee of thirteen. Zanchy offered to debate the agitated points in a friendly and peaceable manner with his opponents: which offer not being accepted, he made several journies to other churches and universities in different parts of Germany, and requested their opinions: which he brought with him in writing. Things, however could not be settled until the senate of Strasburgh convened an assembly from other districts, consisting partly of divines, and partly of persons learned in the laws. These referees, after hearing both sides, recurred to the old fruitless expedient of agreeing on certain articles, to which they advised each party to subscribe. Zanchy, desirous of laying these unchristian heats, and, at the same time, no less determined to preserve integrity and a good conscience, subscribed in these cautious terms: *Hanc doctrinæ formulam ut piam agnosco, ità etiam recipio:* "I acknowledge this summary of doctrine to be pious, and so I admit it." This condescension on Zanchy's part was not followed by those peaceful effects which were expected. The peace was too loosely patched up to be

(*y*) Particularly John Marbach, native of Schawben, or Swabia: a turbulent, unsteady theologist, pedantic and abusive; a weak, but fiery disputer, who delighted to live in the smoke of contention and virulent debate. He was, among the rest of his good qualities, excessively loquacious: which made Luther say of him, on a very public occasion, Ori, hujus Suevi nunquam aranеæ poerunt telas texere; "This talkative Swabian need not be afraid of spiders: for he keeps his lips in such constant motion that no spider will ever be able to weave a cobweb on his mouth."

(*z*) Vide Zanch. Op. tom. vii. part 2, col. 250, 251.

(*a*) Si liber iste non fuisset refertus tot calumniis et convitiis, tùm in ipsum principem Palatinum, tùm in tot præclaras ecclesias et earum doctores; ego non curassem in ejus impressionem impedire. LICET ENIM UNICUIQUE SUAM SENTENTIAM SCRIBERE ET EXPLICARE. Sed cum audirem tot ecclesias in libro isto damnari hæreseos et atheismi; idque non propter unum aut alterum articulum fidei, qui impugnaretur sed solummodò propter interpretationem ali quam verborum, in quâ neque tota religio consistit, neque salus periclitatur;—adductus iui, ut libri istius impressionem, &c.

ZANCH. ubi supr.

of any long duration. His adversaries began to worry him afresh; and, just as measures were bringing on the carpet for a new and more lasting compromise, our divine received an invitation to the Church of Chiavenna, situate on the borders of Italy, and in the territory of the Grisons.

Augustin Mainard, pastor of that place, was lately dead; and a messenger arrived to let Zanchy know that he was chosen to succeed him. Having very slender prospects of peace at Strasburgh, he obtained the consent of the Senate to resign his canonry of St. Thomas and professorship of divinity. Whilst the above debates were depending, he had received separate invitations to Zurich, Geneva, Leyden, Heidelberg, Marpurg, and Lausanne; but, until he had seen the result of things at Strasburgh, he did not judge any of these calls sufficiently providential to determine his removal.

He left Strasburgh (*b*) in November, 1563, and entered on his pastoral charge at Chiavenna the beginning of January following. But he had not long been there before the town was visited with a dismal pestilence, which, within the space of seven months, carried off twelve hundred of the inhabitants. Zanchy, however, continued to exercise his ministry as long as there was an assembly to preach to. At length, the far greater part of the townsmen being swept away, he retreated for awhile, with his family, to an adjoining mountain. His own account is this (tom. vii. part 1. col. 36, 37): "Mainard, my pious predecessor, had often foretold the calamity with which the town of Chiavenna has been since visited. All the inhabitants have been too well convinced that that holy man of God did not prophecy at random. When the plague actually began to make havock, I enforced repentance and faith while I had a place to preach in, or any congregation to hear. Many being dead, and others having fled the town (like ship-wrecked mariners, who, to avoid instant destruction, make towards what coast they can), but very few remained; and of these remaining few some were almost terrified to death, others were solely employed in taking care of the sick, and others in guarding the walls. They concurred in advising me to consult my own safety by withdrawing, for a time, until the indignation should be overpassed. I betook myself, therefore, with all my family, to a high mountain, not a vast way from the town, yet remote from human converse, and peculiarly formed for contemplation and unmolested retirement. Here we led a solitary life for three months and a half. I devoted my time chiefly to meditation and writing; to prayer and reading the Scriptures. I never was happier in my own soul, nor enjoyed a better share of health." Afterwards, the plague beginning to abate, he quitted his retreat, and resumed the public exercise of his function.

After four years' continuance at Chiavenna, Frederick III. elector palatine, prevailed with him to accept a divinity professorship in the university of Heidelberg, upon the decease of the famous Zachary Ursin. In the beginning of the year 1568 Zanchy entered on his new situation, and shortly after opened the chair with an admirable oration, *De conservando in ecclesiâ puro puto verbo Dei*. In the same year he received his doctor's degree; the elector palatine and his son, Prince Cassimir, honouring the ceremony with their presence.

He had not been long settled in the palatinate, when the elector (one of the most amiable and religious princes of that age) strongly solicited him to confirm and elucidate the doctrine of the Trinity, by writing a professed treatise on that most important subject; desiring him, moreover, to be very particular and explicit in canvassing the arguments made use of by the Socinians, who had then fixed their headquarters in Poland and Transylvania, and were exhausting every artifice of sophistry and subterfuge to degrade the Son and Spirit of God to the level of mere creatures. Zanchy accordingly employed his leisure hours in obeying this pious command. His masterly and elaborate treatise, *De Dei naturâ*, and that *De tribus Elohim uno eodemque Jehovâ*, were written on this occasion; treatises fraught with the most solid learning and argument, breathing, at the same time, the amiable spirit of genuine candour and transparent piety. Among a variety of interesting particulars, he does not omit to inform his readers that Lælius Socinus, and other favourers of the Servetian hypothesis, had spared neither pains nor art to pervert his judgment and win him over to their party; but that, finding him inflexible, they had broke off all intercourse with him, and from artful adulators, commenced his determined enemies. An event this which he even looked upon as a blessing, and for which he conceived himself bound to render his best thanks to the supreme head of the Church, Christ Jesus. He retained his professorship at

(*b*) Attended by his servant, Frederic Syllæpurg, native of Hesse, concerning whom Zanchy writes thus: "Discessi argentinâ, unâ cum fido, non tam famulo, quàm amico et fratre, Frederico Syllæpurgio, Hesso; juvene bonorum literarum studioso, et sanæ doctrinæ amanti." A learned youth, and a lover of the gospel; whom I look upon not so much in the light of a domestic as of a faithful friend and a Christian brother.—Oper. T. vii. part. 1. col. 36.

I hardly know which were most extraordinary: the good qualities of the servant, or the gratitude and humility of the master.

Heidelberg ten years, when, the elector Frederic being dead, he removed to Newstadt, the residence of Prince John Casimir, count palatine. Here he chose to fix his station for the present, in preference to two invitations he had just received; one from the university of Leyden, then lately opened; the other from the Protestant Church at Antwerp. The conduct of divine Providence respecting Zanchy's frequent removals is very observable. He was a lover of peace, and passionately fond of retirement. But he was too bright a luminary to be always continued in one place. The salt of the earth must be sprinkled here and there in order to be extensively useful, and to season the Church throughout. Hence God's faithful ministers, like the officers in a monarch's army, are quartered in various places; stationed and remanded hither and thither as may most conduce to their Master's service.

The Church of Newstadt enjoyed our author upwards of seven years. Being by that time far advanced in life, and the infirmities of age coming on him very fast, he found himself obliged to cease from that constant series of labour and intenseness of application which he had so long and so indefatigably undergone. He was, at his own request, dismissed from public service at Newstadt, by the elector Casimir; receiving, at the same time, very substantial marks of respect and favour from that religious and generous prince.

From Newstadt he repaired once more to Heidelberg, chiefly with a view to see some of his old friends. This proved his last removal on earth; for shortly after his soul, now ripe for glory, dropt the body, and ascended to heaven, about six in the morning of Nov. 19, 1590, *æt.* 75. His remains were interred at Heidelberg, in the college chapel of St. Peter, where a small monumental stone was set up to his memory, with this inscription:

Hieronymi hic sunt condita ossa Zanchii,
Itali; exulantis, Christi amore, à patriâ:
Qui theologus quantus fuerit et philosophus,
Testantur hoc, libri editi ab eo plurimi;
Testantur hoc, quos voce docuit in scholis;
Quique audiêre eum docentem ecclesias.
Nunc ergò, quamvis hinc migrârit spiritu,
Claro tamen nobis remansit nomine. (*c*)
Decessit A. MDXC. Die 19. Novemb.

I cannot help lamenting that no more is to be collected concerning this incomparable man than a few outlines of his life, comprising little else but a drv detail of dates and removals.

As to his person, I can find no description of it, except from some very old and scarce prints, most of which were struck from engravings on wood. These represent him as extremely corpulent, even to unwieldiness. And yet, from the astonishing extent, profoundness, and exquisite activity of his learning, judgment, and genius, one might well nigh be induced to imagine that he consisted entirely of soul, without any dead weight of body at all. For of his mind, his writings present us with the loveliest image. He seems to have been possessed, and in a very superior degree, of those graces, virtues, and abilities, which ennoble and exalt human nature to the highest elevation it is capable of below. His clear insight into the truths of the gospel is wonderful; especially, considering that the Church of God was but just emerging from the long and dismal night of Popish darkness, and himself, previous to his conversion, as deeply plunged in the shades as any. It is a blessing which but few are favoured with to step, almost at once, out of midnight into meridian day. He was thoroughly experienced in the divine life of the soul, and a happy subject of that internal kingdom of God which lies in righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. This enabled him to sustain that impetus of opposition which he almost constantly met with. Few persons have, ordinarily, borne a larger share of the cross; and, perhaps, none ever sustained it better. In him were happily centred all the meek benevolence of charity, and all the adamantine firmness of intrepidity; qualities, alas! not constantly united in men of orthodoxy and learning.

He was intimately conversant with the writings of the fathers, and of the philosophers of that and the preceding times. His modesty and humility were singular. No man was ever more studious to preserve peace in the Church of Christ, nor more highly relished the pleasures of learned and religious friendship. For some time before his decease it pleased God to deprive him of his eye-sight; for this I take to be the meaning of the excellent Melchior Adamus, (*d*) to whom I am indebted for much of the preceding account. His works, which, with his letters, and some other small pieces included, are divided into nine tomes, were collected and published by his executors some years after his death, and are usually bound together in 3 vols. folio. He was twice married, and had several children, none of which, so far as I can find, appear to have survived him

(*c*) Here Zanchy rests, whom love of truth constrain'd
To quit his own, and seek a foreign, land.
How good and great he was, how form'd to shine,
How fraught with science, human and divine;
Sufficient proof his num'rous writings give,
And those who heard him teach and saw him live.
Earth still enjoys him, tho' his soul is fled:
His name is deathless, tho' his dust is dead.

(*d*) His words concerning Zanchy are: "In senectâ, quæ nunquam sola venit, fato Isaaci obnoxius."

He is said by Mr. Leigh (*e*) to have been one "of the most scholastical among the Protestants:" which, however, may be questioned, his style and manner of treating an argument being rather plain and solid, than subtle and metaphysical. If scholism be an excellence in a writer, it is certain that the elder Spanhemius, and the great Francis Turretin, have since much exceeded Zanchy in that respect. Our learned countryman, Mr. Matthew Poole, terms him (*f*) *Theologus non è multis; cujus commentaria, singulari eruditione atque acumine composita, auctorem suum doctissimum referunt.* "A divine of the first class; whose expositions, written with extraordinary learning and ability, prove him to have been a most accomplished scholar." Even Mr. Bayle, who never seems to have been better pleased than when he could pick a hole in the gown of an ecclesiastic, though himself was the son of one, yet allows our author to have been "one of the most celebrated Protestant divines, and that few ministers have been so moderate as he."

Nor must I omit the honour put upon him by our university of Cambridge within five years after his death. One William Barrett, (*g*) fellow of Gonville and Caius college, ventured, April 29, 1595, to preach an Arminian sermon, in the face of the university, at St. Mary's. I say ventured, for it was a bold and dangerous attempt at that time, when the Church of England was in her purity, for any man to propagate Arminianism; (*h*) and, indeed, Barrett himself paid dear for his innovating rashness, which ended in his ruin. The university were so highly offended, both at his presumption in daring to avow his novel, heterodox opinions, and for mentioning some great divines, among whom Zanchy was one, in terms of the highest rancour and disrespect, that he was enjoined to make a public recantation in that very pulpit whence he had so lately vented his errors. This he did the 5th of May following. Part of his recantation ran (*i*) thus: "Lastly, I rashly uttered these words against John Calvin (a person than whom none has deserved better of the Church), namely, that he had presumed to exalt himself above the Son of God; in saying which I acknowledge that I greatly injured that most learned and truly pious man, and I do most humbly intreat that you will all forgive this my rashness. I also threw out, in a most rancorous manner, some reflections against P. Martyr, Theodore Beza, Jerom Zanchy, Francis Junius, and others of the same religion, who were the lights and ornaments of our Church, calling them by the malicious name of Calvinists, and branding them with other reproachful terms. I did wrong in assailing the reputation of these persons, and in endeavouring to lessen the estimation in which they are held, and in dissuading any from reading their most learned works, seeing our Church holds these divines in deserved reverence."

I would hope, as our articles of religion have not been changed, but stand just as

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(*e*) Account of religious and learned men, p. 370.

(*f*) Synops. Criticor. vol. iv. pars 2. in Præloqu. ad Lect.

(*g*) See Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge, p. 150.

(*h*) As every reader may not have a clear, determinate idea of what Arminianism precisely is, it may to such be satisfactory to know that it consists chiefly of five particulars. 1. The Arminians will not allow election to be an eternal, peculiar, unconditional, and irreversible act of God. 2. They assert that Christ died equally and indiscriminately for every individual of mankind: for them that perish no less than for them that are saved. 3. That saving grace is tendered to the acceptance of every man, which he may or may not receive just as he pleases. Consequently, 4. That the regenerating power of the Holy Spirit is not invincible, but is suspended, for its efficacy, on the will of man. 5. That saving grace is not an abiding principle; but that those who are loved of God, ransomed by Christ, and born again of the Spirit, may (let God wish and strive ever so much to the contrary) throw all away, and perish eternally at last.

To these many Arminians tack a variety of errors beside. But the above may be considered as a general skeleton of the leading mistakes which characterize the sect.

(*i*) Postremò, temerè hæc verba effudi adversus Johannem Calvinum, virum de ecclesia Christi optimè meritum; Eum nimirum ausum fuisse sese attolere supra altissimi et omnipotentis Dei verè altissimum et omnipotentem Filium. Quibus verbis me viro doctissimo, verèque pio, magnam injuriam fecisse fateor; temeritatemque hanc meam ut omnes condonetis, humillimè precor. Tum etiam quod nonnulla adversus P. Martyrem, Theodorum Bezam, Hieronymum Zanchium, Franciscum Junium, et cæteros ejusdem religionis, ecclesiæ nostræ lumina et ornamenta, acerbissimè effuderim; eos odioso nomine appellans Calvinistas, et aliis verbis ignominiæ gravissimam infamiæ notam inurens. Quos quia ecclesia nostra meritò reveretur, non erat æquum, et ego eorum famam violarem, aut existimationem aliquâ ratione imminuerem: aut aliquos è nostris dehortarer, ne eorem doctissima Scripta legerent.—Strype's Life of Whitgift. Appendix, p. 186.

I cannot help observing one more particular respecting this famous recantation, wherein the recanter thus expressed himself: Secundò, Petri fidem deficere non potuisse, asserui; at aliorum posse, &c. *i. e.* "I asserted that Peter's faith, indeed, could not fail, but that the faith of other believers might; whereas now, being, by Christ's own word, brought to a better and sounder mind, I acknowledge that Christ prays for the faith of each believer in particular: and that, by the efficacy of Christ's prayer, all true believers are so supported that their faith cannot fail." Barrett asserted, rank Arminian as he was, that Peter's faith did not actually fail. But we have had a recent instance of an Arminian preacher who avers, without ceremony, that Peter's faith did fail. The passage, verbatim, without adding a jot, or diminishing a tittle, stands thus: "Peter's faith failed, though Christ himself prayed it might not." See a sermon on 1 Cor. ix. 27, preached before the university of Oxford, Feb. 19, 1769, by John Allen, M.A., vice-principal of Magdalen Hall, p. 17.

This is Arminianism double-distilled. The common, simple Arminianism that served Barrett, and Laud, and Heylin, will not do now for our more enlightened divines. Whether Peter's faith failed, or not: that Mr. Allen's modesty has failed him is, I believe, what nobody can deny.

they did at that very time, that the Church of England, in the year 1769, still considers the above great men (and Zanchy among the rest) as some of her ancient lights and ornaments; and that she holds them and their writings in the same deserved reverence as did the Church of England in the year 1595.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE DIVINE ATTRIBUTES;

NECESSARY TO BE PREMISED, IN ORDER TO OUR BETTER UNDERSTANDING THE DOCTRINE OF PREDESTINATION.

ALTHOUGH the great and ever blessed God is a Being absolutely simple, and infinitely remote from all shadow of composition; he is, nevertheless, in condescension to our weak and contracted faculties, represented in Scripture as possessed of divers properties, or attributes, which, though seemingly different from his essence, are in reality, essential to him, and constitutive of his very nature.

Of these attributes, those on which we shall now particularly descant (as being more immediately concerned in the ensuing subject), are the following ones; 1. His eternal wisdom and foreknowledge. 2. The absolute freedom and liberty of his will. 3. The perpetuity and unchangeableness both of himself and his decrees. 4. His omnipotence. 5. His justice. 6. His mercy.

Without an explication of these, the doctrine of predestination cannot be so well understood: we shall, therefore, briefly consider them, by way of preliminary to the main subject.

I. With respect to the divine wisdom and foreknowledge, I shall lay down the following positions:

Pos. 1. God is, and always was, so perfectly wise that nothing ever did, or does, or can, elude his knowledge. He knew, from all eternity, not only what he himself intended to do, but also what he would incline and permit others to do, (*k*) "Known unto God are all his works, απ' αιωνος, from eternity."

Pos. 2. Consequently, God knows nothing now, nor will know any thing hereafter, which he did not know and foresee from everlasting: his foreknowledge being co-eternal with himself, and extending to every thing that is or shall be done. (*l*) All things, which comprise past, present, and future, are naked and open to the eyes of Him with whom we have to do.

Pos. 3. This foreknowledge of God is not conjectural and uncertain, (for then it would not be foreknowledge) but most sure and infallible; so that whatever he foreknows to be future shall necessarily and undoubtedly come to pass. For his knowledge can be no more frustrated, or his wisdom be deceived, than he can cease to be God. Nay, could either of these be the case, he actually would cease to be God; all mistake and disappointment being absolutely incompatible with the divine nature.

Pos. 4. The influence which the divine foreknowledge has on the certain futurition of the things foreknown does not render the intervention of second causes needless, nor destroy the nature of the things themselves.

My meaning is that the prescience of God does not lay any coercive necessity on the wills of beings naturally free. For instance, man, even in his fallen state, is endued with a natural freedom of will; yet he acts, from the first to the last moment of his life, in absolute subserviency (though, perhaps, he does not know it, nor design it) to the purposes and decrees of God concerning him; notwithstanding which he is sensible of no compulsion, but acts as freely and voluntarily as if he was, *sui juris*, subject to no controul, and absolutely lord of himself. This made Luther, (*m*) after he had shewn how all things necessary and inevitably come to pass, in consequence of the sovereign will and infallible foreknowledge of God, say that "We should carefully distinguish between a necessity of infallibility and a necessity of co-action; since both good and evil men, though by their actions they fulfil the decree and appointment of God, yet are not forcibly constrained to do any thing but act willingly."

Pos. 5. God's foreknowledge, taken abstractedly, is not the sole cause of beings and events; but his will and foreknowledge together. Hence we find, Acts ii. 23, that his determinate counsel and foreknowledge act in concert; the latter resulting from, and being founded on, the former.

We pass on,

II. To consider the will of God; with regard to which we assert as follows:

Pos. 1. The Deity is possessed not only of infinite knowledge, but likewise of absolute liberty of will; so that whatever he does, or permits to be done, he does and permits freely, and of his own good pleasure.

Consequently, it is his free pleasure to permit sin; since, without his permission, neither men nor devils can do any thing.

(*k*) Acts xv. 18. (*l*) Heb. iv. 13. (*m*) De Serv. Arb. cap. 44.

Now, to permit is, at least, the same as not to hinder, though it be in our power to hinder if we please: and this permission or non hindrance, is certainly an act of the divine will. Hence, Austin (*n*) says, "Those things which seemingly thwart the divine will are, nevertheless, agreeable to it; for if God did not permit them, they could not be done: and whatever God permits, he permits freely and willingly. He does nothing, neither suffers any thing to be done, against his own will." And Luther (*o*) observes that "God permitted Adam to fall into sin, because he willed that he should so fall."

Pos. 2. Although the will of God, considered in itself, is simply one and the same; yet, in condescension to the present capacities of men, the divine will is very properly distinguished into secret and revealed. Thus it was his revealed will that Pharaoh should let the Israelites go; that Abraham should sacrifice his son; and that Peter should not deny Christ: but as was proved by the event, it was his secret will that Pharaoh should not let Israel go, Ex. iv. 21, that Abraham should not sacrifice Isaac, Gen. xxii. 12, and that Peter should deny his Lord, Matt. xxvi. 34.

Pos. 3. The will of God, respecting the salvation and condemnation of men, is never contrary to itself; he immutably wills the salvation of the elect, and *vice versâ:* nor can he ever vary or deviate from his own will in any instance whatever, so as that should be done which he willeth not; or that not be brought to pass which he willeth. Isaiah xlvi. 10. My counsel shall stand, and I will do all my pleasure.—Psalm xxxiii. 11. The counsel of the Lord standeth for ever, and the thoughts of his heart to all generations. Job xxiii. 13, 14. He is in one mind, who can turn him? and what his soul desireth, even that he doth; for he performeth the thing that is appointed for me; and many such things are with him. Eph. i. 11. Being predestinated, according to the purpose of him, who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will.

Thus, for instance, Hophni and Phineas hearkened not to the voice of their father, who reproved them for their wickedness, because the Lord would slay them, 1 Sam. ii. 25. And Sihon, king of Heshbon, would not receive the peaceable message sent him by Moses, because the Lord God hardened his spirit, and made his heart obstinate, that he might deliver him into the hand of Israel, Deut. ii. 26, 30. Thus also, to add no more, we find that there have been, and ever will be some, whose eyes God blindeth, and whose hearts he hardeneth, *i. e.* whom God permits to continue blind and hardened, on purpose to prevent their seeing with their eyes, and understanding with their hearts, and to hinder their conversion to God, and spiritual healing by him, Isa. vi. 9. John xii. 39, 40.

Pos. 4. Because God's will of precept may, in some instances, appear to thwart his will of determination, it does not follow either, 1. That he mocks his creatures, or 2. That they are excusable for neglecting to observe his will of command.

1. He does not hereby mock his creatures; for if men do not believe his word, nor observe his precepts, the fault is not in him, but in themselves: their unbelief and disobedience are not owing to any ill infused into them by God, but to the vitiosity of their depraved nature, and the perverseness of their own wills. Now, if God invited all men to come to him, and then shut the door of mercy against any who were desirous of entering; his invitation would be a mockery, and unworthy of himself; but we insist on it, that he does not invite all men to come to him in a saving way; and that every individual person, who is, through his gracious influence on his heart, made willing to come to him shall, sooner or later, be surely saved by him, and that with an everlasting salvation. 2. Man is not excusable for neglecting God's will of command. Pharaoh was faulty, and therefore justly punishable, for not obeying God's revealed will, though God's secret will rendered that obedience impossible. Abraham would have committed sin, had he refused to sacrifice Isaac; and, in looking to God's secret will, would have acted counter to his revealed one. So Herod, Pontius Pilate, and the reprobate Jews, were justly condemned for putting Christ to death, inasmuch as it was a most notorious breach of God's revealed will. "Thou shalt do no murder;" yet, in slaying the Messiah, they did no more than God's hand and his counsel, *i. e.* his secret ordaining will, determined before should be done, Acts iv. 27, 28; and Judas is justly punished for perfidiously and wickedly betraying Christ, though his perfidy and wickedness were (but not with his design) subservient to the accomplishment of the decree and word of God.

The brief of the matter is this; secret things belong to God, and those that are revealed belong to us; therefore, when we meet with a plain precept, we should simply endeavour to obey it, without tarrying to inquire into God's hidden purpose. Venerable Bucer, after taking notice how God

(*n*) Enchir. cap. 100.

(*o*) De Serv. Arb. c. 153.

hardened Pharaoh's heart, and making some observations on the apostle's simile of a potter and his clay, adds (*p*) that, "though God has at least the same right over his creatures, and is at liberty to make them what he will, and direct them to the end that pleaseth himself, according to his sovereign and secret determination, yet it by no means follows that they do not act freely and spontaneously, or that the evil they commit is to be charged on God."

Pos. 5. God's hidden will is peremptory and absolute; and, therefore, cannot be hindered from taking effect.

God's will is nothing else than God himself willing: consequently it is omnipotent and unfrustrable. Hence we find it termed by Austin and the schoolmen, *voluntas omnipotentissima;* because, whatever God wills cannot fail of being effected. This made Austin say, (*q*) "Evil men do many things contrary to God's revealed will; but so great is his wisdom, and so inviolable his truth, that he directs all things into those channels which he foreknew." And again (*r*) "No free-will of the creature can resist the will of God; for man cannot so will, or nill, as to obstruct the divine determination, or overcome the divine power." Once more (*s*) "It cannot be questioned, but God does all things, and ever did, according to his own purpose: the human will cannot resist him, so as to make him do more or less than it is his pleasure to do; *quandoquidem etiam de ipsis hominum voluntatibus quod vult facit*, since he does what he pleases even with the wills of men."

Pos. 6. Whatever comes to pass comes to pass by virtue of this absolute, omnipotent will of God, which is the primary and supreme cause of all things. Rev. ix. 11. Thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are, and were created. Psalm cxv. 3. Our God is in the heavens; he hath done whatsoever he pleased. Dan. iv. 35. He doth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth; and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What dost thou? Psalm cxxxv. 6. Whatsoever the Lord pleased that did he in heaven, and in earth, in the seas, and all deep places. Mat. x. 29. Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall to the ground without your Father. To all which, Austin subscribes, when he says, (*t*) "Nothing is done but what the Almighty wills should be done, either efficiently or permissively." As does Luther, whose words are these, (*u*) "This, therefore, must stand; to wit, the unsearchable will of God, without which nothing exists or acts." And again, c. 160. "God would not be such, if he was not almighty, and if any thing could be done without him." And elsewhere, c. 158, he quotes these words of Erasmus: "Supposing there was an earthly prince who could do whatever he would, and none were able to resist him, we might safely say of such a one, that he would certainly fulfil his own desire; in like manner, the will of God, which is the first cause of all things, should seem to lay a kind of necessity upon our wills." This Luther approves of, and subjoins, "Thanks be to God, for this orthodox passage in Erasmus's discourse! but, if this be true, what becomes of his doctrine of free-will, which he at other times so strenuously contends for?"

Pos. 7. The will of God is so the cause of all things as to be itself without cause; for nothing can be the cause of that which is the cause of every thing.

So that the divine will is the *ne plus ultra* of all our inquiries: when we ascend to that, we can go no farther. Hence, we find every matter resolved ultimately into the mere sovereign pleasure of God, as the spring and occasion of whatsoever is done in heaven and earth. Matt. xi. 25. Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes: even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight. Luke xii. 32. It is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom. Matt. viii. 3. I will: be thou clean. Mark iii. 13. He went up into a mountain, and called unto him whom he would. Jam. i. 18. Of his own will begat he us, with the word of truth. John i. 13. Which were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. Rom. ix. 15, 18. I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion. Therefore, he hath mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth. And no wonder that the will of God should be the main spring that sets all inferior wheels in motion, and should likewise be the rule by which he goes in all his dealings with his creatures; since nothing out of God, *i. e.* exterior to himself can possibly induce him to will or nill one thing rather than another. Deny this, and you, at one stroke, destroy his immutability and independency; since he can never be independent who acts *pro re natâ*, as emergency requires, and whose will is suspended on that of others; nor unchangeable, whose purposes vary and take all shapes, according as the persons or things vary who are the objects of those purposes. The only reason, then, that can be assigned

(*p*) Bucer, ad Rom. ix. (*q*) De Civ Dei. l. 22. c. 1.
(*r*) De Corr. and Grat. cap 14. (*s*) Ibid.
(*t*) Tom. 3. in Enchir.
(*u*) De Serv. Arb. c. 143.

why the Deity does this, or omits that, is because it is his own free pleasure. Luther, (*x*) in answer to that question, "Whence it was that Adam was permitted to fall, and corrupt his whole posterity; when God could have prevented his falling, &c., says, "God is a being whose will acknowledges no cause: neither is it for us to prescribe rules to his sovereign pleasure, or call him to account for what he does. He has neither superior nor equal; and his will is the rule of all things. He did not, therefore, will such and such things because they were in themselves right, and he was bound to will them; but they are therefore equitable and right because he wills them. The will of man, indeed, may be influenced and moved; but God's will never can. To assert the contrary is to undeify him." Bucer likewise observes, (*y*) "God has no other motive for what he does than *ipsa voluntas*, his own mere will; which will is so far from being unrighteous, that it is justice itself."

Pos. 8. Since, as was lately observed, the determining will of God, being omnipotent, cannot be obstructed or made void; it follows that he never did, nor does he now, will that every individual of mankind should be saved.

If this was his will, not one single soul could ever be lost; (for who hath resisted his will?) and he would surely afford all men those effectual means of salvation without which it cannot be had. Now, God could afford these means as easily to all mankind, as ot some only; but experience proves that he does not; and the reason is equally plain, namely, that he will not; for whatsoever the Lord pleaseth, that does he in heaven and on earth. It is said, indeed, by the apostle, that God would have all men saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth; *i. e.* as Austin, (*z*) consistently with other Scriptures, explains the passage, "God will save some out of the whole race of mankind," that is, persons of all nations, kindreds and tongues. Nay, he will save all men, *i. e.* as the same father observes, "every kind of men, or men of every kind," namely, the whole election of grace, be they bond or free, noble or ignoble, rich or poor, male or female. Add to this, that it evidently militates against the majesty, omnipotence, and supremacy of God, to suppose that he can either will any thing in vain, or that any thing can take effect against his will; therefore, Bucer observes very rightly, ad Rom. ix. "God doth not will the salvation of reprobates, seeing he hath not chosen them, neither created them to that end." Consonant to which are those words of Luther, (*a*) "This mightily offends our rational nature, that God should, of his own mere unbiassed will, leave some men to themselves, harden them, and then condemn them; but he has given abundant demonstration, and does continually, that this is really the case; namely, that the sole cause why some are saved, and others perish, proceeds from his willing the salvation of the former, and the perdition of the latter, according to that of of Paul, He hath mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth."

Pos. 9. As God doth not will that each individual of mankind should be saved, so neither did he will that Christ should properly and immediately die for each individual of mankind; whence it follows that, though the blood of Christ, from its own intrinsic dignity, was sufficient for the redemption of all men; yet, in consequence of his Father's appointment, he shed it intentionally, and, therefore, effectually and immediately, for the elect only.

This is self evident. God, as we have before proved, wills not the salvation of every man; but he gave his Son to die for them whose salvation he willed; therefore, his Son did not die for every man. All those for whom Christ died are saved; and the divine justice indispensably requires that to them the benefits of his death should be imparted; but only the elect are saved; they only partake of those benefits; consequently, for them only he died and intercedes. The apostle, Rom. viii. asks, Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? it is God that justifies, *i. e.* his elect, exclusively of others; who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died for them, exclusively of others. The plain meaning of the passage is that those whom God justifies, and for whom Christ died (justification and redemption being of exactly the same extent), cannot be condemned. These privileges are expressly restrained to the elect; therefore, God justifies and Christ died for them alone

In the same chapter Paul asks; "He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, [*i. e.* for all us elect persons] how shall he not, with him, also freely give us all things? *i. e.* salvation, and all things necessary to it. Now, it is certain that these are not given to every individual; and yet, if Paul says true, they are given to all those for whom Christ was delivered to death; consequently, he was not delivered to death for every individual. To the same purpose St. Austin argues, in Johan. tract. 45. col. 335. Hence that saying of Ambrose, (*b*) "*si non credis, non tibi passus est*, *i. e.* if you are an unbeliever,

(*x*) De Serv. Arb. c. 153. (*y*) Ad. Rom. ix.
(*z*) Enchir. c. 103. and de Corr. and Gr. c. 14.

(*a*) De Serv. Arb. c. 161.
(*b*) Ambros. Tom. 2. de sid. ad Grat. l. 4. c.

Christ did not die for you." Meaning, that whoever is left under the power of final unbelief, is thereby evidenced to be one of those for whom Christ did not die; but that all for whom he suffered shall be, in this life, sooner or later, endued with faith. The Church of Smyrna, in their letter to the dioceses of Pontus, insist every where on the doctrine of special redemption. (*c*) Bucer, in all parts of his works, observes, that "Christ died restrictively for the elect only; but for them universally."

Pos. 10. From what has been laid down it follows that Austin, Luther, Bucer, the scholastic divines, and other learned writers, are not to be blamed for asserting that "God may, in some sense, be said to will the being and commission of sin." For was this contrary to his determining will of permission, either he would not be omnipotent, or sin could have no place in the world; but he is omnipotent, and sin has place in the world; which it could not have, if God willed otherwise; for who hath resisted his will? Rom. ix. No one can deny that God permits sin; but he neither permits it ignorantly, nor unwillingly; therefore, knowingly and willingly. Vid. Aust. Enchir. c. 96. Luther steadfastly maintains this in his book *De Serv. Arbitr.* and Bucer in Rom. i. However, it should be carefully noticed, 1. That God's permission of sin does not arise from his taking delight in it; on the contrary, sin, as sin, is the abominable thing that his soul hateth; and his efficacious permission of it is for wise and good purposes. Whence that observation of Austin, (*d*) "God, who is no less omnipotent than he is supremely and perfectly holy, would never have permitted evil to enter among his works, but in order that he might do good even with that evil," *i. e.* over-rule it for good in the end. 2. That God's free and voluntary permission of sin lays no man under any forcible or compulsive necessity of committing it; consequently, the Deity can by no means be termed the author of moral evil; to which he is not, in the proper sense of the word, accessary, but only remotely or negatively so, inasmuch as he could, if he pleased, absolutely prevent it.

We should, therefore, be careful not to give up the omnipotence of God, under a pretence of exalting his holiness; he is infinite in both, and, therefore, neither should be set aside nor obscured. To say that God absolutely nills the being and commission of sin, while experience convinces us that sin is acted every day, is to represent the Deity as a weak, impotent being, who would fain have things go otherwise than they do, but cannot accomplish his desire. On the other hand, to say that he willeth sin doth not in the least detract from the holiness and rectitude of his nature; because, whatever God wills, as well as whatever he does, cannot be eventually evil: materially evil it may be; but, as was just said, it must ultimately be directed to some wise and just end, otherwise he could not will it; for his will is righteous and good, and the sole rule of right and wrong, as is often observed by Austin, Luther, and others.

Pos. 11. In consequence of God's immutable will and infallible foreknowledge, whatever things come to pass come to pass necessarily; though, with respect to second causes, and us men, many things are contingent: *i. e.* unexpected, and seemingly accidental.

That this was the doctrine of Luther, none can deny, who are in any measure acquainted with his works: particularly with his treatise *De Servo Arbitrio*, or free-will a slave; the main drift of which book is to prove that the will of man is by nature enslaved to evil only, and, because it is fond of that slavery, is therefore said to be free. Among other matters, he proves there that "whatever man does he does necessarily, though not with any sensible compulsion; and that we can only do what God from eternity willed and foreknew we should; which will of God must be effectual, and his foresight must be certain." Hence we find him saying, (*e*) "It is most necessary and salutary for a Christian to be assured that God foreknows nothing uncertainly; but that he determines, and foresees, and acts, in all things, according to his own eternal, immutable, and infallible will; adding, "Hereby, as with a thunderbolt, is man's freewill thrown down and destroyed." A little after, he shews in what sense he took the word necessity; "by it," says he, "I do not mean that the will suffers any forcible constraint, or co-action; but the infallible accomplishment of those things which the immutable God decreed and foreknew concerning us." He goes on: "Neither the divine nor human will does any thing by constraint; but, whatever man does, be it good or bad, he does with as much appetite and willingness as if his will was really free. But, after all, the will of God is certain and unalterable, and is the governess of ours." Exactly consonant to all which are those words of Luther's friend and fellow-labourer, Melancthon: (*f*) "All things turn out according to divine predestination; not only the works we do outwardly, but even the thoughts

(*c*) Vid. Euseb. His. l. i. c. 10. (*d*) Enchir. c. 11. (*e*) Cap. 11. in Resp. ad præf. (*f*) In Eph i

we think inwardly:" adding, in the same place, "There is no such a thing as chance, or fortune; nor is there a readier way to gain the fear of God, and to put our whole trust in Him, than to be thoroughly versed in the doctrine of predestination." I could cite, to the same purpose, Austin, Aquinas, and many other learned men; but, for brevity's sake, forbear. That this is the doctrine of Scripture every adept in those sacred books cannot but acknowledge.—See, particularly, Psalm cxxxv. 6. Matt. x. 29. Prov. xvi. 1. Matt. xxvi. 54. Luke xxii. 22. Acts iv. 28. Eph. i. 11. Isa. xlvi. 10.

Pos. 12. As God knows nothing now which he did not know from all eternity; so he wills nothing now which he did not will from everlasting.

This position needs no explanation nor enforcement; it being self-evident that, if any thing can accede to God *de novo, i. e.* if he can at any time be wiser than he always was, or will that at one time which he did not will from all eternity, these dreadful consequences must ensue: 1. That the knowledge of God is not perfect, since what is absolutely perfect, *non recipit magis et minus*, cannot admit either of addition or detraction. If I add to any thing, it is from a supposal that that thing was not complete before; if I detract from it, it is supposed that that detraction renders it less perfect than it was. But the knowledge of God, being infinitely perfect, cannot, consistently with that perfection, be either increased or lessened. 2. That the will of God is fluctuating, mutable, and unsteady; consequently that God himself is so, his will coinciding with his essence, contrary to the avowed assurances of Scripture and the strongest dictates of reason, as we shall presently shew, when we come to treat of the divine immutability.

Pos. 13. The absolute will of God is the original spring and efficient cause of his people's salvation.

I say the original and efficient; for, *sensu complexo*, there are other intermediate causes of their salvation, which, however, all result from, and are subservient to, this primary one, the will of God. Such are his everlasting choice of them to eternal life: the eternal covenant of grace entered into by the Trinity on behalf of the elect; the incarnation, obedience, death, and intercession of Christ for them; all which are so many links in the great chain of causes; and not one of these can be taken away without marring and subverting the whole gospel plan of salvation by Jesus Christ. We see, then, that the free, unbiassed, sovereign will of God is the root of this tree of life, which bears so many glorious branches, and yields such salutary fruits: he therefore loved the elect, and ordained them to life, because he would; according to that of the apostle, having predestinated us according to the good pleasure of his will; Eph. i. 5. Then, next after God's covenant for his people and promises to them, comes in the infinite merit of Christ's righteousness and atonement; for we were chosen to salvation in him as members of his mystic body, and through him, as our Surety and substitute, by whose vicarious obedience to the moral law, and submission to its curse and penalty, all we, whose names are in the book of life, should never incur the divine hatred or be punished for our sins, but continue to eternity as we were from eternity, heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ. But still the divine grace and favour (and God extends these to whom he will) must be considered as what gave birth to the glorious scheme of redemption, according to what our Lord himself teaches us, John iii. 16. God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, &c.; and that of the apostle, 1 John iv. 9. In this was manifested the love of God towards us, because that he sent his only begotten Son into the world that we might live through him.

Pos. 14. Since this absolute will of God is both immutable and omnipotent, we infer that the salvation of every one of the elect is most infallibly certain, and can by no means be prevented. This necessarily follows from what we have already asserted and proved concerning the divine will, which, as it cannot be disappointed or made void, must undoubtedly secure the salvation of all whom God wills should be saved.

From the whole of what has been delivered under this second head, I would observe that the genuine tendency of these truths is, not to make men indolent and careless, or lull them to sleep on the lap of presumption and carnal security, but, 1. To fortify the people of Christ against the attacks of unbelief and the insults of their spiritual enemies. And what is so fit to guard them against these as the comfortable persuasion of God's unalterable will to save them, and of their unalienable interest in the sure mercies of David? 2. To withdraw them entirely from all dependance, whether on themselves or any creature whatever; to make them renounce their own righteousness no less than their sins, in point of reliance, and to acquiesce sweetly and safely in the certain perpetuity of his rich favour. 3. To excite them, from a trust of his goodwill towards them, to love that God who hath given such great and numberless proofs of his love to men; and in all their thoughts, words, and works, to aim, as much as possible, at his honour and glory. We were to consider,

III. The unchangeableness which is essential to himself and his decrees.

Pos. 1. God is essentially unchangeable in himself. Were he otherwise, he would be confessedly imperfect; since whoever changes must change either for the better or for the worse: whatever alteration any being undergoes, that being must, *ipso facto*, either become more excellent than it was, or lose some of the excellency which it had. But neither of these can be the case with the Deity: he cannot change for the better, for that would necessarily imply that he was not perfectly good before; he cannot change for the worse, for then he could not be perfectly good after that change. *Ergo*, God is unchangeable. And this is the uniform voice of Scripture. Mal. iii. 6. I am the Lord: I change not. James i. 17. With him is no variableness, neither shadow of turning. Psalm cii. 27. Thou art the same, and thy years shall have no end.

Pos. 2. God is likewise absolutely unchangeable with regard to his purposes and promises. Numb. xxiii. 19. God is not a man that he should lie; neither the son of man, that he should repent: hath he said, and shall he not do it; or hath he spoken, and shall he not make it good? 1 Sam. xv. 29. The strength of Israel will not lie nor repent; for he is not a man that he should repent. Job xxiii. 13. He is in one mind, and who can turn him? Ezek. xxiv. 14. I, the Lord, have spoken it; it shall come to pass, and I will do it: I will not go back, neither will I spare, neither will I repent. Rom. xi. 29. The gifts and calling of God are without repentance. 2 Tim. ii. 13. He abideth faithful, and cannot deny himself.

By the purpose or decree of God we mean his determinate counsel, whereby he did from all eternity pre-ordain whatever he should do, or would permit to be done, in time. In particular, it signifies his everlasting appointment of some men to life and of others to death; which appointment flows entirely from his own free and sovereign will. Rom. ix. The children not yet being born, neither having done any good or evil (that the purpose of God, according to election, might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth), it was said, the elder shall serve the younger; as it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated.

The apostle then, in the very next words, anticipates an objection which he foresaw men of corrupt minds would make to this: What shall we say, then? is there unrighteousness with God? which he answers with, God forbid! and resolves the whole of God's procedure with his creatures into his own sovereign and independent will: for he said to Moses, I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion.

We assert that the decrees of God are not only immutable as to himself, it being inconsistent with his nature to alter in his purposes or change his mind, but that they are immutable likewise with respect to the objects of those decrees; so that whatsoever God hath determined concerning every individual person or thing shall surely and infallibly be accomplished in and upon them. Hence we find that he actually sheweth mercy on whom he decreed to shew mercy, and hardeneth whom he resolved to harden: Rom. ix. 18. For his counsel shall stand, and he will do all his pleasure: Isa. xlvi. 10. Consequently his eternal predestination of men and things must be immutable as himself, and, so far from being reversible, can never admit of the least variation.

Pos. 3. "Although," to use the words of Gregory, "God never swerves from his decree, yet he often varies in his declarations:" that is always sure and immoveable; these are sometimes seemingly discordant. So when he gave sentence against the Ninevites by Jonah, saying, Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown, the meaning of the words is, not that God absolutely intended, at the end of that space, to destroy the city, but that, should God deal with those people according to their deserts, they would be totally extirpated from the earth; and should be so extirpated unless they repented speedily.

Likewise when he told king Hezekiah, by the prophet Isaiah, Set thine house in order, for thou shalt die, and not live; the meaning was that, with respect to second causes, and considering the king's bad state of health and emaciated constitution, he could not, humanly speaking, live much longer. But still the event shewed that God had immutably determined that he should live fifteen years more; and, in order to that, had put it into his heart to pray for the blessing decreed: just as in the case of Nineveh lately mentioned, God had resolved not to overthrow that city then; and, in order to the accomplishment of his own purpose in a way worthy of himself, made the ministry of Jonah the means of leading that people to repentance. All which, as it shews that God's absolute predestination does not set aside the use of means, so does it likewise prove that, however various the declarations of God may appear (to wit, when they proceed on a regard had to natural causes), his counsels and designs stand firm and immoveable, and can neither admit of alteration in themselves, nor of hindrance in their execution. See this farther explained by Bucer, in Rom. ix., where you will find the certainty of the divine appointments solidly asserted and unanswerably vindicated. We now come,

IV. To consider the omnipotence of God.

Pos. 1. God is, in the most unlimited and absolute sense of the word, Almighty. Jer. xxxii. 17. Behold, thou hast made the heaven and the earth by thy great power and stretched out arm, and there is nothing too hard for thee. Mat. xix. 26. With God all things are possible. The schoolmen very properly distinguish the omnipotence of God into absolute and actual: by the former, God might do many things which he does not; by the latter, he actually does whatever he will. For instance, God might, by virtue of his absolute power, have made more worlds than he has. He might have eternally saved every individual of mankind, without reprobating any: on the other hand he might, and that with the strictest justice, have condemned all men, and saved none. He could, had it been his pleasure, have prevented the fall of angels and men, and thereby have hindered sin from having footing in and among his creatures. By virtue of his actual power he made the universe; executes the whole counsel of his will both in heaven and earth; governs and influences both men and things, according to his own pleasure; fixes the bounds which they shall not pass; and, in a word, worketh all in all: Isa. xlv. 7. Amos iii. 6. John v. 17. Acts xvii. 26. 1 Cor. xii. 6.

Pos. 2. Hence it follows that, since all things are subject to the divine controul, God not only works efficaciously on his elect, in order that they may will and do that which is pleasing in his sight; but does likewise frequently and powerfully suffer the wicked to fill up the measure of their iniquities by committing fresh sins. Nay, he sometimes, but for wise and gracious ends, permits his own people to transgress: for he has the hearts and wills of all men in his own hand, and inclines them to good, or delivers them up to evil, as he sees fit: yet without being the author of sin; as Luther Bucer, Austin, and others have piously and scripturally taught.

This position consists of two parts: (1.) That God efficaciously operates on the hearts of his elect, and is thereby the sole author of all the good they do. See Eph. iii. 20. Phil. ii. 13. 1 Thes. ii. 13. Heb. xiii. 21. St. Austin (*g*) takes up no fewer than nineteen chapters in proving that whatever good is in men, and whatever good they are enabled to do is solely and entirely of God; who, says he, "works in holy persons, all their good desires, their pious thoughts, and their righteous actions; and yet these holy persons, though thus wrought upon by God, will and do all these things freely: for it is he who rectifies their wills which, being originally evil, are made good by him; and which wills, after he hath set them right and made them good, he directs to good actions and to eternal life; wherein he does not force their wills but makes them willing." (2.) That God often lets the wicked go on to more ungodliness: which he does, 1. Negatively, by withholding that grace which alone can restrain them from evil. 2. Remotely, by the providential concourse and mediation of second causes; which second causes, meeting and acting in concert with the corruption of the reprobate's unregenerate nature, produce sinful effects. 3. Judicially, or in a way of judgment. Prov. xxi. 1. The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord, as the rivers of waters; he turneth it whithersoever he will: and if the king's heart, why not the hearts of all men? Lam. iii. 38. Out of the mouth of the Most High proceeded not evil and good? Hence we find that the Lord bid Shimei curse David, 2 Sam. xvi. 10. That he moved David himself to number the people, compare 1 Chron. xxi. 1. with 2 Sam. xxiv. 1. Stirred up Joseph's brethren to sell him into Egypt, Gen. l. 20. Positively and immediately hardened the heart of Pharaoh, Ex. iv. 21. Delivered up David's wives to be defiled by Absalom, 2. Sam. xii. 11. and xvi. 22. Sent a lying spirit to deceive Ahab, 1 Kings xxii. 20—23. And mingled a perverse spirit in the midst of Egypt, *i. e.* made that nation perverse, obdurate and stiff-necked, Isa. xix. 14. To cite other instances would be almost endless, and, after these, quite unnecessary; all being summed up in that express passage, Isaiah xlv. 7. I make peace and create evil; I the Lord do all these things. See farther 1 Sam. xvi. 14. Psalm cv. 25. Jer. xiii. 12, 13. Acts ii. 23. and iv. 28. Rom. xi. 8. 2 Thess. ii. 11. Every one of which implies more (*h*) than a bare permission of sin. Bucer asserts this, not only in the place referred to below, but continually throughout his works: particularly on Matt. vi. s. 2. where this is the sense of his comments on that petition, Lead us not into temptation; "It is abundantly evident, from most express testimonies of Scripture, that God, occasionally in the course of his providence, puts both elect and reprobate persons into circumstances of temptation: by which temptation are meant, not only those trials that are of an outward, afflictive nature; but those also that are inward and spiritual; even such as shall cause the persons so tempted actually to turn aside from the path of duty, to commit sin, and involve both themselves and others in evil. Hence we find the elect complaining, Isa. lxiii. 17. O Lord, why hast thou made us to err from thy ways,

(*g*) De Grat. et lib. Arb. à c. 1. usque ad c. 20.

(*h*) Vid. Augustine, de Grat. et lib. Arbitr. c. 20 and 21. And Bucer in Rom. 1 sect. 7.

and hardened our hearts from thy fear? But there is also a kind of temptation which is peculiar to the non-elect; whereby God, in a way of just judgment, makes them totally blind and obdurate: inasmuch as they are vessels of wrath fitted to destruction" See also his exposition of Rom. ix.

Luther (*i*) reasons to the very same effect; some of his words are these; "It may seem absurd to human wisdom that God should harden, blind, and deliver up some men to a reprobate sense; that he should first deliver them over to evil, and then condemn them for that evil: but the believing spiritual man sees no absurdity at all in this; knowing that God would be never a whit less good, even though he should destroy all men." And again; "God worketh all things in all men; even wickedness in the wicked: for this is one branch of his own omnipotence." He very properly explains how God may be said to harden men, &c. and yet not be the author of their sin: "It is not to be understood," says he, "as if God found men good, wise and tractable, and then made them wicked, foolish and obdurate; but God, finding them depraved, judicially and powerfully excites them just as they are (unless it is his will to regenerate any of them) and, by thus exciting them, they become more blind and obstinate than they were before." See this whole subject debated at large in the places last referred to.

Pos. 3. God, as the primary and efficient cause of all things, is not only the author of those actions done by his elect as actions, but also as they are good actions; whereas, on the other hand, though he may be said to be the author of all the actions done by the wicked, yet he is not the author of them in a moral and compound sense, as they are sinful; but physically, simply, and *sensu diviso*, as they are mere actions, abstractedly from all consideration of the goodness or badness of them.

Although there is no action whatever which is not in some sense either good or bad, yet we can easily conceive of an action purely as such without adverting to the quality of it; so that the distinction between an action itself, and its denomination of good or evil, is very obvious and natural.

In and by the elect, therefore, God not only produces works and actions through his almighty power, but likewise through the salutary influences of his Spirit, first makes their persons good, and then their actions so too; but in and by the reprobate he produces actions by his power alone; which actions, as neither issuing from faith, nor being wrought with a view to the divine glory, nor done in the manner prescribed by the divine word, are, on these accounts, properly denominated evil. Hence we see that God does not immediately and *per se*, infuse iniquity into the wicked; but, as Luther expresses it, powerfully excites them to action, and withholds those gracious influences of his Spirit, without which every action is necessarily evil. That God, either directly or remotely, excites bad men as well as good ones to action, cannot be denied by any but atheists, or by those who carry their notions of free-will and human independency so high as to exclude the Deity from all actual operation in and among his creatures, which is little short of atheism. Every work performed, whether good or evil, is done in strength and by the power derived immediately from God himself, in whom all men live, move, and have their being, Acts xvii. 28. As at first without him was not any thing made which was made; so now without him is not any thing done which is done. We have no power or faculty, whether corporeal or intellectual, but what we received from God, subsists by him, and is exercised in subserviency to his will and appointment. It is he who created, preserves, actuates and directs all things. But it by no means follows from these premises that God is therefore the cause of sin; for sin is nothing but *ανομια*, illegality, want of conformity to the divine law, 1 John iii. 4. a mere privation of rectitude: consequently, being itself a thing purely negative, it can have no positive or efficient cause, but only a negative and deficient one, as several learned men have observed.

Every action, as such, is undoubtedly good; it being an actual exertion of those operative powers given us by God for that very end: God therefore may be the author of all actions (as he undoubtedly is), and yet not be the author of evil. An action is constituted evil three ways; by proceeding from a wrong principle, by being directed to a wrong end, and by being done in a wrong manner. Now, though God, as we have said, is the efficient cause of our actions, as actions, yet if these actions commence sinful, that sinfulness arises from ourselves. Suppose a boy who knows not how to write has his hand guided by his master, and nevertheless makes false letters, quite unlike the copy set him; though his preceptor who guides his hand is the cause of his writing at all, yet his own ignorance and unskilfulness are the cause of his writing so badly. Just so, God is the supreme author of our action, abstractedly taken; but our own vitiosity is the cause of our acting amiss.

I shall conclude this article with two or three observations. And, (1). I would in-

(*i*) De Serv. Arb. c. 8 and 146 and 147. usq. ad. c. 165.

fer that if we would maintain the doctrine of God's omnipotence we must insist upon that of his universal agency: the latter cannot be denied without giving up the former. Disprove that he is almighty, and then we will grant that his influence and operations are limited and circumscribed. Luther says (*k*) "God would not be a respectable being, if he were not almighty, and the doer of all things that are done; or if any thing could come to pass in which he had no hand." God has at least a physical influence on whatsoever is done by his creatures, whether trivial or important, good or evil. Judas as truly lived, moved, and had his being from God as Peter; and Satan himself as much as Gabriel; for to say that sin exempts the sinner from the divine government and jurisdiction is abridging the power of God with a witness; nay, is rasing it from its very foundation.

(2.) This doctrine of God's omnipotence has a native tendency to awaken in our hearts that reverence for, and fear of, the divine majesty which none can either receive or retain but those who believe him to be infinitely powerful, and to work all things after the counsel of his own will. This godly fear is a sovereign antidote against sin; for if I really believe that God by his unintermitted operation upon my soul produces actions in me, which, being simply good, receive their malignancy from the corruption of my nature (and even those works that stand opposed to sins are more or less infected with this moral leprosy); and if I consider that, should I yield myself a slave to actual iniquity, God can, and justly might, as he has frequently done by others, give me up to a reprobate mind and punish one sin by leaving me to the commission of another; surely such reflections as these must fill me with awful apprehensions of the divine purity, power and greatness, and make me watch continually, as well against the inward risings as the outward appearance of evil.

(3.) This doctrine is also useful as it tends to inspire us with true humility of soul; and to lay us as impotent dust and ashes at the feet of sovereign omnipotence. It teaches us, what too many are fatally ignorant of, the blessed lesson of self-despair; *i. e.* that in a state of unregeneracy our wisdom is folly, our strength weakness, and our righteousness nothing worth: that therefore we can do nothing either to the glory of God or the spiritual benefit of ourselves and others but through the ability which he giveth; that in him our strength lieth, and from him all our help must come. Supposing we believe that whatsoever is done below or above God doeth it himself; that all things depend, both as to their being and operation, upon his omnipotent arm and mighty support; that we cannot even sin, much less do any good thing, if he withdraw his aid; and that all men are in his hand, as clay in the hand of the potter; I say, did we really believe all these points, and see them in the light of the Divine Spirit, how can it be reasonably supposed that we could wax insolent against this great God, behave contemptuously and superciliously in the world, or boast of anything we have or do? Luther informs us (*l*), that he "used to be frequently much offended at this doctrine because it drove him to self-despair; but that he afterwards found that this sort of despair was salutary and profitable, and near akin to divine grace."

(4.) We are hereby taught not only humility before God, but likewise dependence on him, and resignation to him. For if we are thoroughly persuaded that of ourselves, and in our own strength, we cannot do either good or evil; but that being originally created by God we are incessantly supported, moved, influenced and directed by him, this way or that, as he pleases; the natural inference hence will be that with simple faith we cast ourselves entirely, as on the bosom of his providence, commit all our care and solicitude to his hand; praying without hesitation or reserve that his will may be done in us, on us, and by us, and that in all his dealings with us he may consult his own glory alone. This holy passiveness is the very apex of Christianity. All the desires of our great Redeemer himself were reducible to these two; that the will of God might be done, and that the glory of God might be displayed. These were the highest and supreme marks at which he aimed throughout the whole course of his spotless life and inconceivably tremendous sufferings. Happy, thrice happy that man, who hath thus far attained the mind that was in Christ.

(5.) The comfortable belief of this doctrine has a tendency to excite and keep alive within us that fortitude which is so ornamental to, and necessary for, us while we abide in this wilderness. For if I believe with the apostle that all things are of God, 2 Cor. v. 18, I shall be less liable to perturbation when afflicted, and learn more easily to possess my soul in patience. This was Job's support: he was not overcome with rage and despair when he received news that the Sabeans had carried off his cattle and slain his servants, and that the remainder of both were consumed with fire; that the Chaldeans had robbed him of his camels; and that his seven sons were crushed to death by the falling of the house where they were sitting: he resolved all these misfortunes into the agency of God, his power and sovereignty, and even thanked him for doing

(*k*) De Serv. Arb. c. 160.

(*l*) De Serv. Arb. c. 161.

what he would with his own, Job. i. 21. If another should slander me in word, or injure me in deed, I shall not be prone to anger when, with David, I consider that the Lord hath bidden him, 2 Sam. xvi. 10.

(6.) This should stir us up to fervent and incessant prayer. For does God work powerfully and benignly in the hearts of his elect? and is he the sole cause of every action they do, which is truly and spiritually good? Then it should be our prayer that he would work in us likewise both to will and to do of his good pleasure: and if, on self-examination, we find reason to trust that some good thing is wrought in us, it should put us upon thankfulness unfeigned, and cause us to glory, not in ourselves, but in him. On the other hand, does God manifest his displeasure against the wicked by blinding, hardening, and giving them up to perpetrate iniquity with greediness? which judicial acts of God are both a punishment for their sin and also eventual additions to it: we should be the more incited to deprecate these tremendous evils, and to beseech the king of heaven that he would not thus lead us into temptation. So much concerning the omnipotence of God. I shall now,

V. Take notice of his justice.

Pos. 1. God is infinitely, absolutely and unchangeably just.

The justice of God may be considered either immanently, as it is in himself, which is, properly speaking, the same with his holiness; or transiently and relatively, as it respects his right conduct towards his creatures, which is properly justice. By the former he is all that is holy, just and good; by the latter he is manifested to be so in all his dealings with angels and men. For the first see Deut. xxxii. 4. Psa. xcii. 15; for the second, Job viii. 3. Ps. cxlv. 17. Hence it follows that whatever God either wills or does, however it may at first sight seem to clash with our ideas of right and wrong, cannot really be unjust. It is certain that for a season he sorely afflicted his righteous servant Job; and on the other hand enriched the Sabeans, an infidel and lawless nation, with a profusion of wealth and a series of success: before Jacob and Esau were born, or had done either good or evil, he loved and chose the former and reprobated the latter: He gave repentance to Peter and left Judas to perish in his sin: and as in all ages, so to this day he hath mercy on whom he will, and whom he will he hardeneth. In all which he acts most justly and righteously, and there is no iniquity with him.

Pos. 2. The Deity may be considered in a threefold view: as God of all, as Lord of all, and as Judge of all.

(1.) As God of all, he created, sustains, and exhilarates the whole universe; causes his sun to shine, and his rain to fall upon the evil and the good, Matt. v. and is Σωτηρ παντων ανθρωπων, the preserver of all men, 1 Tim. iv. 19. For as he is infinitely and supremely good, so also is he communicative of his goodness; as appears not only from his creation of all things, but especially from his providential benignity. Every thing has its being from him, as Creator; and its well-being from him as a bountiful preserver. (2.) As Lord or sovereign of all, he does as he will (and has a most unquestionable right to do so) with his own; and in particular fixes and determines the everlasting state of every individual person as he sees fit. It is essential to absolute sovereignty that the sovereign have it in his power to dispose of those over whom his jurisdiction extends just as he pleases, without being accountable to any: and God, whose authority is unbounded, none being exempt from it, may, with the strictest holiness and justice, love or hate, elect or reprobate, save or destroy any of his creatures, whether human or angelic, according to his own free pleasure and sovereign purpose. (3.) As Judge of all he ratifies what he does as Lord, by rendering to all according to their works; by punishing the wicked, and rewarding those whom it was his will to esteem righteous and to make holy.

Pos. 3. Whatever things God wills or does, are not willed and done by him because they were, in their own nature, and previously to his willing them, just and right; or because, from their intrinsic fitness, he ought to will and do them; but they are therefore just, right and proper, because He who is holiness itself wills and does them.

Hence Abraham looked upon it as a righteous action to slay his innocent son. Why did he so esteem it? because the law of God authorised murder? No; for on the contrary, both the law of God and the law of nature peremptorily forbad it: but the holy patriarch well knew that the will of God is the only rule of justice, and that what he pleases to command is on that very account just and righteous. (*m*) It follows,

Pos. 4. That although our works are to be examined by the revealed will of God and be denominated materially good or evil, as they agree or disagree with it; yet the works of God himself cannot be brought to any test whatever: for his will being the grand universal law, he himself cannot be, properly speaking, subject to, or obliged by, any law superior to that. Many things are done by him (such as choosing and reprobating men) without any respect had to their works; suffering people to fall into sin, when if it so pleased him, he might pre-

(*m*) Compare also Exod. iii. 22. with Exod xx. 15.

vent it; leaving many backsliding professors to go on and perish in their apostacy, when it is in the divine power to sanctify and set them right; drawing some by his grace, and permitting many others to continue in sin and unregeneracy; condemning those to future misery whom, if he pleased, he could undoubtedly save, with innumerable instances of the like nature (which might be mentioned), and which, if done by us, would be apparently unjust, inasmuch as they would not square with the revealed will of God, which is the great and only safe rule of our practice. But, when he does these and such like things, they cannot but be holy, equitable, and worthy of himself: for since his will is essentially and unchangeably just, whatever he does in consequence of that will must be just and good likewise. From what has been delivered under this fifth head I would infer, That they who deny the power God has of doing as he will with his creatures, and exclaim against unconditional decrees, as cruel, tyrannical, and unjust; either know not what they say nor whereof they affirm; or are wilful blasphemers of his name, and perverse rebels against his sovereignty: to which at last, however unwillingly, they will be forced to submit.

I shall conclude this introduction with briefly considering in the

Sixth and last place, the mercy of God.

Pos. 1. The Deity is throughout the Scriptures represented as infinitely gracious and merciful, Exod. xxxiv. 6. Nehem. ix. 17. Psalm ciii. 8. 1 Pet. i. 3.

When we call the divine mercy infinite, we do not mean that it is in a way of grace extended to all men without exception (and supposing it was, even then it would be very improperly denominated infinite on that account, since the objects of it, though all men taken together, would not amount to a multitude strictly and properly infinite), but that his mercy towards his own elect, as it knew no beginning, so is it infinite in duration, and shall know neither period nor intermission.

Pos. 2. Mercy is not in the Deity as it is in us, a passion, or affection; every thing of that kind being incompatible with the purity, perfection, independency and unchangeableness of his nature: but, when this attribute is predicated of him, it only notes his free and eternal will or purpose of making some of the fallen race happy, by delivering them from the guilt and dominion of sin, and communicating himself to them in a way consistent with his own inviolable justice, truth and holiness. This seems to be the proper definition of mercy, as it relates to the spiritual and eternal good of those who are its objects. But it should be observed,

Pos. 3. That the mercy of God, taken in its more large and indefinite sense, may be considered, (1.) as general, (2.) as special.

His general mercy is no other than what we commonly call his bounty, by which he is more or less providentially good to all mankind, both elect and non-elect: Matt. v. 45. Luke vi. 35. Acts xiv. 17; and xvii. 25, 28. By his special mercy he, as Lord of all, hath in a spiritual sense compassion on as many of the fallen race as are the objects of his free and eternal favour: the effects of which special mercy are the redemption and justification of their persons, through the satisfaction of Christ; the effectual vocation, regeneration and sanctification of them by his Spirit; the infallible and final preservation of them in a state of grace on earth; and their everlasting glorification in heaven.

Pos. 4. There is no contradiction, whether real or seeming, between these two assertions, (1.) That the blessings of grace and glory are peculiar to those whom God hath in his decree of predestination set apart for himself; and (2.) That the gospel declaration runs that whosoever willeth may take of the water of life freely, Rev. xxii. 17. Since, in the first place, none can will or unfeignedly and spiritually desire a part in these privileges but those whom God previously makes willing and desirous; and secondly, that he gives this will to, and excites this desire in, none but his own elect.

Pos. 5. Since ungodly men, who are totally and finally destitute of divine grace, cannot know what this mercy is, nor form any proper apprehensions of it, much less by faith embrace and rely upon it for themselves; and since daily experience, as well as the Scriptures of truth, teaches us, that God doth not open the eyes of the reprobate as he doth the eyes of his elect, nor savingly enlighten their understandings; it evidently follows that his mercy was never, from the very first, designed for them, neither will it be applied to them: but, both in designation and application, is proper and peculiar to those only who are predestinated to life; as it is written, the election hath obtained, and the rest were blinded, Rom. xi. 7.

Pos. 6. The whole work of salvation, together with every thing that is in order to it, or stands in connection with it, is sometimes in scripture comprised under the single term mercy; to shew that mere love and absolute grace were the grand cause why the elect are saved, and that all merit, worthiness and good qualifications of theirs were entirely excluded from having any influence on the divine will, why they should be chosen, redeemed, and glorified, above all others. When it is said, Rom. ix. He hath mercy on whom he will have mercy, it is as much as if the apostle had said, "God elect-

ed, ransomed, justified, regenerates, sanctifies and glorifies whom he pleases:" every one of these great privileges being briefly summed up, and virtually included in that comprehensive phrase, "He hath mercy."

Pos. 7. It follows that whatever favour is bestowed on us; whatever good thing is in us, or wrought by us; whether in will, word, or deed; and whatever blessings else we receive from God, from election quite home to glorification, all proceed, merely and entirely, from the good pleasure of his will, and his mercy towards us in Christ Jesus. To him, therefore, the praise is due, who putteth the difference between man and man, by having compassion on some and not on others.

THE DOCTRINE OF ABSOLUTE PREDESTINATION

STATED AND ASSERTED.

CHAP. I.

WHEREIN THE TERMS COMMONLY MADE USE OF IN TREATING OF THIS SUBJECT ARE DEFINED AND EXPLAINED.

Having considered the attributes of God, as laid down in Scripture, and so far cleared our way to the doctrine of predestination, I shall, before I enter further on the subject, explain the principal terms generally made use of when treating of it, and settle their true meaning. In discoursing on the divine decrees, mention is frequently made of God's love and hatred; of election and reprobation; and of the divine purpose, foreknowledge, and predestination; each of which we shall distinctly and briefly consider.

I. When love is predicated of God, we do not mean that he is possessed of it as a passion or affection. In us it is such; but if, considered in that sense, it should be ascribed to the Deity, it would be utterly subversive of the simplicity, perfection, and independency of his being. Love, therefore, when attributed to him, signifies, 1. His eternal benevolence, *i. e.* his everlasting will, purpose, and determination to deliver, bless, and save his people. Of this no good works wrought by them are, in any sense, the cause. Neither are even the merits of Christ himself to be considered as any way moving or exciting this good will of God to his elect; since the gift of Christ to be their Mediator and Redeemer is itself an effect of this free and eternal favour borne to them by God the Father. John iii. 16. His love towards them arises merely from the good pleasure of his own will, without the least regard to any thing *ad extra*, or out of himself. The term implies, 2. Complacency, delight, and approbation. With this love God cannot love even his elect as considered in themselves, because in that view they are guilty, polluted sinners; but they were, from all eternity, objects of it, as they stood united to Christ and partakers of his righteousness. Love implies, 3. Actual beneficence, which, properly speaking, is nothing else than the effect or accomplishment of the other two: those are the cause of this. This actual beneficence respects all blessings, whether of a temporal, spiritual, or eternal nature. Temporal good things are, indeed, indiscriminately bestowed, in a greater or less degree, on all, whether elect or reprobate; but they are given in a covenant way and as blessings to the elect only; to whom also the other benefits, respecting grace and glory, are peculiar. And this love of beneficence, no less than that of benevolence and complacency, is absolutely free and irrespective of any worthiness in man.

II. When hatred is ascribed to God, it implies, 1. A negation of benevolence, or a resolution not to have mercy on such and such men, nor to endue them with any of those graces which stand connected with eternal life. So Rom. ix. Esau have I hated, *i. e.* I did, from all eternity, determine within myself not to have mercy on him. The sole cause of which awful negation is, not merely the unworthiness of the persons hated, but the sovereignty and freedom of the divine will. 2. It denotes displeasure and dislike; for sinners who are not interested in Christ cannot but be infinitely displeasing to, and loathsome in, the sight of eternal purity. 3. It signifies a positive will to punish and destroy the reprobate for their sins; of which will the infliction of misery upon them hereafter is but the necessary effect and actual execution.

III. The term election that so very frequently occurs in Scripture is there taken in a fourfold sense: 1. and most commonly signifies, "That eternal, sovereign, unconditional, particular, and immutable act of God, where he selected some from among all mankind, and of every nation under heaven, to be redeemed and everlastingly saved by Christ." 2. It sometimes and more rarely signifies "That gracious and almighty act of the Divine Spirit whereby God actually and visibly separates his elect from the world by effectual calling." This is nothing but the manifestation and partial fulfilment of the former election, and by it the objects of predestinating grace are sensibly led into the communion of saints, and visibly added to the number of God's declared, professing people. Of this our Lord makes mention, John xv. 19. Because I

have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you. Where, it should seem, the choice spoken of does not refer so much to God's eternal, imminent act of election, as his open, manifest one, whereby he powerfully and efficaciously called the disciples forth from the world of the unconverted, and quickened them from above in conversion. 3. By election is sometimes meant, "God's taking a whole nation, community, or body of men, into external covenant with himself, by giving them the advantage of revelation or his written word as the rule of their belief and practice when other nations are without it." In this sense the whole body of the Jewish nation was indiscriminately called elect, Deut. vii. 6, because that unto them were committed the oracles of God. Now all that are thus elected are not therefore necessarily saved; but many of them may be, and are, reprobates; as those of whom our Lord says, Matt. xiii. 20, That they hear the word, and anon with joy receive it, &c. And the apostle John, 1 Epist. chap. ii. They went out from us, *i. e.* being favoured with the same gospel revelation we were, they professed themselves true believers no less than we; but they were not of us, *i. e.* they were not with us chosen of God unto everlasting life, nor did they ever, in reality, possess that faith of his operation which he gave to us; for if they had, in this sense, been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us; they would have manifested the sincerity of their professions and the truth of their conversion by enduring to the end and being saved. And even this external revelation, though it is not necessarily connected with eternal happiness, is nevertheless productive of very many and great advantages to the people and places where it is vouchsafed, and is made known to some nations and kept back (*n*) from others, according to the good pleasure of Him who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will. 4. And lastly, election sometimes signifies "The temporary designation of some person or persons to the filling up some particular station in the visible Church or office in civil life." So Judas was chosen to the apostleship, John vi. 70; and Saul to be the king of Israel, 1 Sam. x. 24. Thus much for the use of the word election. On the contrary,

IV. Reprobation denotes either 1. God's eternal preterition of some men when he chose others to glory, and his predestination of them to fill up the measure of their iniquities, and then to receive the just punishment of their crimes, even destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power. This is the primary, most obvious, and most frequent sense in which the word is used. It may likewise signify, 2. God's forbearing to call by his grace those whom he hath thus ordained to condemnation; but this is only a temporary preterition, and a consequence of that which was from eternity. 3. And lastly, The word may be taken in another sense, as denoting God's refusal to grant to some nations the light of the gospel revelation. This may be considered as a kind of national reprobation, which yet does not imply that every individual person who lives in such a country must therefore unavoidably perish for ever, any more than that every individual who lives in a land called Christian is therefore in a state of salvation. There are, no doubt, elect persons among the former, as well as reprobate ones among the latter. By a very little attention to the context, any reader may easily discover in which of these several senses the word elect and reprobate are used whenever they occur in Scripture.

V. Mention is frequently made in Scripture of the purpose (*o*) of God, which is no other than his gracious intention from eternity of making his elect everlastingly happy in Christ.

VI. When foreknowledge is ascribed to God, the word imports, 1. That general prescience whereby he knew, from all eternity, both what he himself would do, and what his creatures, in consequence of his efficacious and permissive decree, should do likewise. The divine foreknowledge, considered in this view, is absolutely universal; it extends to all beings that did, do, or ever shall exist; and to all actions that ever have been, that are, or shall be done, whether good or evil, natural, civil, or moral. 2. The word often denotes that special pre-

(*n*) See Psalm cxlvii. 19, 20.

(*o*) The purpose of God does not seem to differ at all from predestination, that being, as well as this, an eternal, free, and unchangeable act of his will. Besides, the word purpose, when predicated of God in the New Testament, always denotes his design of saving his elect, and that only; Rom. viii. 28, and ix. 11. Eph. i. 11, and iii. 11. 2 Tim. i. 9. As does the term predestination, which, throughout the whole New Testament, never signifies the appointment of the non-elect to wrath, but, singly and solely, the fore-appointment of the elect to grace and glory; though in common theological writings predestination is spoken of as extending to whatever God does, both in a way of permission and efficiency, as in the utmost sense of the term it does. It is worthy of the reader's notice that the original word, προθεσις, which we render purpose, signifies not only an appointment, but a fore-appointment, and such a fore-appointment as is efficacious and cannot be obstructed, but shall most assuredly issue in a full accomplishment, which gave occasion to the following judicious remark of a late learned writer: "προθεσις à Paulo sæpe usurpatur in electionis negotio, ad designandum, consilium hoc Dei non esse inanem quandam et ineffacem velleitatem; sed constans, determinatum, et immutabile Dei propositum. Vox enim est efficaciæ summæ, ut notant grammatici veteres; et signatè vocatur à Paulo, προθεσις του τα παντα ενεργουντος, consilium illius, qui efficaciter omnia operatur ex beneplacito suo." TURRETIN Institut. Tom. 1. loc. 4. quæst. 7. s. 12.

science which has for its objects his own elect, and them alone whom he is, in a peculiar sense, said to know and foreknow; Psal. i. 6. John x. 27. 2 Tim. ii. 19. Rom. viii. 29. 1 Peter i. 2.; and this knowledge is connected with, or rather the same with, love, favour, and approbation.

VII. We come now to consider the meaning of the word predestination, and how it is taken in Scripture. The verb predestinate is of Latin original, and signifies, in that tongue, to deliberate beforehand with one's self how one shall act, and, in consequence of such deliberation, to constitute, fore-ordain, and pre-determine where, when, how, and by whom, any thing shall be done, and to what end it shall be done. So the Greek verb, προορίζω, which exactly answers to the English word predestinate, and is rendered by it, signifies to resolve beforehand within one's self what to do; and, before the thing resolved on is actually effected, to appoint it to some certain use, and direct it to some determinate end. The Hebrew verb, habhdel, has likewise much the same signification.

Now none but wise men are capable (especially in matters of great importance) of rightly determining what to do, and how to accomplish a proper end, by just, suitable, and effectual means; and if this is confessedly a very material part of true wisdom, who so fit to dispose of men, and assign each individual his sphere of action in this world, and his place in the world to come, as the all-wise God? And yet, alas! how many are there who cavil at those eternal decrees which, were we capable of fully and clearly understanding them, would appear to be as just as they are sovereign, and as wise as they are incomprehensible! Divine pre-ordination has for its objects all things that are created; no creature, whether rational or irrational, animate or inanimate, is exempted from its influence. All beings whatever, from the highest angel to the meanest reptile, and from the meanest reptile to the minutest atom, are the objects of God's eternal decrees and particular providence. However, the ancient fathers only make use of the word predestination as it refers to angels or men, whether good or evil; and it is used by the apostle Paul in a more limited sense still, so as by it to mean only that branch of it which respects God's election and designation of his people to eternal life. Rom. viii. 30. Eph. i. 11.

But that we may more justly apprehend the import of this word, and the ideas intended to be conveyed by it, it may be proper to observe that the term predestination, theologically taken, admits of a fourfold definition: and may be considered as, (1.) "That eternal, most wise, and immutable decree of God, whereby he did, from before all time, determine and ordain to create, dispose of, and direct to some particular end, every person and thing to which he has given, or is yet to give, being; and to make the whole creation subservient to, and declarative of, his own glory." Of this decree, actual providence is the execution. (2.) Predestination may be considered as relating generally to mankind, and them only: and, in this view, we define it to be "The everlasting, sovereign and invariable purpose of God, whereby he did determine within himself to create Adam in his own image and likeness, and then to permit his fall; and to suffer him thereby to plunge himself and his whole posterity (inasmuch as they all sinned in him, not only virtually, but also federally and representatively) "into the dreadful abyss of sin, misery, and death." (3.) Consider predestination as relating to the elect only, and it is "that eternal, unconditional, particular, and irreversible act of the divine will, whereby, in matchless love and adorable sovereignty, God determined within himself to deliver a certain number of Adam's degenerate (*p*) offspring out of that sinful and miserable estate into which, by his primitive transgression, they were to fall; and in which sad condition they were equally involved with those who were not chosen: but being pitched upon, and singled out, by God the Father, to be vessels of grace and salvation (not for any thing in them that could recommend them to his favour, or entitle them to his notice, but merely because he would shew himself gracious to them), they were, in time, actually redeemed by Christ; are effectually called by his Spirit, justified, adopted, sanctified and preserved safe to his heavenly kingdom. The supreme end of this decree is the manifestation of his own infinitely glorious and amiably tremendous perfections: the inferior, or subordinate, end is the happiness and salvation of them who are thus freely elected. (4.) Predestination, as it regards the reprobate is, "That eternal, most holy, sovereign, and immu-

(*p*) When we say that the decree of predestination to life and death respects man as fallen, we do not mean that the fall was actually antecedent to that decree; for the decree is truly and properly eternal, as all God's immanent acts undoubtedly are, whereas the fall took place in time. What we intend, then, is only this, viz., that God (for reasons, without doubt, worthy of himself, and of which we are, by no means, in this life competent judges) having, from everlasting, peremptorily ordained to suffer the fall of Adam, did likewise from everlasting consider the human race as fallen; and out of the whole mass of mankind, thus viewed and foreknown as impure and obnoxious to condemnation, vouchsafed to select some particular persons (who collectively make up a very great, though precisely determinate, number) in and on whom he would make known the ineffable riches of his mercy.

table act of God's will, whereby he hath determined to leave some men to perish in their sins, and to be justly punished for them."

CHAP. II.

WHEREIN THE DOCTRINE OF PREDESTINATION IS EXPLAINED, AS IT RELATES IN GENERAL TO ALL MEN.

THUS much being premised, with relation to the Scripture terms commonly made use of in this controversy, we shall now proceed to take a nearer view of this high and mysterious article. And,

I. We, with the Scriptures, assert That there is a predestination of some particular persons to life, for the praise of the glory of divine grace; and a predestination of other particular persons to death: which death of punishment they shall inevitably undergo, and that, justly, on account of their sins. 1. There is a predestination of some particular persons to life. So Matt. xx. 15. Many are called, but few chosen; *i. e.* the gospel revelation comes indiscriminately to great multitudes; but few, comparatively speaking, are spiritually and eternally the better for it; and these few, to whom it is the savour of life unto life, are therefore savingly benefited by it, because they are the chosen or elect of God. To the same effect are the following passages among many others; Matt. xxiv. 22. For the elect's sake those days shall be shortened. Acts xiii. 48. As many as were ordained to eternal life believed, Rom. viii. 30. Whom he did predestinate, them he also called. And verse 33, Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? Eph. i. 4, 5. According as he hath chosen us in him, before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy, &c. Having predestinated us to the adoption of children, by Jesus Christ, unto himself, according to the good pleasure of his will. 2 Tim. i. 9. Who hath saved us, and called us with a holy calling, not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace, which was given us, in Christ, before the world began. 2. This election of certain individuals unto eternal life was for the praise of the glory of divine grace. This is expressly asserted, in so many words, by the apostle, Eph. i. 5, 6. Grace, or mere favour, was the impulsive cause of all; it was the main spring which set all the inferior wheels in motion. It was an act of grace, in God, to choose any, when he might have passed by all: it was an act of sovereign grace to choose this man rather than that: when both were equally undone in themselves, and alike obnoxious to his displeasure. In a word, since election is not of works, and does not proceed on the least regard had to any worthiness in its objects; it must be of free, unbiassed grace; but election is not of works, Rom. xi. 5, 6; therefore it is solely of grace. 3. There is, on the other hand, a predestination of some particular persons to death. 2 Cor. iv. 3. If our gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost. 1 Pet. ii. 8. Who stumble at the word, being disobedient; whereunto also they were appointed. 2 Pet. ii. 12. These, as natural brute beasts, made to be taken and destroyed. Jude ver. 4. There are certain men, crept in unawares, who were before, of old, ordained to this condemnation. Rev. xvii. 8. Whose names were not written in the book of life from the foundation of the world. But of this we shall treat professedly, and more at large, in the fifth chapter. 4. This future death they shall inevitably undergo; for as God will certainly save all whom he wills should be saved, so he will as surely condemn all whom he wills shall be condemned; for he is the Judge of the whole earth, whose decree shall stand, and from whose sentence there is no appeal. Hath he said, and shall he not make it good? hath he spoken, and shall it not come to pass? And his decree is this; that these, *i. e.* the non-elect, who are left under the guilt of final impenitence, unbelief, and sin, shall go away into everlasting punishment; and the righteous, *i. e* those who in consequence of their election in Christ, and union to him, are justly reputed, and really constituted such, shall enter into life eternal, Matt. xxv. 46. 5. The reprobate shall undergo this punishment justly, and on account of their sins. Sin is the meritorious and immediate cause of any man's damnation. God condemns and punishes the non-elect, not merely as men, but as sinners: and had it pleased the great Governor of the universe to have entirely prevented sin from having any entrance into the world, it should seem as if he could not, consistently with his known attributes, have condemned any man at all. But as all sin is properly meritorious of eternal death, and all men are sinners; they who are condemned are condemned most justly; and those who are saved are saved in a way of sovereign mercy, through the vicarious obedience and death of Christ for them.

Now this two-fold predestination of some to life and of others to death (if it may be called two-fold, both being constituent parts of the same decree), cannot be denied without likewise denying, 1. most express and frequent declarations of Scripture; and, 2. the very existence of God; for since God is a being perfectly simple, free from all accident and composition;

and yet a will to save some and punish others is very often predicated of him in Scripture; and an immoveable decree to do this, in consequence of his will, is likewise ascribed to him; and a perfect foreknowledge of the sure and certain accomplishment of what he has thus willed and decreed is also attributed to him: it follows that whoever denies this will, decree, and foreknowledge of God, does, implicitly and virtually, deny God himself: since his will, decree, and foreknowledge, are no other than God himself willing and decreeing and foreknowing.

II. We assert that God did, from eternity, decree to make man in his own image; and also decreed to suffer him to fall from that image in which he should be created, and thereby to forfeit the happiness with which he was invested; which decree, and the consequences of it, were not limited to Adam only; but included, and extended to, all his natural posterity.

Something of this was hinted already in the preceding chapter: we shall now proceed to the proof of it. And, 1. That God did make man in his own image is evident from Scripture, Gen. i. 27. 2. That he decreed from eternity so to make man is as evident; since, for God to do any thing without having decreed it, or fixed a previous plan in his own mind, would be a manifest imputation on his wisdom; and if he decreed that now, or at any time, which he did not always decree, he could not be unchangeable. 3. That man actually did fall from the divine image, and his original happiness, is the undoubted voice of Scripture, Gen. iii. And 4. That he fell in consequence of the divine decree, (*q*) we prove thus: God was either willing that Adam should fall, or unwilling, or indifferent about it. If God was unwilling that Adam should transgress, how came it to pass that he did? Is man stronger, and is Satan wiser, than he that made them? Surely, no. Again; could not God, had it so pleased him, have hindered the tempter's access to paradise? or have created man, as he did the elect angels, with a will invariably determined to good only, and incapable of being biassed to evil? or at least have made the grace and strength, with which he indued Adam, actually effectual to the resisting of all solicitations to sin? None but Atheists would answer these questions in the negative. Surely, if God had not willed the fall, he could, and no doubt would, have prevented it; but he did not prevent it, *ergo*, he willed it. And if he willed it he certainly decreed it; for the decree of God is nothing else but the seal and ratification of his will. He does nothing but what he decreed; and he decreed nothing which he did not will, and both will and decree are absolutely eternal, though the execution of both be in time. The only way to evade the force of this reasoning is to say that "God was indifferent and unconcerned whether man stood or fell." But in what a shameful, unworthy light does this represent the Deity! Is it possible for us to imagine that God could be an idle, careless spectator of one of the most important events that ever came to pass? Are not the very hairs of our head all numbered? or does a sparrow fall to the ground without our heavenly Father? If, then, things the most trivial and worthless are subject to the appointment of his decree and the controul of his providence; how much more is man, the masterpiece of this lower creation? and, above all, that man Adam, who when recent from his Maker's hands was the living image of God himself, and very little inferior to angels! and on whose perseverance was suspended the welfare, not of himself only, but likewise that of the whole world. But so far was God from being indifferent in this matter, that there is nothing whatever about which he is so; for he worketh all things, without exception, after the counsel of his own will, Eph. i. 11; consequently, if he positively wills whatever is done, he cannot be indifferent with regard to any thing. On the whole, if God was not unwilling that Adam should fall, he must have been willing that he should; since between God's willing and nilling there is no medium. And is it not highly rational, as well as Scriptural, nay, is it not absolutely necessary, to suppose that the fall was not contrary to the will and determination of God? since, if it was, his will (which the apostle represents as being irresistible, Rom. ix. 19.) was apparently frustrated, and his determination rendered of worse than none effect. And how dishonourable to, how inconsistent with, and how notoriously subversive of, the dignity of God such a blasphemous supposition would be, and how irreconcileable with every one of his allowed attributes, is very easy to observe. 5. That man, by his fall, forfeited the happiness with which he was invested is evident, as well from Scripture as from experience, Gen. iii. 7, 10, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23, 24. Rom. v. 12. Gal. iii. 10. He first sinned (and the essence of sin lies in disobedience to the command of God), and then immediately became miserable; misery being, through the divine appointment, the natural and inseparable concomitant of sin.

(*q*) See this article judiciously stated and nervously asserted by Witsius, in his Oecon. l. 1. c. 8. s. 10—25.

6. That the fall, and its sad consequences, did not terminate solely in Adam, but affect his whole posterity, is the doctrine of the sacred oracles, Psalm li. 5. Rom. v. 12. 14, 15, 17, 18, 19. 1 Cor. xv. 22. Eph. ii. 3. Besides, not only spiritual and eternal, but likewise temporal, death, is the wages of sin, Rom. vi. 23. James i. 15. And yet, we see that millions of infants who never, in their own persons, either did or could commit sin die continually. It follows, that either God must be unjust in punishing the innocent, or that these infants are, some way or other, guilty creatures; if they are not so in themselves (I mean actually so, by their own commission of sin), they must be so in some other person; and who that person is let Scripture say, Rom. v. 12. 18. 1 Cor. xv. 22. And, I ask, how can these be, with equity, sharers in Adam's punishment, unless they are chargeable with his sin? and how can they be fairly chargeable with his sin, unless he was their federal head and representative, and acted in their name, and sustained their persons when he fell?

III. We assert that, as all men universally are not elected to salvation, so neither are all men universally ordained to condemnation. This follows from what has been proved already: however, I shall subjoin some farther demonstration of these two positions. 1. All men universally are not elected to salvation. And, first, this may be evinced *à posteriori*: it is undeniable, from Scripture, that God will not, in the last day, save every individual of mankind, Dan. xii. 2. Matt. xxv. 46. John v. 29. Therefore, say we, God never designed to save every individual; since, if he had, every individual would and must be saved, for his counsel shall stand, and he will do all his pleasure. See what we have already advanced on this head in the first chapter, under the second article, Position 8. Secondly, this may be evinced also from God's foreknowledge. The Deity from all eternity, and, consequently, at the very time he gives life and being to a reprobate, certainly foreknew, and knows, in consequence of his own decree, that such an one would fall short of salvation; now, if God foreknew this, he must have pre-determined it; because his own will is the foundation of his decrees, and his decrees are the foundation of his prescience; he, therefore, foreknowing futurities, because, by his predesdination, he hath rendered their futurition certain and inevitable. Neither is it possible, in the very nature of the thing, that they should be elected to salvation, or ever obtain it, whom God foreknew should perish; for then the divine act of preterition would be changeable, wavering, and precarious; the divine foreknowledge would be deceived, and the divine will impeded. All which are utterly impossible. Lastly, That all men are not chosen to life, nor created to that end, is evident, in that there are some who were hated of God before they were born, Rom. ix. 11—13, are fitted for destruction, verse 22, and made for the day of evil, Prov. xvi. 1

But, 2. All men universally are not ordained to condemnation. There are some who are chosen, Mat. xx. 16. An election, or elect number, who obtain grace and salvation while the rest are blinded, Rom. xi. 7; a little flock, to whom it is the Father's good pleasure to give the kingdom, Luke xii. 32. A people whom the Lord hath reserved, Jer. l. 20, and formed for himself, Isa. xliii. 21. A peculiarly favoured race, to whom it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven; while to others it is not given, Matt. xiii. 11. A remnant according to the election of grace, Rom. xi. 5, whom God hath not appointed to wrath, but to obtain salvation by Jesus Christ, 1 Thess. v. 9. In a word, who are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people, that they should shew forth the praises of Him who hath called them out of darkness into his marvellous light, 1 Pet. ii. 9. And whose names, for that very end, are in the book of life, Phil. iv. 3, and written in heaven, Luke x. 20. Heb. xii. 23. Luther (*r*) observes, that in the 9th, 10th, and 11th chapters of the epistle to the Romans, the apostle particularly insists on the doctrine of predestination; "Because," says he, "all things whatever arise from, and depend upon, the divine appointment? whereby it was preordained who should receive the word of life, and who should disbelieve it; who should be delivered from their sins, and who should be hardened in them; who should be justified, and who condemned."

IV. We assert that the number of the elect, and also of the reprobate, is so fixt and determinate that neither can be augmented nor diminished.

It is written of God that he telleth the number of the stars, and calleth them all by their names; Psalm cxlvii. 4. Now it is as incompatible with the infinite wisdom and knowledge of the all-comprehending God to be ignorant of the names and number of the rational creatures he has made, as that he should be ignorant of the stars and the other inanimate products of his almighty power; and if he knows all men in general, taken in the lump, he may well be said, in a more

(*r*) In Præfat. ad. epist. ad Rom.

near and special sense, to know them that are his by election; 2 Tim. ii. 19. And if he knows who are his, he must consequently know who are not his, *i. e.* whom, and how many, he hath left in the corrupt mass to be justly punished for their sins. Grant this, (and who can help granting a truth so self-evident?) and it follows that the number, as well of the elect as of the reprobate, is fixed and certain; otherwise God would be said to know that which is not true, and his knowledge must be false and delusive, and so no knowledge at all; since that which is in itself, at best, but precarious, can never be the foundation of sure and infallible knowledge. But that God does indeed precisely know, to a man, who are and are not the objects of his electing favour, is evident from such Scriptures as these: Exod. xxxiii. 17. Thou hast found grace in my sight, and I know thee by name. Jer. i. 5. Before I formed thee in the belly, I knew thee. Luke x. 20. Your names are written in heaven. Luke xii. 7. The very hairs of your head are all numbered. John xiii. 18. I know whom I have chosen. John x. 14. I know my sheep, and am known of mine. 2 Tim. ii. 19. The Lord knoweth them that are his. And if the number of these is thus assuredly settled and exactly known, it follows that we are right in asserting,

V. That the decrees of election and reprobation are immutable and irreversible.

Were not this the case, 1. God's decree would be precarious, frustrable, and uncertain, and, by consequence, no decree at all. 2. His foreknowledge would be wavering, indeterminate, and liable to disappointment; whereas it always has its accomplishment, and necessarily infers the certain futurity of the thing or things foreknown; Isa. xlvi. 9, 10. I am God, and there is none like me, declaring the end from the beginning, and from ancient times the things that are not yet done; saying, My counsel shall stand, and I will do all my pleasure. 3. Neither would his word be true which declares that, with regard to the elect, the gifts and calling of God are without repentance, Rom. xi. 29; that whom he predestinated them he also glorified, chap. viii. 30; that whom he loveth he loveth to the end, John xiii. 1; with numberless passages to the same purpose. Nor would his word be true with regard to the non-elect, if it was possible for them to be saved; for it is there declared that they are fitted for destruction, &c. Rom. ix. 22, fore-ordained unto condemnation, Jude 4, and delivered over to a reprobate mind in order to their damnation, Rom. i. 28. 2 Thes. ii. 12. 4. If between the elect and reprobate there was not a great gulph fixed, so that neither can be otherwise than they are, then the will of God (which is the alone cause why some are chosen and others are not) would be rendered inefficacious and of no effect. 5. Nor could the justice of God stand if he was to condemn the elect, for whose sins he hath received ample satisfaction at the hand of Christ; or if he was to save the reprobate, who are not interested in Christ as the elect are. 6. The power of God (whereby the elect are preserved from falling into a state of condemnation, and the wicked held down and shut up in a state of death) would be eluded, not to say utterly abolished. 7. Nor would God be unchangeable, if they, who were once the people of his love, could commence the objects of his hatred; or if the vessels of his wrath could be saved with the vessels of grace. Hence that of St. Austin: (*s*) "Brethren," says he, "let us not imagine that God puts down any man in his book and then erases him; for if Pilate could say, What I have written I have written, how can it be thought that the great God would write a person's name in the book of life, and then blot it out again?" And may we not with equal reason ask, on the other hand, how can it be thought that any of the reprobate should be written in that book of life which contains the names of the elect only? or that any should be inscribed there who were not written among the living from eternity? I shall conclude this chapter with that observation of Luther: (*t*) "This," says he, "is the very thing that razes the doctrine of free-will from its foundations: to wit, that God's eternal love of some men and hatred of others is immutable, and cannot be reversed." Both one and the other will have its full accomplishment.

CHAP. III.

CONCERNING ELECTION UNTO LIFE, OR PREDESTINATION AS IT RESPECTS THE SAINTS IN PARTICULAR.

HAVING considered predestination as it regards all men in general, and briefly shewn that by it some are appointed to wrath and others to obtain salvation by Jesus Christ; 1 Thes. v. 9; I now come to consider more distinctly that branch of it which relates to the saints only, and is commonly styled election. Its definition I have given already in the close of the first chapter; what I have farther to advance from the Scriptures, on this important subject, I shall reduce to several positions, and subjoin a short explanation and confirmation of each.

(*s*) Tom. 8. in Psalm 68 col. 738.

(*t*) De Serv. Arbitr. cap. 168.

Pos. 1. Those who are ordained unto eternal life were not so ordained on account of any worthiness foreseen in them, or of any good works to be wrought by them, nor yet for their future faith, but purely and solely of free, sovereign grace, and according to the mere pleasure of God. This is evident, among other considerations, from this: that faith, repentance, and holiness are no less the free gifts of God than eternal life itself. Eph. ii. 8. Faith is not of yourselves; it is the gift of God. Phil. i. 29. Unto you it is given to believe. Acts v. 31. Him hath God exalted with his right hand for to give repentance. Acts xi. 18. Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life. In like manner holiness is called the sanctification of the Spirit, 2 Thess. ii. 13, because the divine Spirit is the efficient of it in the soul, and, of unholy, makes us holy. Now if repentance and faith are the gifts, and sanctification is the work of God, then these are not the fruits of man's free will, nor what he acquires of himself, and so can neither be motives to, nor conditions of, his election, which is an act of the divine mind, antecedent to, and irrespective of, all qualities whatever in the persons elected. Besides, the apostle asserts expressly that election is not of works, but of him that calleth, and that it passed before the persons concerned had done either good or evil, Rom. ix. 11. Again: if faith or works were the cause of election, God could not be said to choose us, but we to choose him, contrary to the whole tenor of Scripture. John xv. 16. Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you. 1 John iv. 10, 19. Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us. We love him because he first loved us. Election is every where asserted to be God's act, not man's: Mark xiii. 20. Rom. ix. 17. Eph. i. 4. 1 Thess. v. 9. 2 Thess. ii. 13. Once more, we are chosen that we might be holy, not because it was foreseen we would be so, Eph. i. 4; therefore, to represent holiness as the reason why we were elected is to make the effect antecedent to the cause. The apostle adds, verse 5, having predestinated us according to the good pleasure of his will; most evidently implying that God saw nothing *extra se*, had no motive from without why he should either choose any at all, or this man before another. In a word, the elect were freely loved, Hos. xiv. 4, freely chosen, Rom. xi. 5, 6, and freely redeemed, Isa. lii. 3. They are freely called, 2 Tim. i. 9, freely justified, Rom. iii. 24, and shall be freely glorified, Rom. vi. 23. The great Augustin, in his book of Retractations, ingenuously acknowledges his error in having once thought that faith foreseen was a condition of election: he owns that that opinion is equally impious and absurd, and proves that faith is one of the fruits of election, and consequently could not be, in any sense, a cause of it: "I could never have asserted," says he, "that God, in choosing men to life, had any respect to their faith, had I duly considered that faith itself is his own gift." And in another treatise of his (*u*) he has these words: "Since Christ says, Ye have not chosen me, &c., I would fain ask whether it be scriptural to say we must have faith before we are elected, and not rather that we are elected in order to our having faith?"

Pos. 2. As many as are ordained to eternal life are ordained to enjoy that life in and through Christ, and on account of his merits alone; 1 Thess. v. 9. Here let it be carefully observed that not the merits of Christ, but the sovereign love of God only, is the cause of election itself; but then the merits of Christ are the alone procuring cause of that salvation to which men are elected. This decree of God admits of no cause out of himself; but the thing decreed, which is the glorification of his chosen ones, may and does admit, nay, necessarily requires, a meritorious cause, which is no other than the obedience and death of Christ.

Pos. 3. They who are predestinated to life are likewise predestinated to all those means which are indispensably necessary in order to their meetness for, entrance upon, and enjoyment of, that life; such as repentance, faith, sanctification, and perseverance in these to the end.

Acts xiii. 48. As many as were ordained to eternal life believed. Eph. i. 4. He hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blame before him in love. Eph. ii. 10. For we [*i. e.* the same we whom he hath chosen before the foundation of the world] are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath fore-ordained that we should walk in them. And the apostle assures the same Thessalonians, whom he reminds of their election and God's everlasting appointment of them to obtain salvation, that this also was his will concerning them, even their sanctification; 1 Thess. i. 4, and v. 9, and iv. 3, and gives them a view of all these privileges at once; 2 Thess. ii. 13. God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation, through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth. As does St. Peter; 1 Epis. i. 2. Elect—through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience, and sprinkling of the blood

(*u*) De Prædest. cap. 17.

of Jesus Christ. Now though faith and holiness are not represented as the cause wherefore the elect are saved, yet these are constantly represented as the means through which they are saved, or as the appointed way wherein God leads his people to glory, these blessings being always bestowed previous to that. Agreeably to all which is that of Austin: (*x*) "Whatsover persons are, through the riches of divine grace, exempted from the original sentence of condemnation, are undoubtedly brought to hear the gospel; (*y*) and when heard, they are caused to believe it, and are made likewise to endure to the end in the faith which works by love; and should they at any time go astray, they are recovered and set right again." A little after he adds, "All these things are wrought in them by that God who made them vessels of mercy, and who, by the election of his grace, chose them, in his Son, before the world began."

Pos. 4. Not one of the elect can perish, but they must all necessarily be saved. The reason is this; because God simply and unchangeably wills that all and every one of those whom he hath appointed to life should be eternally glorified: and, as was observed toward the end of the preceding chapter, all the divine attributes are concerned in the accomplishment of this his will. His wisdom, which cannot err; his knowledge, which cannot be deceived; his truth, which cannot fail; his love, which nothing can alienate; his justice, which cannot condemn any for whom Christ died; his power, which none can resist; and his unchangeableness, which can never vary: from all which it appears that we do not speak at all improperly when we say that the salvation of his people is necessary and certain. Now, that is said to be necessary *quod nequit aliter esse* which cannot be otherwise than it is: and if all the perfections of God are engaged to preserve and save his children, their safety and salvation must be, in the strictest sense of the word, necessary. See Psalm ciii. 17; and cxxv. 1, 2. Isaiah xlv. 17; and liv. 9, 10. Jer. xxxi. 38; and xxxii. 40. John vi. 39; and x. 28, 29; and xiv. 19; and xvii. 12. Rom. viii. 30, 38, 39; and xi. 29. 1 Cor. i. 8, 9. Phil. i. 6. 1 Pet. i. 4, 5.

Thus St. Austin (*z*): "Of those whom God hath predestinated none can perish, inasmuch as they are his own elect." And *ib.* "They are the elect who are predestinated, foreknown, and called according to purpose. Now, could any of these be lost, God would be disappointed of his will and expectation; but he cannot be so disappointed: therefore they can never perish. Again, could they be lost, the power of God would be made void by man's sin; but his power is invincible: therefore they are safe. And again, cap. 9, "The children of God are written, with an unshaken stability, in the book of their heavenly Father's remembrance." And in the same chapter he hath these words: "Not the children of promise, but the children of perdition shall perish: for the former are the predestinated, who are called according to the divine determination; not one of whom shall finally miscarry." So likewise Luther (*a*); "God's decree of predestination is firm and certain; and the necessity resulting from it is in like manner immoveable, and cannot but take place. For we ourselves are so feeble that if the matter was left in our hands very few, or rather none, would be saved: but Satan would overcome us all." To which he adds: "Now, since this stedfast and inevitable purpose of God cannot be reversed nor disannulled by any creature whatever, we have a most assured hope that we shall finally triumph over sin, how violently soever it may at present rage in our mortal bodies."

Pos. 5. The salvation of the elect was not the only, nor yet the principal, end of their being chosen; but God's grand end in appointing them to life and happiness was to display the riches of his own mercy, and that he might be glorified in and by the persons he had thus chosen.

For this reason the elect are styled vessels of mercy; because they were originally created, and afterwards by the divine Spirit created anew with this design, and to this very end, that the sovereignty of the Father's grace, the freeness of his love, and the abundance of his goodness, might be manifested in their eternal happiness. Now God, as we have already more than once had occasion to observe, does nothing in time which he did not from eternity resolve within himself to do; and if he in time creates and regenerates his people with a view to display his unbounded mercy, he must, consequently, have decreed from all eternity to do this with the same view. So that the final causes of election appear to be these two: 1. and principally, the (*b*) glory of God; 2. and subordinately, the salvation of

(*x*) De Corrept. et Grat. cap. 7.

(*y*) We must understand this in a qualified sense, as intending that all those of the elect who live where the Christian dispensation obtains are sooner or later, brought to hear the gospel, and to believe it.

(*z*) Tom. 7. De Corr. et Grat. 7.

(*a*) In præfat. ad Epist. ad Rom.

(*b*) Let it be carefully observed, that when with the Scriptures we assert the glory of God to be the ultimate end of his dealings with angels and men, we do not speak this with respect to his essential glory, which he has as God, and which, as it is infinite, is not susceptible of addition, nor capable of diminution, but of that glory which is purely manifestative, and which Micrælius, in his Lexic. Philosoph. col. 471, defines to be, "Clara rei, cum laude, notitia; cùm, nempe, ipsa sua eminentia est magna, augusta et conspicua." And the accurate Mastricht, "Cele-

those he has elected, from which the former arises, and by which it is illustrated and set off. So, Prov. xvi. 1. The Lord hath made all things for himself. And hence that of Paul, Eph. i. He hath chosen us—to the praise of the glory of his grace.

Pos. 6. The end of election, which, with regard to the elect themselves, is eternal life: I say this end, and the means conducive to it, such as the gift of the Spirit, faith, &c., are so inseparably connected together that whoever is possessed of these shall surely obtain that, and none can obtain that who are not first possessed of these. Acts xiii. 48. As many as were ordained to eternal life, and none else, believed. Acts v. 31. Him hath God exalted—to give repentance unto Israel and remission of sins: not to all men, or to those who were not, in the counsel and purpose of God, set apart for himself; but to Israel, all his chosen people, who were given to him, were ransomed by him, and shall be saved in him with an everlasting salvation. Tit. i. 1. According to the faith of God's elect; so that true faith is a consequence of election, is peculiar to the elect, and shall issue in life eternal. Eph. i. He hath chosen us that we might be holy; therefore all who are chosen are made holy, and none but they; and all who are sanctified have a right to believe they were elected, and that they shall assuredly be saved. Rom. viii. 30. Whom he did predestinate, them he also called; whom he called, them he also justified; and whom he justified, them he also glorified. Which shews that effectual calling and justification are indissolubly connected with election on the one hand, and eternal happiness on the other; that they are a proof of the former, and an earnest of the latter. John x. 26. Ye believe not, because ye are not of my sheep; on the contrary, they who believe therefore believe because they are of his sheep. Faith, then, is an evidence of election, or of being in the number of Christ's sheep, consequently, of salvation, since all his sheep shall be saved. John x. 28.

Pos. 7. The elect may, through the grace of God, attain to the knowledge and assurance of their predestination to life; and they ought to seek after it. The Christian may, for instance, argue thus: As many as were ordained to eternal life believed: through mercy I believe; therefore I am ordained to eternal life. He that believeth shall be saved: I believe; therefore I am in a saved state. Whom he did predestinate, he called, justified, and glorified: I have reason to trust that he hath called and justified me; therefore I can assuredly look backward on my eternal predestination, and forward to my certain glorification. To all which frequently accedes the immediate testimony of the divine Spirit, witnessing with the believer's conscience that he is a child of God. Rom. viii. 16. Gal. iv. 6. 1 John v. 10. Christ forbids his little flock to fear, inasmuch as they might, on good and solid grounds, rest satisfied and assured that it is the Father's unalterably good pleasure to give them the kingdom. Luke xii. 32. And this was the faith of the apostle. Rom. viii. 38, 39.

Pos. 8. The true believer ought not only to be thoroughly established in the point of his own election, but should likewise believe the election of all his other fellow believers and brethren in Christ. Now, as there are most evident and indubitable marks of election laid down in Scripture, a child of God, by examining himself whether those marks are found on him, may arrive at a sober and well-grounded certainty of his own particular interest in that unspeakable privilege; and, by the same rule whereby he judges of himself, he may likewise (but with caution) judge of others. If I see the external fruits and criteria of election on this or that man, I may reasonably, and in a judgment of charity, conclude such a one to be an elect person. So St. Paul, beholding the gracious fruits which appeared in the believing Thessalonians, gathered thence that they were elected of God; 1 Thess. i. 4, 5; and knew also the election of the Christian Ephesians; Eph. i. 4, 5; as Peter also did that of the members of the Churches in Pontus, Galatia, &c.; 1 Peter i. 2. It is true, indeed, that all conclusions of this nature are not now infallible, but our judgments are liable to mistake; and God only, whose is the book of life, and who is the searcher of hearts, can absolutely know them that are his; 2 Tim. ii. 19; yet we may, without a presumptuous intrusion into things not seen, arrive at a moral certainty in this matter. And I cannot see how Christian love can be cultivated, how we can call one another brethren in the Lord, or how believers can hold religious fellowship and communion with each other, unless they have some solid and visible reason to conclude that they are loved with the same everlasting love, were redeemed by the same Saviour, are partakers of like grace, and shall reign in the same glory.

But here let me suggest one very necessary caution, *viz.* that though we may, at least very probably, infer the election of some persons from the marks and appearances of grace which may be discoverable in them, yet we can never judge any man

bratio con manifestatio, quæ magis proprie glorificatio, quam gloria, appellatur, quæ agnita intus eminentia, ejusque congrua æstimatio, propalatur et extollitur." Theolog. lib. 2 cap. 22. s. 8

whatever to be a reprobate. That there are reprobate persons is very evident from Scripture, as we shall presently shew; but who they are is known alone to Him who alone can tell who and what men are not written in the Lamb's book of life. I grant that there are some particular persons mentioned in the divine word of whose reprobation no doubt can be made; such as Esau and Judas; but now the canon of Scripture is completed, we dare not, we must not, pronounce any man living to be non-elect, be he at present ever so wicked. The vilest sinner may, for aught we can tell, appertain to the election of grace, and be one day wrought upon by the Spirit of God. This we know, that those who die in unbelief, and are finally unsanctified, cannot be saved, because God, in his word, tells us so, and has represented these as marks of reprobation; but to say that such and such individuals, whom, perhaps, we now see dead in sins, shall never be converted to Christ, would be a most presumptuous assertion, as well as an inexcusable breach of the charity which hopeth all things.

CHAP IV

OF REPROBATION, OR PREDESTINATION AS IT RESPECTS THE UNGODLY.

From what has been said in the preceding chapter concerning the election of some, it would unavoidably follow, even supposing the Scriptures had been silent about it, that there must be a rejection of others; as every choice does, most evidently and necessarily, imply a refusal; for where there is no leaving out there can be no choice. But, besides the testimony of reason, the divine word is full and express to our purpose; it frequently, and in terms too clear to be misunderstood, and too strong to be evaded by any who are not proof against the most cogent evidence, attests this tremendous truth, that some are of old foreordained to condemnation. I shall, in the discussion of this awful subject, follow the method hitherto observed, and throw what I have to say into several distinct positions, supported by Scripture.

Pos. 1. God did, from all eternity, decree to leave some of Adam's fallen posterity in their sins, and to exclude them from the participation of Christ and his benefits.

For the clearing of this, let it be observed that, in all ages, the much greater part of mankind have been destitute even of the external means of grace; have not been favoured with the preaching of God's word, or any revelation of his will. Thus, anciently the Jews, who were in number the fewest of all people, were, nevertheless, for a long series of ages, the only nation to whom the Deity was pleased to make any special discovery of himself; and it is observable that our Lord himself principally confined the advantages of his public ministry to that people; nay, he forbade his disciples to go among any others, Matt. x. 5, 6.; and did not commission them to preach the gospel indiscriminately to Jews and Gentiles until after his resurrection, Mark xvi. 15.—Luke xxiv. 47. Hence, many nations and communities never had the advantage of hearing the word preached: and, consequently, were strangers to the faith that cometh thereby. It is not, indeed, improbable, but some individuals in these unenlightened countries, might belong to the secret election of grace; and the habit of faith might be wrought in these; however, be that as it will, our argument is not affected by it; it is evident that the nations of the world were generally ignorant not only of God himself, but likewise of the way to please him, the true manner of acceptance with him, and the means of arriving at the everlasting enjoyment of him. Now, if God had been pleased to have saved those people, would he not have vouchsafed them the ordinary means of salvation? would he not have given them all things necessary in order to that end? but it is undeniable matter of fact that he did not; and to very many nations of the earth does not at this day. If, then, the Deity can, consistently with his attributes, deny to some the means of grace, and shut them up in gross darkness and unbelief, why should it be thought incompatible with his immensely glorious perfections to exclude some persons from grace itself, and from that eternal life which is connected with it? especially, seeing he is equally the Lord and sovereign disposer of the end to which the means lead, as of the means which lead to that end? both one and the other are his; and he most justly may, as he most assuredly will, do what he pleases with his own.

Besides, it being also evident that many even of them who live in places where the gospel is preached, as well as of those among whom it never was preached, die strangers to God and holiness, and without experiencing any thing of the gracious influences of his Spirit: we may reasonably and safely conclude that one cause of their so dying is because it was not the divine will to communicate his grace to them; since, had it been his will he would actually have made them partakers thereof; and had they been partakers of it they could not have died without it. Now if it was the will of God, in time, to refuse them this grace; it must have been his will from eternity; since his will is, as himself, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever

The actions of God being thus fruits of his eternal purpose, we may safely, and without any danger of mistake, argue from them to that; and infer that God therefore does such and such things because he decreed to do them; his own will being the sole cause of all his works. So that from his actually leaving some men in final impenitency and unbelief we assuredly gather that it was his everlasting determination so to do; and consequently that he reprobated some from before the foundation of the world.

And as this inference is strictly rational, so is it perfectly scriptural. Thus, the Judge will, in the last day, declare to those on the left hand, I never knew you. Matt. vii. 23. *i. e.* "I never, no, not from eternity, loved, approved, or acknowledged you for mine:" or in other words, "I always hated you." Our Lord, in John xvii. divides the whole human race into two great classes; one he calls the world, the other the men who were given him out of the world. The latter, it is said, the Father loved, even as he loved Christ himself (ver. 23); but he loved Christ before the foundation of the world, verse 24., *i. e.* from everlasting; therefore he loved the elect so too; and if he loved these from eternity, it follows, by all the rules of antithesis, that he hated the others as early. So, Rom. ix., The children not being yet born, neither having done good or evil, that the purpose of God, &c. From the example of the twins, Jacob and Esau, the apostle infers the eternal election of some men, and the eternal rejection of all the rest.

Pos. 2. Some men were, from all eternity, not only negatively excepted from a participation of Christ and his salvation; but positively ordained to continue in their natural blindness, hardness of heart, &c.; and that by the just judgment of God. See Exod. ix. 1 Sam. ii. 25. 2 Sam. xvii. 14. Isa. vi. 9—11. 2 Thess. ii. 11, 12. Nor can these places of Scripture, with many others of like import, be understood of an involuntary permission on the part of God; as if God barely suffered it to be so, *quasi invitus*, as it were by constraint, and against his will; for he permits nothing which he did not resolve and determine to permit. His permission is a positive, determinate act of his will; as Austin, Luther, and Bucer, justly observe. Therefore, if it be the will of God, in time, to permit such and such men to continue in their natural state of ignorance and corruption, the natural consequence of which is their falling into such and such sins (observe God does not force them into sin; their actual disobedience being only the consequence of their not having that grace which God is not obliged to grant them); I say, if it be the will of God thus to leave them in time (and we must deny demonstration itself, even known, absolute matter of fact, if we deny that some are so left), then it must have been the divine intention, from all eternity, so to leave them; since, as we have already had occasion to observe, no new will can possibly arise in the mind of God. We see that evil men actually are suffered to go on adding sin to sin; and if it be not inconsistent with the sacred attributes actually to permit this, it could not possibly be inconsistent with them to decree that permission before the foundations of the world were laid.

Thus God efficaciously permitted (having so decreed) the Jews to be in effect the crucifiers of Christ; and Judas to betray him; Acts iv. 27, 28. Matt. xxvi. 23, 24. Hence we find St. Austin (*c*) speaking thus; "Judas was chosen, but it was to do a most execrable deed; that thereby the death of Christ, and the adorable work of redemption by him, might be accomplished. When therefore we hear our Lord say, Have not I chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil? we must understand it thus, that the eleven were chosen in mercy; but Judas in judgment: they were chosen to partake of Christ's kingdom; he was chosen and pitched upon to betray him, and be the means of shedding his blood."

Pos. 3. The non-elect were predestinated not only to continue in final impenitency, sin, and unbelief; but were, likewise, for such their sins, righteously appointed to infernal death hereafter.

This position is also self-evident; for it is certain that, in the day of universal judgment, all the human race will not be admitted into glory, but some of them transmitted to the place of torment. Now, God does, and will do nothing but in consequence of his own decree, Psalm cxxxv. 6. Isa. xlvi. 11. Eph. i. 9. 11; therefore, the condemnation of the unrighteous was decreed of God; and if decreed by him, decreed from everlasting, for all his decrees are eternal. Besides, if God purposed to leave those persons under the guilt and the power of sin, their condemnation must of itself necessarily follow; since without justification and sanctification (neither of which blessings are in the power of man) none can enter heaven, John xiii. 8. Heb. xii. 14. Therefore, if God determined within himself, thus to leave some in their sins (and it is but too evident that this is really the case,) he must also have determined within himself to punish them for those sins (final guilt and final punishment being correlatives which necessarily infer each other); but God did determine both to leave and to punish the non-elect; therefore there was a reprobation of some from eternity. Thus,

(*c*) De Corr. et Grat. cap. 7.

Matt. xxv., Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels; for Satan and all his messengers, emissaries, and imitators, whether apostate spirits, or apostate men. Now, if penal fire was, in decree, from everlasting prepared for them, they, by all the laws of argument in the world, must have been, in the counsel of God, prepared, *i. e.* designed for that fire; which is the point I undertook to prove. Hence we read, Rom. ix., of vessels of wrath fitted to destruction, *κατηρτισμενα εις απωλειαν*, put together, made up, formed, or fashioned, for perdition; who are, and can be, no other than the reprobate. To multiply Scriptures on this head would be almost endless; for a sample, consult Prov. xvi. 4. 1 Pet. ii. 8. 2 Pet. ii. 12. Jude 4. Rev. xiii. 8.

Pos. 4. As the future faith and good works of the elect were not the cause of their being chosen; so neither were the future sins of the reprobate the cause of their being past by; but both the choice of the former, and the decretive omission of the latter, were owing, merely and entirely, to the sovereign will and determinating pleasure of God.

We distinguish between preterition, or bare non-election, which is a purely negative thing; and condemnation, or appointment to punishment; the will of God was the cause of the former; the sins of the non-elect are the reason of the latter.—Though God determined to leave, and actually does leave, whom he pleases in the spiritual darkness and death of nature, out of which he is under no obligation to deliver them; yet he does not positively condemn any of these, merely because he hath not chosen them, but because they have sinned against him; see Rom. i. 21—24. Rom. ii. 8. 9. 2 Thess. ii. 12. Their preterition, or non-inscription in the book of life is not unjust on the part of God; because, out of a world of rebels, equally involved in guilt, God (who might, without any impeachment of his justice, have passed by all, as he did the reprobate angels) was most unquestionably at liberty, if it so pleased him, to extend the sceptre of his clemency to some, and to pitch upon whom he would as the objects of it. Nor was this exemption of some any injury to the non-elect; whose case would have been just as bad as it is, even supposing the others had not been chosen at all. Again, the condemnation of the ungodly (for it is under that character alone that they are the subjects of punishment, and were ordained to it) is not unjust, seeing it is for sin, and only for sin. None are or will be punished but for their iniquities; and all iniquity is properly meritorious of punishment; where, then, is the supposed unmercifulness, tyranny, or injustice of the divine procedure?

Pos. 5. God is the creator of the wicked, but not of their wickedness; he is the author of their being, but not the infuser of their sin.

It is, most certainly, his will (for adorable and unsearchable reasons) to permit sin; but, with all possible reverence be it spoken, it should seem that he cannot, consistently with the purity of his nature, the glory of his attributes, and the truth of his declarations, be himself the author of it. Sin, says the apostle, entered into the world by one man, meaning by Adam; consequently it was not intoduced by the Deity himself. Though, without the permission of his will, and the concurrence of his providence, its introduction had been impossible; yet is he not hereby the author of sin so introduced. (*d*) Luther observes (*De Serv. Arb.* c. 42), "It is a great degree of faith to believe that God is merciful and gracious, though he saves so few, and condemns so many; and that he is strictly just, though in consequence of his own will, he made us not exempt from liableness to condemnation." And cap. 148. "Although God doth not make sin, nevertheless, he ceases not to create and multiply individuals in the human nature which, through the withholding of his Spirit, is corrupted by sin; just as a skilful artist may form curious statues out of bad materials. So, such as their nature is, such are men themselves: God forms them out of such a nature."

Pos. 6. The condemnation of the reprobate is necessary and inevitable.

Which we prove thus: It is evident from Scripture that the reprobate shall be condemned. But nothing comes to pass (much less can the condemnation of a rational creature), but in consequence of the will and decree of God. Therefore the non-elect could not be condemned, was it not the divine pleasure and determination that they should. And, if God wills and determines their condemnation, that condemna-

(*d*) It is a known and very just maxim of the schools, effectus sequitur causam proximam: "An effect follows from, and is to be ascribed to, the last immediate cause that produced it." Thus, for instance, if I hold a book, or a stone in my hand, my holding it is the immediate cause of its not falling; but if I let it go, my letting it go is not the immediate cause of its falling; it is carried downward by its own gravity, which is, therefore, the causa proxima effectus, the proper and immediate cause of its descent. It is true, if I had kept my hold of it, it would not have fallen; yet still the immediate, direct cause of its fall is its own weight not my quitting my hold. The application of this to the providence of God as concerned in sinful events is easy. Without God there could have been no creation; without creation, no creatures; without creatures, no sin. Yet is not sin chargeable on God: for effectus sequitur causam proximam.

tion is necessary and inevitable. By their sins they have made themselves guilty of death: and, as it is not the will of God to pardon those sins and grant them repentance unto life, the punishment of such impenitent sinners is as unavoidable as it is just. It is our Lord's own declaration, Matt. vii. that a corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit: or, in other words, that a depraved sinner cannot produce in himself those gracious habits, nor exert those gracious acts, without which no adult person can be saved. Consequently the reprobate must, as corrupt, fruitless trees (or fruitful in evil only), be hewn down and cast into the fire, Matt. iii. This therefore serves as another argument in proof of the inevitability of their future punishment: which argument, in brief, amounts to this: They who are not saved from sin must unavoidably perish: but the reprobate are not saved from sin, (for they have neither will nor power to save themselves, and God, though he certainly can, yet he certainly will not save them): therefore their perdition is unavoidable. Nor does it follow hence that God forces the reprobate into sin, and thereby into misery, against their wills; but that in consequence of their natural depravity (which it is not the divine pleasure to deliver them out of, neither is he bound to do it, nor are they themselves so much as desirous that he would), they are voluntarily biassed and inclined to evil: nay, which is worse still, they hug and value their spiritual chains, and even greedily pursue the paths of sin, which lead to the chambers of death. Thus, God does not (as we are slanderously reported to affirm) compel the wicked to sin, as the rider spurs forward an unwilling horse; God only says in effect that tremendous word, Let them alone, Matt. xv. 14. He needs but slacken the reins of providential restraint, and withhold the influence of saving grace; and apostate man will too soon, and too surely, of his own accord, fall by his iniquity: he will presently be, spiritually speaking, a *felo de se*, and without any other efficiency, lay violent hands on his own soul. So that though the condemnation of the reprobate is unavoidable, yet the necessity of it is so far from making them mere machines or involuntary agents, that it does not in the least interfere with the rational freedom of their wills, nor serve to render them less inexcusable.

Pos. 7. The punishment of the non-elect was not the ultimate end of their creation; but the glory of God.

It is frequently objected to us that, according to our view of predestination, "God makes some persons on purpose to damn them." But this we never advanced: nay, we utterly reject it, as equally unworthy of God to do, and of a rational being to suppose. The grand principal end proposed by the Deity to himself in his formation of all things, and of mankind in particular, was, The manifestation and display of his own glorious attributes. His ultimate scope in the creation of the elect is to evidence and make known, by their salvation, the unsearchable riches of his power and wisdom, mercy and love: and the creation of the non-elect is for the display of his justice, power, sovereignty, holiness and truth. So that nothing can be more certain than the declaration of the text we have frequently had occasion to cite, Prov. xvi. The Lord hath made all things for himself, even the wicked for the day of evil. On one hand, the vessels of wrath are fitted for destruction, in order that God may shew his wrath, and make his power known, and manifest the greatness of his patience and long suffering, Rom. ix. 32. On the other hand, he afore prepared the elect to salvation, that on them he might demonstrate the riches of his glory and mercy, verse 23. As therefore God himself is the sole author and efficient of all his own actions; so is he likewise the supreme end to which they lead, and in which they terminate.

Besides, the creation and perdition of the ungodly answer another purpose (though a subordinate one), with regard to the elect themselves, who from the rejection of those, learn 1. to admire the riches of divine love towards themselves, which planned, and has accomplished, the work of their salvation, while others, by nature on an equal level with them, are excluded from a participation of the same benefits. And such a view of the Lord's distinguishing mercy is, 2. a most powerful motive to thankfulness, that when they too might justly have been condemned with the world of the non-elect, they were marked out as heirs of the grace of life. 3. Hereby they are taught ardently to love their heavenly Father; 4. to trust in him assuredly for a continued supply of grace while they are on earth, and for the accomplishment of his eternal decree and promise, by their glorification in heaven; and 5. to live as becomes those who have received such unspeakable mercies from the hand of their God and Saviour. So Bucer somewhere observes, that the punishment of the reprobate "is useful to the elect; inasmuch as it influences them to a greater fear and abhorrence of sin, and to a firmer reliance on the goodness of God."

Pos. 8. Notwithstanding God did, from all eternity, irreversibly choose out and fix upon some to be partakers of salvation by Christ, and rejected the rest (who are therefore termed by the apostle, οἱ λοιποὶ, the refuse, or those that remained and were left out); acting in both according to the good pleasure of his own sovereign will: yet he

did not herein act an unjust, tyrannical, or cruel part; nor yet shew himself a respecter of persons.

1. He is not unjust in reprobating some: neither can he be so; for the Lord is holy in all his ways, and righteous in all his works, Psalm cxlv. But salvation and damnation are works of his: consequently, neither of them is unrighteous or unholy. It is undoubted matter of fact that the Father draws some men to Christ, and saves them in him with an everlasting salvation; and that he neither draws nor saves some others; and, if it be not unjust in God actually to forbear saving these persons after they are born, it could not be unjust in him to determine as much before they were born. What is not unjust for God to do in time, could not, by parity of argument, be unjust in him to resolve upon and decree from eternity. And surely if the apostle's illustration be allowed to have any propriety, or to carry any authority, it can no more be unjust in God to set apart some for communion with himself in this life and the next, and to set aside others according to his own free pleasure, than for a potter to make out of the same mass of clay some vessels for honourable, and others for inferior uses. The Deity, being absolute Lord of all his creatures, is accountable to none for his doings, and cannot be chargeable with injustice for disposing of his own as he will.

Nor, 2. is the decree of reprobation a tyrannical one. It is indeed strictly sovereign; but lawful sovereignty and lawless tyranny are as really distinct and different as any two opposites can be. He is a tyrant, in the common acceptation of that word, who 1. either usurps the sovereign authority, and arrogates to himself a dominion to which he has no right: or, 2. who being originally a lawful prince abuses his power and governs contrary to law. But who dares to lay either of these accusations to the Divine charge? God, as Creator, has a most unquestionable and unlimited right over the souls and bodies of men; unless it can be supposed, contrary to all Scripture and common sense that, in making of man, he made a set of beings superior to himself, and exempt from his jurisdiction. Taking it for granted therefore that God has an absolute right of sovereignty over his creatures; if he should be pleased (as the Scriptures repeatedly assure us that he is) to manifest and display that right by graciously saving some, and justly punishing others for their sins—Who are we, that we should reply against God?

Neither does the ever blessed Deity fall under the second notion of a tyrant; namely, as one who abuses his power, by acting contrary to law: for by what exterior law is he bound who is the supreme Lawgiver of all the universe? The laws, promulgated by him, are designed for the rule of our conduct, not of his. Should it be objected that "his own attributes of goodness and justice, holiness and truth, are a law to himself;" I answer that, admitting this to be the case, there is nothing in the decree of reprobation as represented in Scripture, and by us thence, which clashes with any of those perfections. With regard to the divine goodness, though the non-elect are not objects of it, in the sense the elect are, yet even they are not wholly excluded from a participation of it. They enjoy the good things of providence, in common with God's children, and very often in a much higher degree. Besides, goodness, considered as it is in God, would have been just the same infinite and glorious attribute, supposing no rational beings had been created at all, or saved when created. To which may be added that the goodness of the Deity does not cease to be infinite in itself only because it is more extended to some objects than it is to others. The infinity of this perfection, as residing in God and coinciding with his essence, is sufficiently secured without supposing it to reach, indiscriminately, to all the creatures he has made. For was this way of reasoning to be admitted, it would lead us too far, and prove too much: since, if the infinity of his goodness is to be estimated by the number of objects upon which it terminates, there would be an absolute, proper infinity of reasonable beings, to terminate that goodness upon; consequently, it would follow, from such premises, either that the creation is as truly infinite as the Creator; or, if otherwise, that the Creator's goodness could not be infinite, because it has not an infinity of objects to make happy. (e) Lastly, if it was not incompatible with God's infinite goodness to pass by the

(e) The late most learned and judicious Mr. Charnock has, in my judgment at least, proved most clearly and satisfactorily that the exclusion of some individual persons from a participation of saving grace, is perfectly consistent with God's unlimited goodness. He observes that "the goodness of the Deity is infinite, and circumscribed by no limits. The exercise of his goodness may be limited by himself, but his goodness, the principle, cannot: for since his essence is infinite, and his goodness is not distinguished from his essence, it is infinite also. God is necessarily good in his nature, but free in his communications of it. He is necessarily good affective, in regard of his nature; but freely good effective, in regard to the effluxes of it to this or that particular subject he pitcheth upon. He is not necessarily communicative of his goodness as the sun of its light, or a tree of its cooling shade, which chooses not its objects, but enlightens all indifferently without variation or distinction; this were to make God of no more understanding than the sun, which shines, not where it pleases, but where it must. He is an understanding agent, and hath a sovereign right to choose his own subjects. It would not be supreme, if it were not a voluntary goodness. It is agreeable to the nature of the highest good to be

whole body of fallen angels, and leave them under the guilt of their apostacy, much less can it clash with that attribute, to pass by some of fallen mankind, and resolve to leave them in their sins, and punish them for them. Nor is it inconsistent with the divine justice to withhold saving grace from some; seeing the grace of God is not what he owes to any. It is a free gift to those that have it; and is not due to those that are without it: consequently there can be no injustice in not giving what God is not bound to bestow.

There is no end of cavilling at the divine dispensations, if men are disposed to do it. We might, with equality of reason, when our hand is in, presume to charge the Deity with partiality for not making all his creatures angels, because it was in his power to do so, as charge him with injustice for not electing all mankind. Besides, how can it possibly be subversive of his justice to condemn, and resolve to condemn, the non-elect for their sins; when those very sins were not atoned for by Christ as the sins of the elect were? His justice, in this case, is so far from hindering the condemnation of the reprobate that it renders it necessary and indispensible. Again, is the decree of sovereign preterition, and of just condemnation for sin, repugnant to the divine holiness? not in the least: so far from it, that it does not appear how the Deity could be holy, if he did not hate sin, and punish it. Neither is it contrary to his truth and veracity. Quite the reverse. For would not the divine veracity fall to the ground if the finally wicked were not condemned?

3. God, in the reprobation of some, does not act a cruel part. Whoever accused a chief magistrate of cruelty for not sparing a company of atrocious malefactors, and for letting the sentence of the law take place upon them by their execution? If, indeed, the magistrate please to pity some of them, and remit their penalty, we applaud his clemency; but the punishment of the rest is no impeachment of his mercy. Now with regard to God, his mercy is free and voluntary. He may extend it to, and withhold it from, whom he pleases, Rom. ix. 15, 18, and it is sad indeed if we will not allow the Sovereign, the all-wise Governor of heaven and earth, the same privilege and liberty we allow to a supreme magistrate below.

Nor, 4. is God, in choosing some and rejecting others, a respecter of persons. He only comes under that title who, on account of parentage, country, dignity, wealth, or for any other (*f*) external con-

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absolutely free; and to dispense his goodness in what methods and measures he pleases, according to the free determinations of his own will, guided by the wisdom of his mind, and regulated by the holiness of his nature. He will be good to whom he will be good. When he doth act he cannot but act well; so far it is necessary: yet he may act this good or that good, to this or that degree: so it is free: As it is the perfection of his nature, it is necessary; as it is the communnication of his bounty, it is voluntary. The eye cannot but see if it be open: yet it may glance on this or that colour, fix upon this or that object, as it is conducted by the will. What necessity could there be on God to resolve to communicate his goodness [at all]? It could not be to make himself better by it; for he had [before] a goodness incapable of any addition. What obligation could there be from the creature? Whatever sparks of goodness any creature hath are the free effusions of God's bounty, the offspring of his own inclination to do well, the simple fruit of the donor. God is as unconstrained in his liberty, in all his communications, as [he is] infinite in his goodness, the fountain of them." Charnock's Works, vol. i. p. 583, &c. With whom agrees the excellent Dr. Bates (surnamed, for his eloquence, the silver tongued); and who, if he had a silver tongue had likewise a golden pen: "God," says he, "is a wise and free agent; and as he is infinite in goodness, so the exercise of it is voluntary, and only so far as he pleases." Harm. of Div. Attrib. chap. 3.

(*f*) προσωπολημψια, personæ acceptio, quum magis huic favemus, quam illi, ob circumstantiam aliquam, ceu qualitatem, externam, ei adhærentem; puta genus, dignitatem, opes, patriam, &c. Scapula, in voc.

So that elegant, accurate, and learned Dutch divine, Laurentius; Hæc vero [i. e. προσωπολημψια] est, quando persona personæ præfertur ex causa indebita: puta, si judex absolvat reum, vel quia dives est, vel quia potens, vel quia magistratus est, vel quia amicus et propinquus est, &c. "That is respect of persons, when one man is preferred to another on some sinister and undue account; as when a judge acquits a criminal, merely because he is rich, or powerful, or is his friend, or relation, &c." Comment. in Epist. Jacob. p. 92.

Now, in the matter of election and preterition, God is influenced by no such motives; nor, indeed, by any exterior inducement, or any motive, extra se, out of himself. He does not, for instance, condemn any persons on account of their poverty: but on the reverse, hath chosen many, who are poor in this world, Jam. ii. 5. Nor does he condemn any for being rich: for some, even of the mighty and noble, are called by his grace. 1 Cor. i. 26. He does not respect any man's parentage, or country; for the elect will be gathered together from the four winds, from under one end of heaven to the other, Matt. xxiv. 31; and he hath redeemed to himself a select number, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation, Rev. v. 9; and vii. 9. So far is God from being in any sense, a respecter of persons, that, in Christ Jesus, there is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, male nor female, Gal iii. 28. He does not receive one, nor reject another, merely for coming or not coming under any of these characters. His own sovereign will and not their external or internal circumstances, was the sole rule by which he proceeded, in appointing some to salvation, and decreeing to leave others in their sins: so that God is not, herein, a respecter of their persons, but a respecter of himself, and his own glory.

And as God is no respecter of persons, because he chooses some as objects of his favour, and omits others; all being on a perfect equality: so neither does it follow that he is such, from his actually conferring spiritual and eternal blessings on the former, and denying them to the latter: Seeing these blessings are absolutely his own, and which he may, therefore, without injustice, give, or not give, at his pleasure, Dr. Whitby himself, though so strenuous an adversary to every thing that looks like predestination, yet he very justly observes (and such a concession, from such a pen, merits the reader's attention), Locum non habit [scil. προσωπολημψια] in bonis mere liberis et gratuitis; neque in

sideration, shews more favour to one person than to another. But that is not the case with God. He considers all men as sinners by nature; and has compassion not on persons of this or that sect, country, sex, age, or station in life, because they are so circumstanced, but on whom, and because, he will have compassion. Pertinent to the present purpose is that passage of St. Austin: (g) "Forasmuch as some people imagine that they must look on God as a respecter of persons if they believe that, without any respect had to the previous merits of men, he hath mercy on whom he will, and calls whom it is his pleasure to call, and makes good whom he pleases. The scrupulousness of such people arises from their not duly attending to this one thing, namely, that damnation is rendered to the wicked, as a matter of debt, justice, and desert; whereas the grace, given to those who are delivered, is free and unmerited: so that the condemned sinner cannot allege that he is unworthy of his punishment; nor the saint vaunt or boast, as if he was worthy of his reward. Thus, in the whole course of this procedure, there is no respect of persons. They who are condemned, and they who are set at liberty, constituted originally one and the same lump, equally infected with sin and liable to vengeance. Hence the justified may learn, from the condemnation of the rest, that would have been their own punishmen, had not God's free grace stepped in to their rescue."

Before I conclude this head, I will obviate a fallacious objection very common in the mouths of our opponents: "How," say they, "is the doctrine of reprobation reconcileable with the doctrine of a future judgment?" To which I answer that there need no pains to reconcile these two, since they are so far from interfering with each other, that one follows from the other, and the former renders the latter absolutely necessary. Before the judgment of the great day, Christ does not so much act as the Judge of his creatures as their absolute Lord and Sovereign. From the first creation, to the final consummation of all things, he does in consequence of his own eternal and immutable purpose (as a divine person) graciously work in and on his own elect, and permissively harden the reprobate.—But, when all the transactions of providence and grace are wound up in the last day, he will then properly sit as Judge; and openly publish, and solemnly ratify, if I may so say, his everlasting decrees, by receiving the elect, body and soul, into glory, and by passing sentence on the non-elect (not for their having done what they could not help, but) for their wilful ignorance of divine things, and their obstinate unbelief; for their omissions of moral duty, and for their repeated iniquities and transgressions.

Pos. 9. Notwithstanding God's predestination is most certain and unalterable, so that no elect person can perish, nor any reprobate be saved, yet it does not follow thence that all precepts, reproofs, and exhortations on the part of God, or prayers on the part of man, are useless, vain, and insignificant.

I. These are not useless with regard to the elect, for they are necessary means of bringing them to the knowledge of the truth at first, afterwards of stirring up their pure minds by way of remembrance, and of edifying and establishing them in faith, love, and holiness. Hence that of St. Austin: (h) "The commandment will tell thee, O man, what thou oughtest to have; reproof will shew thee wherein thou art wanting; and praying will teach thee from whom thou

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iis in quibus unum alteri præferre, nostri arbitrii aut privilegii est. Ethic. Compend. l. 2. c. 5. sect. 9. *i. e.* "the bestowing" (and consequently, the withholding) "of such benefits as are merely gratuitous and undeserved, does not argue respect of persons; neither is it respect of persons to prefer one before another, when we have a right, and it is our pleasure so to do." I shall only add the testimony of Thomas Aquinas; a man of some genius, and much application; who, though in very many things a laborious trifler, was yet, on some subjects, a clear reasoner and judicious writer. His words are, "Duplex est datio; una quidem pertinens ad justitiam; qui scilicet, aliquis dat alicui quod ei debetur: et circa tales dationes attenditur personarum acceptio. Alia est datio ad liberalitatem pertinens; qua scilicet, gratis datur alicui quod ei non debetur. Et talis est collatio muneram gratiæ, per quæ peccatores salvantur a Deo. Et, in hoc dominus, non habet locum personarum acceptio; quia quilibet, absque injustitia, potest de suo dare quantum vult, et cui vult: secundum illud. Matt. xx. Annon licet mihi, quod volo, facere? tolle quod tuum est et vade." *i. e.* "There is a two fold rendering or giving: the one a matter of justice, whereby that is paid to a man which was due to him. Here it is possible for us to act partially, with respect of persons:" [Thus, for example's sake, I owe money to two men, one of whom is rich, the other poor; and I pay the rich man because he has it in his power to sue me, but defraud the other, because of his inability to do himself justice; I should be a respecter of persons. But, as Aquinas goes on] "There is a second kind of rendering or giving, which is a branch of mere bounty and liberality, by which that is freely bestowed on any man which was not due to him: such are the gifts of grace, whereby sinners are received of God. In the bestowment of grace, respect of persons is absolutely out of the question: because every one may, and can, without the least shadow of injustice, give as much of his own as he will, and to whom he will; according to that passage in Matt. xx. Is it not lawful for me to do what I will (with my own)? take up that which is thine and go thy way." Aquin. Summ. Theol. 2—2æ. Qu. 63. A. 1.

On the whole, it is evident that the respect of persons can only have place in matters of justice, and is but another name for perversion of justice: consequently, it has nothing to do with matters of mere goodness and bounty, as all the blessings of grace and salvation are.

(g) Tom. 2. Epist. 105. ad Sixtum Presb.

(h) De Corrept. et Grat. chap. 3.

must receive the supplies which thou wantest." Nor, 2. are these vain with regard to the reprobate; for precept, reproof, and exhortation may, if duly attended to, be a means of making them careful to adjust their moral, external conduct according to the rules of decency, justice, and regularity, and thereby prevent much inconvenience to themselves and injury to society. And as for prayer, it is the duty of all, without exception. Every created being (whether elect or reprobate matters not as to this point) is, as such, dependent on the Creator for all things; and, if dependent, ought to have recourse to him, both in a way of supplication and thanksgiving.

But to come closer still. That absolute predestination does not set aside nor render superfluous the use of preaching, exhortation, &c., we prove from the examples of Christ himself and his apostles, who all taught and insisted upon the article of predestination, and yet took every opportunity of preaching to sinners, and enforced their ministry with proper rebukes, invitations, and exhortations, as occasion required.—Though they shewed unanswerably that salvation is the free gift of God, and lies entirely at his sovereign disposal; that men can, of themselves, do nothing spiritually good; and that it is God who, of his own pleasure, works in them both to will and to do; yet they did not neglect to address their auditors as beings possessed of reason and conscience, nor omitted to remind them of their duties as such, but shewed them their sin and danger by nature, and laid before them the appointed way and method of salvation, as exhibited in the gospel. Our Saviour himself expressly and *in terminis* assures us, that no man can come to him except the Father draw him; and yet he says, Come unto me all ye that labour, &c. St. Peter, in the 2d of Acts, told the Jews that they had fulfilled the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God in putting the Messiah to death, and yet sharply rebukes them for it. St. Paul declares, It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth; and yet exhorts the Corinthians so to run as to obtain the prize. He assures us, Rom viii., that we know not what to pray for as we ought; and yet, 1 Thess. v., directs us to pray without ceasing. He avers, 1 Tim. ii., that the foundation or decree of the Lord standeth sure; and yet cautions him, who thinks he stands, to take heed lest he fall. St. James, in like manner, says, that every good and perfect gift cometh down from above; and yet exhorts those who want wisdom to ask it of God. So, then, all these being means whereby the elect are frequently enlightened into the knowledge of Christ, and by which they are, after they have believed through grace, built up in him, and are means of their perseverance in grace to the end; these are so far from being vain and insignificant that they are highly useful and necessary, and answer many valuable and important ends, without in the least shaking the doctrine of predestination in particular, or the analogy of faith in general. Thus St. Austin: (*i*) "We must preach, we must reprove, we must pray, because they to whom grace is given will hear and act accordingly; though they to whom grace is not given will do neither."

CHAP. V.

SHEWING THAT THE SCRIPTURE DOCTRINE OF PREDESTINATION SHOULD BE OPENLY PREACHED AND INSISTED ON; AND FOR WHAT REASONS.

Upon the whole, it is evident that the doctrine of God's eternal and unchangeable predestination should neither be wholly suppressed and laid aside, nor yet be confined to the disquisition of the learned and speculative only, but likewise should be publicly taught from the pulpit and the press, that even the meanest of the people may not be ignorant of a truth which reflects such glory on God, and is the very foundation of happiness to man. Let it, however, be preached with judgment and discretion; *i. e.* delivered by the preacher as it is delivered in Scripture, and no otherwise. By which means it can neither be abused to licentiousness, nor misapprehended to despair; but will eminently conduce to the knowledge, establishment, improvement, and comfort of them that hear. That predestination ought to be preached I thus prove:

1. The gospel is to be preached, and that not partially and by piece-meal, but the whole of it. The commission runs, Go forth and preach the gospel; the gospel itself, even all the gospel, without exception or limitation, for, so far as the gospel is maimed, or any branch of the evangelical system is suppressed and passed over in silence, so far the gospel is not preached. Besides, there is scarce any other distinguishing doctrine of the gospel can be preached in its purity and consistency without this of predestination. Election is the golden thread that runs through the whole Christian system; it is the leaven that pervades the whole lump. Cicero says of the various parts of human learning, "*Omnes artes, quæ ad humanitatem pertinent, habent*

(*i*) De Bon. Perser. cap. 14.

quoddam commune vinculum, et quasi cognatione quâdam inter se continentur: i. e. "The whole circle of arts have a kind of mutual bond and connection; and, by a sort of reciprocal relationship, are held together and interwoven with each other." Much the same may be said of this important doctrine: it is the bond which connects and keeps together the whole Christian system, which, without this, is like a system of sand, ever ready to fall to pieces. It is the cement which holds the fabric together; nay, it is the very soul that animates the whole frame. It is so blended and interwoven with the entire scheme of gospel doctrine, that when the former is excluded, the latter bleeds to death. An ambassador is to deliver the whole message with which he is charged. He is to omit no part of it, but must declare the mind of the sovereign he represents fully and without reserve. He is to say neither more nor less than the instructions of his court require. Else he comes under displeasure; perhaps loses his head. Let the ministers of Christ weigh this well.

Nor is the gospel to be preached only, but preached to every creature; *i. e.* to reasonable beings promiscuously and at large; to all who frequent the Christian ministry, of every state and condition of life, whether high or low, young or old, learned or illiterate. All who attend on the ministrations of Christ's ambassadors have a right to hear the gospel fully, clearly, and without mincing. Preach it, says Christ, Mark xvi. 15, κηρυξατε, publish it abroad; be its criers and heralds; proclaim it aloud; tell it out; keep back no part of it; spare not; lift up your voices like trumpets. Now a very considerable branch of this gospel is the doctrine of God's eternal, free, absolute, and irreversible election of some persons in Christ to everlasting life. The saints were singled out in God's eternal purpose and choice, *ut crederent*, to be endued with faith, and thereby fitted for their destined salvation. By their interest in the gratuitous, unalienable love of the blessed Trinity, they come to be, subjectively, saints and believers; so that their whole salvation, from the first plan of it in the divine mind, to the consummation of it in glory, is at once a matter of mere grace and of absolute certainty. While they who die without faith and holiness prove thereby that they are not included in this elect number, and were not written in the book of life. The justice of God's procedure herein is unquestionable. Out of a corrupt mass, wherein not one was better than another, he might (as was observed before) love and choose whom and as many as he pleased. It was likewise, without any shadow of injustice, at his option whom and how many he would pass by. His not choosing them was the fruit of his sovereign will; but his condemning them after death and in the last day is the fruit (not of their non-election, which was no fault of theirs, but) of their own positive transgressions. The elect, therefore, have the utmost reason to love and glorify God which any beings can possibly have; and the sense of what he has done for them is the strongest motive to obedience. On the other hand, the reprobates have nothing to complain of, since whatever God does is just and right; and so it will appear to be (however darkly matters may appear to us now) when we see him as he is, and know him even as we are known.

And now, why should not this doctrine be preached and insisted upon in public? a doctrine which is of express revelation; a doctrine that makes wholly for the glory of God; which conduces, in a most peculiar manner, to the conversion, comfort, and sanctification, of the elect, and leaves even the ungodly themselves without excuse!

But perhaps you may still be inclined to question whether predestination be indeed a Scripture doctrine. If so, let me, by way of sample, beg you to consider the following declarations: 1. of Christ; 2. of his apostles.

Matt. xi. If the mighty works that have been done in thee had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented, &c.; whence it is evident that the Tyrians and Sidonians, at least the majority of them, died in a state of impenitency; but that if God had given them the same means of grace afforded to Israel they would not have died impenitent: yet those means were not granted them. How can this be accounted for? only on the single principle of peremptory predestination flowing from the sovereign will of God. No wonder, then, that our Lord concludes that chapter with these remarkable words: I thank thee, Holy Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes: even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight. Where Christ thanks the Father for doing that very thing which Arminians exclaim against as unjust, and censure as partial!

Matt. xiii. To you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given.

Matt. xx. 23. To sit on my right hand, and on my left, is not mine to give, αλλ' οις ητοιμασται υπο του πατρος μου, except to them for whom it hath been prepared by my Father: *q. d.* Salvation is not a precarious thing: the seats in glory were disposed of long ago in my Father's intention and des-

tination: I can only assign them to such persons as they were prepared for in his decree.

Matt. xxii. Many are called, but few chosen: *i. e.* All who live under the sound of the gospel will not be saved; but those only who are elected unto life.

Matt. xxiv. For the elect's sake those days shall be shortened, and ibid. If it were possible, they should deceive the very elect: where it is plain Christ teaches two things; 1. That there is a certain number of persons who are elected to grace and glory; and, 2. That it is absolutely impossible for these to be deceived into total or final apostacy.

Matt. xxv. Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.

Mark xi. Unto you it is given to know the mystery of the kingdom of God; but to them that are without, *i. e.* out of the pale of election, all these things are done in parables; that, seeing, they may see, and not perceive; and, hearing, they may hear, and not understand: lest at any time they should be converted, and their sins should be forgiven them.

Luke x. Rejoice, because your names are written in heaven

Luke xii. It is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom.

Luke xvii. One shall be taken and the other shall be left.

John vi. All that the Father hath given me shall come unto me: as much as to say, These shall, but the rest cannot.

John viii. He that is of God heareth God's words; ye therefore hear them not because ye are not of God; nor chosen of him.

John x. Ye believe not, because ye are not of my sheep.

John xv. Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you.

I come now, 2. to the apostles.

John xii. 37, 40. They believed not on him, that the saying of Esaias the prophet might be fulfilled which he spake; Lord, who hath believed our report? and to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed? Therefore they could not believe, because Esaias said again, He hath blinded their eyes and hardened their hearts; that they should not see with their eyes, nor understand with their hearts, and be converted, and I should heal them. Without certain prescience there could be no prophecy; and without predestination no certain prescience. Therefore, in order to the accomplishment of prophecy, prescience, and predestination, we are expressly told that these persons could not believe *ουκ ηδυναντο*, they were not able; it was out of their power. In short, there is hardly a page in St. John's gospel which does not, either expressly or implicitly, make mention of election and reprobation.

St. Peter says of Judas, Acts i. Men and brethren, the Scriptures must needs have been fulfilled which the Holy Ghost, by the mouth of David, spake before concerning Judas. So, verse xxv. That he might go to his own place: to the place of punishment appointed for him.

Acts. ii. Him, being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken, and with wicked hands have crucified and slain.

Acts iv. Herod and Pontius Pilate, and the Gentiles and the people of Israel, were gathered together, for to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done; *προωρισε γενεσθαι*, predestinated should come to pass.

Acts xiii. And as many as were ordained to eternal life believed: *τεταγμενοι*, designed, destined, or appointed unto life.

Concerning the apostle Paul what shall I say? every one that has read his Epistles knows that they teem with predestination from beginning to end. (*k*) I shall only give one or two passages: and begin with that famous chain, Rom. viii., whom he did foreknow (or fore-love, for to know often signifies in Scripture to love) he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the first-born among many brethren: that as in all things else, so in the business of election, Christ might have the pre-eminence; he being first chosen as a Saviour, and they in him to be saved by him: moreover, whom he did predestinate, them he also called; and whom he called, them he also justified; and whom he justified, them he also glorified.

The 9th, 10th, and 11th chapters of the same Epistle are professed dissertations on, and illustrations of, the doctrine of God's decrees; and contain likewise a solution of the principal objections brought against that doctrine.

Gal. i. Who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by his grace.

The first chapter of Ephesians treats of little else but election and predestination.

(*k*) A friend of mine, who has a large property in Ireland, was conversing one day with a popish tenant of his upon religion. Among other points, they discussed the practice of having public prayers in an unknown tongue. My friend took down a New Testament from his book-case, and read part of 1 Cor. xiv. When he had finished, the poor, zealous papist rose up from his chair and said with great vehemence, "I verily believe St. Paul was a heretic."

Can the person who carefully reads the epistles of this great apostle doubt of his having been a thorough-paced predestinarian?

2 Thes. ii. After observing that the reprobates perish wilfully, the apostle, by a striking transition, addresses himself to the elect Thessalonians, saying: But we are bound to give thanks unto God always for you, brethren, beloved of the Lord, because God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation, through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth.

2 Tim. i. Who hath saved us, and called us with a holy calling, not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace which was given us in Christ before the world began.

St. Jude, on the other hand, describes the reprobate as ungodly men, who were of old fore-ordained to this condemnation.

Another apostle makes this peremptory declaration; Who stumble at the word, being disobedient, whereunto also they were appointed; but ye are a chosen generation [γενος εκλεκτον, an elect race], a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people, λαος εις περιποιησιν, a people purchased to be his peculiar property and possession, 1 Pet. ii. 8, 9. To all which may be added,

Rev. xvii. 8. Whose names were not written in the book of life from the foundation of the world.

All these texts are but as a handful to the harvest: and yet are both numerous and weighty enough to decide the point with any who pay the least deference to Scripture authority. And let it be observed that Christ and his apostles delivered these matters, not to some privileged persons only, but to all at large who had ears to hear, and eyes to read. Therefore it is incumbent on every faithful minister to tread in their steps by doing likewise: nor is that minister a faithful one, faithful to Christ, to truth, and to souls, who keeps back any part of the counsel of God, and buries those doctrines in silence which he is commanded to preach upon the house tops.

The great St. Austin, in his valuable treatise *De Bono Persever.*, effectually obviates the objections of those who are for burying the doctrine of predestination in silence. He shews that it ought to be publicly taught; describes the necessity and usefulness of preaching it; points out the manner of doing it to edification. And, since some persons have condemned St. Austin, by bell, book, and candle, for his steadfast attachment to, and nervous successful defences of, the decrees of God, let us hear what Luther, that great light in the Church, thought respecting the argument before us.

Erasmus (in most other respects a very excellent man) affected to think that it was of dangerous consequence to propagate the doctrine of predestination, either by preaching or writing. His words are these: "What can be more useless than to publish this paradox to the world? namely, that whatever we do is done, not by virtue of our own free will, but in a way of necessity, &c. What a wide gap does the publication of this tenet open among men for the commission of all ungodliness! What wicked person will reform his life? Who will dare to believe himself a favourite of heaven? Who will fight against his own corrupt inclinations? Therefore, where is either the need or the utility of spreading these notions, whence so many evils seem to flow?"

To which Luther replies: "If, my Erasmus, you consider these paradoxes (as you term them) to be no more than the inventions of men, why are you so extravagantly heated on the occasion? In that case, your arguments affect not me: for there is no person now living in the world who is a more avowed enemy to the doctrines of men than myself. But, if you believe the doctrines in debate between us to be (as indeed they are) the doctrines of God, you must have bid adieu to all sense of shame and decency thus to oppose them. I will not ask, Whither is the modesty of Erasmus fled? but, which is much more important, where, alas! are your fear and reverence of the Deity, when you roundly declare that this branch of truth, which he has revealed from heaven, is, at best, useless and unnecessary to be known? What! shall the glorious Creator be taught by you his creature what is fit to be preached, and what to be suppressed? Is the adorable God so very defective in wisdom and prudence as not to know, till you instruct him, what would be useful and what pernicious? Or could not He, whose understanding is infinite, foresee previous to his revelation of this doctrine, what would be the consequences of his revealing it, until those consequences were pointed out by you? You cannot, you dare not, say this. If, then, it was the divine pleasure to make known these things in his word, and to bid his messengers publish them abroad, and leave the consequences of their so doing to the wisdom and providence of him in whose name they speak, and whose message they declare; who art thou, O Erasmus, that thou shouldest reply against God, and say to the Almighty, What doest thou? St. Paul, discoursing of God, declares peremptorily, Whom he will he hardeneth: and again, God, willing to shew his wrath, &c. And the apostle did not write this to have it stifled among a few persons, and buried in a corner; but wrote it to the Christians at Rome: which was in effect bringing this doctrine upon the stage of the whole world; stamping an universal imprimatur upon it; and publishing it to believers at large throughout the earth. — What can sound harsher in the uncircumcised ears of carnal men than those words of Christ, 'Many are

called but few chosen? and elsewhere, I know whom I have chosen? Now these and similar assertions of Christ and his apostles are the very positions which you, O Erasmus, brand as useless and hurtful. You object, If these things are so, who will endeavour to amend his life? I answer; Without the Holy Ghost, no man can amend his life to purpose. Reformation is but varnished hypocrisy, unless it proceed from grace. The elect and truly pious are amended by the Spirit of God; and those of mankind who are not amended by him will perish.—You ask moreover, Who will dare to believe himself a favourite of heaven? I answer; It is not in man's own power to believe himself such upon just grounds until he is enabled from above: but the elect shall be so enabled: they shall believe themselves to be what indeed they are. As for the rest, who are not endued with faith, they shall perish; raging and blaspheming as you do now. But, say you, these doctrines open a door to ungodliness. I answer; Whatever door they may open to the impious and profane, yet they open a door of righteousness to the elect and holy, and shew them the way to heaven, and the path of access unto God. Yet you would have us abstain from the mention of these grand doctrines, and leave our people in the dark as to their election of God: the consequence of which would be that every man would bolster himself up with a delusive hope of share in that salvation which is supposed to lie open to all; and thus genuine humility, and the practical fear of God, would be kicked out of doors. This would be a pretty way indeed of stopping up the gap Erasmus complains of! Instead of closing up the door of licentiousness, as is falsely pretended, it would be, in fact, opening a gulph into the nethermost hell. Still you urge, Where is either the necessity or utility of preaching predestination? God himself teaches it, and commands us to teach it: and that is answer enough. We are not to arraign the Deity, and bring the motives of his will to the test of human scrutiny: but simply to revere both him and it. He who alone is all-wise and all-just can in reality (however things appear to us) do wrong to no man; neither can he do any thing unwisely or rashly. And this consideration will suffice to silence all the objections of truly religious persons. However, let us, for argument's sake, go a step farther. I will venture to assign, over and above, two very important reasons why these doctrines should be publicly taught: 1. For the humiliation of our pride, and the manifestation of divine grace. God hath assuredly promised his favour to the truly humble. By truly humble I mean those who are endued with repentance, and despair of saving themselves: for a man can never be said to be really penitent and humble until he is made to know that his salvation is not suspended in any measure whatever on his own strength, machinations, endeavours, free-will or works; but entirely depends on the free pleasure, purpose, determination, and efficiency of another; even of God alone. Whilst a man is persuaded that he has it in his power to contribute any thing, be it ever so little, to his own salvation, he remains in carnal confidence; he is not a self-despairer, and therefore he is not duly humbled before God: so far from it, that he hopes some favourable juncture or opportunity will offer, when he may be able to lend a helping hand to the business of his salvation.—On the contrary, whoever is truly convinced that the whole work depends singly and absolutely on the will of God, who alone is the author and finisher of salvation; such a person despairs of all self-assistance: he renounces his own will and his own strength: he waits and prays for the operation of God: nor waits and prays in vain. For the elect's sake, therefore, these doctrines are to be preached: that the chosen of God being humbled by the knowledge of his truths, self-emptied, and sunk as it were into nothing in his presence, may be saved in Christ with eternal glory. This, then, is one inducement to the publication of the doctrine; that the penitent may be made acquainted with the promise of grace, plead it in prayer to God, and receive it as their own. 2. The nature of the Christian faith requires it. Faith has to do with things not seen.—And this is one of the highest degrees of faith, steadfastly to believe that God is infinitely merciful, though he saves (comparatively) but few, and condemns so many; and that he is strictly just, though of his own will he makes such numbers of mankind necessarily liable to damnation. Now, these are some of the unseen things whereof faith is the evidence. Whereas, was it in my power to comprehend them, or clearly to make out how God is both inviolably just and infinitely merciful, notwithstanding the display of wrath and seeming inequality in his dispensations respecting the reprobate, faith would have little or nothing to do. But now, since these matters cannot be adequately comprehended by us in the present state of imperfection, there is room for the exercise of faith. The truths, therefore, respecting predestination in all its branches should be taught and published: they, no less than the other mysteries of Christian doctrine, being proper objects of faith on the part of God's people." (*l*)

With Luther the excellent Bucer agrees,

(*l*) Lutherus, De Serv. Arbitr. in respons. adult. part. præfat. Erasmi.

particularly on Eph. i. where his words are, "There are some who affirm that election is not to be mentioned publicly to the people But they judge wrongly. The blessings which God bestows on man are not to be suppressed, but insisted and enlarged upon; and, if so, surely the blessing of predestination unto life, which is the greatest blessing of all, should not be passed over." And a little after he adds, "Take away the remembrance and consideration of our election, and then, good God! what weapons have we left us wherewith to resist the temptations of Satan? As often as he assaults our faith (which he is frequently doing), we must constantly, and without delay, have recourse to our election in Christ as to a city of refuge. Meditation upon the Father's appointment of us to eternal life is the best antidote against the evil surmisings of doubtfulness and remaining unbelief. If we are entirely void of all hope and assurance respecting our interest in this capital privilege, what solid and comfortable expectation can we entertain of future blessedness? How can we look upon God as our gracious Father, and upon Christ as our unchangeable Redeemer? without which I see not how we can ever truly love God; and if we have no true love towards him, how can we yield acceptable obedience to him? Therefore those persons are not to be heard who would have the doctrine of election laid (as it were) asleep, and seldom or never make its appearance in the congregations of the faithful."

To what these great men have so nervously advanced, permit me to add, that the doctrine of predestination is not only useful, but absolutely necessary to be taught and known. For,

. Without it we cannot form just and becoming ideas of God. Thus, unless he certainly foreknows and foreknew from everlasting all things that should come to pass, his understanding would not be infinite; and a Deity of limited understanding is no Deity at all. Again, we cannot suppose him to have foreknown any thing which he had not previously decreed, without setting up a series of causes, *extra Deum*, and making the Deity dependent for a great part of the knowledge he has upon the will and works of his creatures, and upon a combination of circumstances exterior to himself. Therefore his determinate plan, counsel, and purpose (*i. e.* his own predestination of causes and effects), is the only basis of his foreknowledge; which foreknowledge could neither be certain nor independent, but as founded on his own antecedent decree. 2. He alone is entitled to the name of True God who governs all things, and without whose will (either efficient or permissive) nothing is or can be done. And such is the God of the Scriptures, against whose will not a sparrow can die, nor a hair fall from our heads; Matt. x. Now what is predestination but the determining will of God? I defy the subtilest semi-pelagian in the world to form or convey a just and worthy notion of the Supreme Being without admitting him to be the great cause of all causes else, himself dependent on none; who willed from eternity how he would act in time, and settled a regular, determinate scheme of what he would do and permit to be done from the beginning to the consummation of the world. A contrary view of the Deity is as inconsistent with reason itself, and with the very religion of nature, as it is with the decisions of revelation. Nor can we rationally conceive of an independent, all-perfect first Cause, without allowing him to be, 3. unchangeable in his purposes. His decrees and his essence coincide; consequently a change in those would infer an alteration in this. Nor can that being be the true God whose will is variable, fluctuating, and indeterminate; for his will is himself willing. A Deity without decrees, and decrees without immutability, are, of all inventions that ever entered the heart of man, the most absurd. 4. Without predestination to plan, and without providence to put that plan in execution, what becomes of God's omnipotence? It vanishes into air. It become a mere nonentity. For what sort of omnipotence is that which may be baffled and defeated by the very creatures it has made? Very different is the idea of this attribute suggested by the Psalmist, Psalm cxiii. Whatsoever the Lord willed, that did he; in heaven and in earth, in the sea and in all deep places: *i. e.* he not only made them when he would, but orders them when made. 5. He alone is the true God, according to Scripture representation, who saves, by his mere mercy and voluntary grace, those whom he hath chosen; and righteously condemns (for their sins) those whom he thought fit to pass by. But without predestination there could be no such thing, either as sovereign mercy or voluntary grace. For, after all, what is predestination but his decree to save some of his mere goodness, and to condemn others in his just judgment? Now it is most evident that the Scripture doctrine of predetermination is the clearest mirror wherein to see and contemplate these essential attributes of God. Here they all shine forth in their fulness of harmony and lustre. Deny predestination, and you deny (though, perhaps, not intentionally, yet by necessary consequence) the adorable perfections of the Godhead: in concealing that, you throw a veil over these · and in

preaching that, you hold up these to the comfort, the establishment, and the admiration, of the believing world.

II. Predestination is to be preached, because the grace of God (which stands opposed to all human worthiness) cannot be maintained without it. The excellent St. Austin makes use of this very argument. "If," says he, "these two privileges" [namely, faith itself, and final perseverance in faith] "are the gifts of God; and if God foreknew on whom he would bestow these gifts, (and who can doubt of so evident a truth?) it is necessary for predestination to be preached, as the sure and invincible bulwark of that true grace of God which is given to men without any consideration of merit." (*m*) Thus argued St. Austin against the Pelagians, who taught that grace is offered to all men alike; that God, for his part, equally wills the salvation of all; and that it is in the power of man's free-will to accept or reject the grace and salvation so offered. Which string of errors do, as Austin justly observes, centre in this grand point: *gratiam secundùm nostra merita dari*; that God's grace is not free, but the fruit of man's desert. Now the doctrine of predestination batters down this delusive Babel of free-will and merit. It teaches us that if we do indeed will and desire to lay hold on Christ and salvation by him, this will and desire are the effect of God's secret purpose and effectual operation; for he it is who worketh in us both to will and to do of his own good pleasure, that he that glorieth should glory in the Lord. There neither is nor can be any medium between predestinating grace and salvation by human merit. We must believe and preach one or the other, for they can never stand together. No attempts to mingle and reconcile these two incompatible opposites can ever succeed, the apostle himself being judge: If, says he, it [namely, election] be by grace, then is it no more of works; otherwise grace is no more grace; but if it be of works, then is it no more grace, otherwise work is no more work; Rom. xi. 6. Exactly agreeable to which is that of St. Austin: "Either predestination is to be preached as expressly as the Scriptures deliver it, *viz.* That with regard to those whom he hath chosen, the gifts and callings of God are without repentance; or we must roundly declare, as the Pelagians do, that grace is given according to merit." (*n*) Most certain it is that the doctrine of gratuitous justification through Christ can only be supported on that of our gratuitous predestination in Christ, since the latter is the cause and foundation of the former.

III. By the preaching of predestination man is duly humbled, and God alone is exalted; human pride is levelled, and the divine glory shines untarnished, because unrivalled. This the sacred writers positively declare. Let St. Paul be spokesman for the rest (Eph. i. 5, 6.) having predestinated us—to the praise of the glory of his grace. But how is it possible for us to render unto God the praises due to the glory of his grace without laying this threefold foundation? 1. That whosoever are or shall be saved are saved by his alone grace in Christ, in consequence of his eternal purpose, passed before they had done any one good thing. 2 That what good thing soever is begun to be wrought in our souls (whether it be illumination of the understanding, rectitude of will, or purity of affections) was begun altogether of God alone, by whose invincible agency grace is at first conferred, afterwards maintained, and finally crowned. 3. That the work of internal salvation (the sweet and certain prelude to eternal glory) was not only begun in us of his mere grace alone, but that its continuance, its progress, and increase, are no less free and totally unmerited than its first original donation. Grace alone makes the elect gracious; grace alone keeps them gracious; and the same grace alone will render them everlastingly glorious in the heaven of heavens.

Conversion and salvation must, in the very nature of things, be wrought and effected, either by ourselves alone, or by ourselves and God together, or solely by God himself. The Pelagians were for the first. The Arminians are for the second. True believers are for the last; because the last hypothesis, and that only, is built on the strongest evidence of Scripture, reason, and experience. It most effectually hides pride from man, and sets the crown of undivided praise upon the head, or rather casts it at the feet, of that glorious tri-une God who worketh all in all. But this is a crown which no sinners ever yet cast before the throne of God who were not first led into the transporting views of his gracious decree to save, freely, and of his own will, the people of his eternal love. Exclude, therefore, O Christian, the article of sovereign predestination from thy ministry or from thy faith, and acquit thyself, if thou art able, from the charge of robbing God.

When God does, by the omnipotent exertion of his Spirit, effectually call any of mankind in time to the actual knowledge of himself in Christ; when he likewise goes on to sanctify the sinners he has called, making them to excel in all good works, and to persevere in the love and resemblance of

(*m*) De Bono Persever. cap. 21.

(*n*) De Bono Persever. cap. 16.

God to their lives' end; the observing part of the unawakened world may be apt to conclude that these converted persons might receive such measure of grace from God because of some previous qualifications, good dispositions, or pious desires and internal preparations discovered in them by the all-seeing Eye; which, if true, would indeed transfer the praise from the Creator, and consign it to the creature. But the doctrine of predestination—absolute, free, unconditional predestination—here steps in, and gives God his own. It lays the axe to the root of human boasting, and cuts down (for which reason the natural man hates it) every legal, every independent, every self-righteous imagination that would exalt itself against the grace of God and the glory of Christ. It tells us that God hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in his Son, according as he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world, in order to our being afterwards made holy and blameless before him in love: Eph. i. Of course whatever truly and spiritually good thing is found in any person, it is the special gift and work of God, given and wrought in consequence of eternal, unmerited election to grace and glory. Whence the greatest saint cannot triumph over the most abandoned sinner, but is led to refer the entire praise of his salvation, both from sin and hell, to the mere good will and sovereign purpose of God, who hath graciously made him to differ from that world which lieth in wickedness. Such being the tendency of this blessed doctrine, how injurious, both to God and man, would the suppression of it be! Well does St. Austin argue: "As the duties of piety ought to be preached up, that he who hath ears to hear may be instructed how to worship God aright; and as chastity should be publicly recommended and enforced, that he who hath ears to hear may know how to possess himself in sanctification; and as charity, moreover, should be inculcated from the pulpit, that he who hath ears to hear may be excited to the ardent love of God and his neighbour; in like manner should God's predestination of his favours be openly preached, that he who hath ears to hear may learn to glory, not in himself, but in the Lord." (*o*)

IV. Predestination should be publicly taught and insisted upon in order to confirm and strengthen true believers in the certainty and confidence of their salvation. (*p*) For when regenerate persons are told, and are enabled to believe, that the glorification of the elect is so assuredly fixed in God's eternal purpose that it is impossible for any of them to perish, and when the regenerate are led to consider themselves as actually belonging to this elect body of Christ, what can establish, strengthen, and settle their faith like this? Nor is such a faith presumptuous; for every converted man may and ought to conclude himself elected, since God the Spirit renews those only who were chosen by God the Father and redeemed by God the Son. This is a hope which maketh not ashamed, nor can possibly issue in disappointment, if entertained by those into whose hearts the love of God is poured forth by the Holy Ghost given unto them, Rom. v. 5.

The holy triumph and assurance resulting from this blessed view are expressly warranted by the apostle, Rom. viii., where he deduces effectual calling from a prior predestination, and infers the certainty of final salvation from effectual calling: whom he did predestinate, them he also called; and whom he called, them he also justified; and whom he justified, them he also glorified. How naturally, from such premises, does the apostle add, Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? Who and where is he that condemneth them? Who and what shall separate us from the love of Christ? In all these things we are and shall be more than conquerors through him that hath loved us; for I am persuaded [πεπεισμαι, (*q*) I am most clearly and assuredly confident] that neither death nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. So elsewhere: The foundation of the Lord, *i. e.* his decree or purpose, according to election, standeth sure, having this seal: The Lord knoweth them that are his; which is particularly noted by the apostle, lest true believers might be discouraged, and begin to doubt of their own certain perseverance to salvation, either from a sense of their remaining imperfections, or from observing the open apostacy of unregenerate professors; 2 Tim. ii. How little obliged, therefore, are the flock of Christ to those persons who would, by stifling the mention of predestination, expunge the sense and certainty of everlasting blessedness from the list of Christian privileges!

V. Without the doctrine of predestination we cannot enjoy a lively sight and ex-

(*o*) De Bono Persever. cap. 20.

(*p*) Our venerable reformers, in the 17th of our XXXIX Articles, make the very same observation, and nearly in the same words: "The godly consideration of predestination and our election in Christ is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of everlasting salvation to be enjoyed through Christ, &c."

(*q*) Certus sum, Ar. Montan. Certâ side persuasum mihi habeo, Erasm. Victa omni dubitatione, Bengel. I am assured, Dutch version

perience of God's special love and mercy towards us in Christ Jesus. Blessings not peculiar, but conferred indiscriminately on every man, without distinction or exception, would neither be a proof of peculiar love in the donor, nor calculated to excite peculiar wonder and gratitude in the receiver. For instance, rain from heaven, though an invaluable benefit, is not considered as an argument of God's special and peculiar favour to some individuals above others; and why? because it falls on all alike; as much on the rude wilderness and the barren rock as on the cultivated garden and the fruitful field. But the blessing of election, somewhat like the Sibylline books, rises in value proportionably to the fewness of its objects. So that when we recollect that, in the view of God (to whom all things are at once present), the whole mass of mankind was considered as justly liable to condemnation, on account of original and actual iniquity, his selecting some individuals from among the rest, and graciously setting them apart in Christ for salvation both from sin and punishment, were such acts of sovereign goodness as exhibit the exceeding greatness and the entire freeness of his love in the most awful, amiable, and humbling light. In order, then, that the special grace of God may shine, predestination must be preached, even the eternal and immutable predestination of his people to faith and everlasting life. "From those who are left under the power of guilt," says St. Austin, "the person who is delivered from it may learn what he too must have suffered had not grace stepped in to his relief. And if it was grace that interposed, it could not be the reward of man's merit, but the free gift of God's gratuitous goodness. Some, however, call it unjust for one to be delivered while another, though no more guilty than the former, is condemned: if it be just to punish one, it would be but justice to punish both. I grant that both might have been justly punished. Let us, therefore, give thanks unto God our Saviour for not inflicting that vengeance on us which, from the condemnation of our fellow-sinners, we may conclude to have been our desert no less than theirs. Had they, as well as we, been ransomed from their captivity, we could have framed but little conception of the penal wrath due, in strictness of justice, to sin; and, on the other hand, had none of the fallen race been ransomed and set at liberty, how could divine grace have displayed the riches of its liberality?" (*r*) The same evangelical Father delivers himself elsewhere to the same effect: "Hence," says he, "appears the greatness of that grace by which so many are freed from condemnation; and they may form some idea of the misery due to themselves from the dreadfulness of the punishment that awaits the rest. Whence those who rejoice are taught to rejoice, not in their own merits (*quæ paria esse vident damnatis*, for they see that they have no more merit than the damned), but in the Lord." (*s*) Hence results,

VI. Another reason, nearly connected with the former, for the unreserved publication of this doctrine: *viz.* That from a sense of God's peculiar, eternal, and unalterable love to his people, their hearts may be enflamed to love him in return. Slender indeed will be my motives to the love of God, on the supposition that my love to him is before hand with his to me; and that the very continuance of his favour is suspended on the weather-cock of my variable will, or the flimsy thread of my imperfect affection. Such a precarious, dependent love were unworthy of God; and calculated to produce but a scanty and cold reciprocation of love from man. At the happiest of times, and in the best of frames below, our love to God is but a spark (though small and quivering, yet inestimably precious, because divinely kindled, fanned and maintained in the soul; and an earnest of better to come); whereas, love as it glows in God, is an immense sun which shone without beginning, and shall shine without end. Is it probable then, that the spark of human love should give being to the sun of divine? and that the lustre and warmth of this should depend on the glimmering of that? yet so it must be if predestination is not true; and so must be represented, if predestination is not taught.—Would you therefore know what it is to love God as your Father, Friend, and Saviour; you must fall down before his electing mercy. Until then, you are only hovering about in quest of true felicity. But you will never find the door, much less can you enter into rest, until you are enabled to love him because he hath first loved you, 1 John iv. 19.

This being the case, it is evident that, without taking predestination into the account, genuine morality and the performance of truly good works will suffer, starve, and die away. Love to God is the very fuel of acceptable obedience. Withdraw the fuel, and the flame expires. But the fuel of holy affection (if Scripture, experience, and observation are allowed to carry any conviction) can only be cherished, maintained, and increased in the heart by the sense and apprehension of God's predestinating love to us in Christ Jesus. Now our obedience

(*r*) Epist. 105, ad Sixt. Presb.

(*s*) De Predest. Sanctor. lib. 1. cap. 9.

to God will always hold proportion to our love. If the one be relaxed and feeble, the other cannot be alert and vigorous. And electing goodness being the very life and soul of the former, the latter, even good works, must flourish or decline, in proportion as election is glorified or obscured. Hence arises a

VIIth argument for the preaching of predestination: namely, that by it we may be excited to the practice of universal godliness. The knowledge of God's love to you will make you an ardent lover of God: and the more love you have to God, the more will you excel in all the duties and offices of love. Add to this, that the Scripture view of predestination includes the means as well as the end. Christian predestinarians are for keeping together what God hath joined. He who is for attaining the end without going to it through the means, is a self-deluding enthusiast. He, on the other hand, who carefully and conscientiously uses the means of salvation, as steps to the end, is the true Calvinist.—— Now eternal life being that to which the elect are ultimately destined; faith (the effect of saving grace), and sanctification (the effect of faith), are blessings to which the elect are intermediately appointed.— According as he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blame before him in love, Eph. i. 4. We are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained, that we should walk in them; Eph. ii. 10.—Knowing, brethren, beloved, your election of God:—Ye became followers of us and of the Lord, 1 Thess. i. 4, 6.—God hath chosen you to salvation, through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth. 2 Thess. ii. 13 — Elect, according to the foreknowledge [or ancient love] of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience, 1 Pet. i. 2.

Nor is salvation (the appointed end of election) at all the less secure in itself (but the more so) for standing necessarily connected with the intervening means; seeing, both these and that are inseparably joined, in order to the certain accomplishment of that through these. It only demonstrates that, without regeneration of heart and purity of life, the elect themselves are not led to heaven. But then it is incontestible, from the whole current of Scripture, that these intermediate blessings shall most infallibly be vouchsafed to every elect person, in virtue of God's absolute covenant, and through the effectual agency of his almighty Spirit. Internal sanctification constitutes our meetness for the kingdom to which we were predestinated; and a course of external righteousness is one of the grand evidences by which we make our election sure to our own present comfort and apprehension of it. (*l*)

VIII. Unless predestination be preached, we shall want one great inducement to the exercise of brotherly kindness and charity. When a converted person is assured, on one hand, that all whom God hath predestinated to eternal life shall infallibly enjoy that eternal life to which they were chosen; and, on the other hand, when he discerns the signs of election, not only in himself, but also in the rest of his fellow-believers; and concludes, thence (as in a judgment of charity, he ought), that they are as really elected as himself; how must his heart glow with love to his Christian brethren! How feelingly will he sympathize with them in their distresses! how tenderly will he bear with their infirmities! how readily will he relieve the former, and how easily overlook the latter!—Nothing will so effectually knit together the hearts of God's people in time as the belief of their having been written, by name, in one book of life from everlasting: and the unshaken confidence of their future exaltation to one and the same state of glory above will occasion the strongest cement of affection below.— This was, possibly, one end of our Saviour's so frequently reminding his apostles of their election: namely, that from the sense of such an unspeakable blessing, in which they were all equally interested, they might learn to love one another with pure hearts, fervently: and cultivate on earth that holy friendship which they well knew, from the immutability of God's decrees, would be eternally matured to the highest perfection and refinement in heaven.—St. Paul, likewise, might have some respect to the same amiable inference when, treating of the saints collectively, he uses those sweet and endearing expressions, he hath chosen us; he hath predestinated us, &c. that believers, considering themselves as συνεκλεκτοι, or co-elect in Christ, might be led to love each other with peculiar intenseness, as the spiritual children of one electing Father, brethren in grace, and joint-heirs of glory.—Did the regenerate of the present age but practically advert to the everlasting nearness in which they stand related to each other, how happy would be the effect!

Hence it appears, that since the preach-

(*l*) 2 Pet. i. 10. Give diligence to make your calling and election βεβαιαν, undoubted; *i. e.* to get some solid and incontestible evidence of your predestination to life.—" Βεβαιος, is de quo fiducia concipitur; is de quo nobis aliquid certo persuademus. Unde apud Thuc. 3. βεβαιον εἰναι τουτο ποιησειν certa fides habetur mihi, hoc facturum me esse.—Βεβαιωσ, certo explorato. Βεβαιουμαι, fidem facio; pro comperto habeo." Scap. So, ελπις βεβαια is an undoubting hope, 2 Cor. i. 7. And βεβαιοτερον λογον is a more assured and unquestionable word of prophecy, 2 Pet. i. 19.

ing of predestination is thus evidently calculated to kindle and keep alive the twofold congenial flame, of love to God and love to man, it must, by necessary consequence, conduce,

To the advancement of universal obedience, and to the performance of every social and religious duty (*u*): which alone, was there nothing else to recommend it, would be a sufficient motive to the public delivery of that important doctrine.

IX. Lastly, without a due sense of predestination, we shall want the surest and the most powerful inducement to patience, resignation, and dependence on God, under every spiritual and temporal affliction.

How sweet must the following consideration be to a distressed believer! 1. There most certainly exists an almighty, all-wise, and infinitely gracious God. — 2. He has given me in times past, and is giving me at present (if I had but eyes to see it), many and signal intimations of his love to me, both in a way of providence and grace.—3. This love of his is immutable: He never repents of it, nor withdraws it.—4. Whatever comes to pass, in time, is the result of his will from everlasting—Consequently, 5. My afflictions were a part of his original plan, and are all ordered, in number, weight and measure. 6. The very hairs of my head are every one counted by him; nor can a single hair fall to the ground but in consequence of his determination. Hence, 7. My distresses are not the result of chance, accident, or a fortuitous combination of circumstances: but, 8. The providential accomplishment of God's purpose: and, 9. Designed to answer some wise and gracious ends. Nor, 10. shall my affliction continue a moment longer than God sees meet. 11. He who brought me to it has promised to support me under it, and to carry me through it. 12. All shall most assuredly, work together for his glory and my good. Therefore, 13. The cup which my heavenly Father hath given me to drink, shall I not drink it? Yes: I will, in the strength he imparts, even rejoice in tribulation; and, using the means of possible redress which he hath, or may hereafter put into my hands, I will commit myself and the event to him, whose purpose cannot be overthrown, whose plan cannot be disconcerted, and who, whether I am resigned or not, will still go on to work all things after the counsel of his own will. (*x*)

Above all, when the suffering Christian takes his election into the account, and knows that he was, by an eternal and im-

(*u*) Our excellent bishop Davenant instances particularly in the great religious duty of prayer. "The consideration of election," says this learned and evangelical prelate, "doth stir up the faithful to constancy in prayer: for, having learnt that all good tending to salvation is prepared for them out of God's good pleasure; they are hereby encouraged to call for, and, as it were, to draw down from heaven, by their prayers, those good things which from eternity were ordained for the elect. Moreover, the same Spirit of adoption, who beareth witness to our spirit, that we are God's chosen children, is also the Spirit of prayer and supplication, and enflameth our hearts to call daily upon our heavenly Father. Those, therefore, who, from the certainty of predestination, do pretend that the duty of prayer is superfluous, do plainly shew that they are so far from having any certainty of their predestination, that they have not the least sense thereof. To be slack and sluggish in prayer is not the property of those who, by the testimony of God's Spirit, have got assurance of their election: but rather of such as have either none, or very small, apprehension thereof. For, as soon as any one, by believing, doth conceive himself to be one of God's elect children, he earnestly desireth to procure unto himself, by prayer, those good things which he believeth that God prepared for his children before the foundation of the world." Bp. Davenant's Animadversions on an Arminian treatise, entitled God's Love to Mankind, p. 526, and seq.

(*x*) The learned Lipsius thus writes to an unmarried friend, who appears to have referred himself to his judgment and direction: "Sive uxor ducitur, sive omittitur, &c. Whether you marry or live single, you will still have something or other to molest you: nor does the whole course of man's present sublunary life afford him a single draught of joy without a mixture of wormwood in the cup. This is the universal and immutable law: which to resist were no less vain than sinful and rebellious. As the wrestlers of old had their respective antagonists assigned them, not by their own choice, but by necessary lot; in like manner each of the human race has his peculiar destiny allotted to him by Providence. To conquer this is to endure it. All our strength in this warfare is to undergo the inevitable pressure. It is victory to yield ourselves to fate." Lips. Epist. miscell. cent. 1. ep. 43. oper. tom. 2. p. 54. edit. Vesaliens. 1675.

About three years after, this celebrated Christian Seneca wrote, as follows, to the same person (Theodore Leewius) who had married, and just lost his wife in childbed: "Jam fatum quid? æterna, ab æterno, in æternum, Dei Lex: what is fate? God's everlasting ordinance, settled in eternity, and for eternity: an ordinance which he can never repeal, disannul, or set aside, either in whole or in part. Now, if this his decree be eternal, retro, and immovable, quoad futurum; why does foolish man struggle and fight against that which must be? Especially seeing fate is thus the offspring of God, why does impious man murmur and complain? you cannot justly find fault with any thing determined or done by him, as though it were evil or severe: for he is all goodness and benevolence. Were you to define his nature, you could not do it more suitably than in those terms: is, therefore, your wife dead? debuit, it is right she should be so. But was it right that she should die, and at that very time, and by that very kind of death? Most certainly. Lex ita lata: the decree so ordained it. The restless acumen of the human mind may sift and canvass the appointments of fate; but cannot alter them. Were we truly wise, we should be implicitly submissive, and endure with willingness what we must endure whether we be willing or not. A due sense of our inability to reverse the disposals of Providence, and the consequent vanity of resisting them, would administer solid repose to our minds, and sheathe, if not remove, the anguish of affliction. And why should we even wish to resist? Fate's supreme ordainer is not only the all-wise God, but an all-gracious Father. Embrace every event as good and prosperous: though it may, for the present, carry an aspect of the reverse. Think you not that he loves and careth for us more and better than we for ourselves? But, as the tenderest parent below doth oftentimes cross the inclinations of his children, with a view to do them good; and obliges them both to do and to undergo many things against the bent of their wills: so does the great Parent of all." Ibid. epist. 61. p. 82.

mutable act of God, appointed to obtain salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ; that, of course, he hath a city prepared for him above, a building of God, a house not made with hands, but eternal in the heavens; and that the heaviest sufferings of the present life are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in the saints; what adversity can possibly befal us which the assured hope of blessings like these will not infinitely overbalance?

"A comfort so divine,
May trials well endure."

However keenly afflictions might wound us on their first access, yet under the impression of such animating views we should quickly come to ourselves again, and the arrows of tribulation would, in great measure, become pointless. Christians want nothing but absolute resignation to render them perfectly happy in every possible circumstance; and absolute resignation can only flow from an absolute belief of, and an absolute acquiescence in, God's absolute providence, founded on absolute predestination. The apostle himself draws these conclusions to our hand in Rom. viii., where, after having laid down as most undoubted axioms the eternity and immutability of God's purposes, he thus winds up the whole: "What shall we say, then, to these things? if God be for us, who can be against us? Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? Nay: in all these things we are more than conquerors, through him that loved us.

Such, therefore, among others, being the uses that arise from the faithful preaching and the cordial reception of predestination, may we not venture to affirm, with Luther, *hâc ignoratâ doctrinâ, neque fidem, neque ullum Dei cultum, consistere posse?* that "Our faith and all right worship of God depend, in no small degree, upon our knowledge of that doctrine?" (*y*)

The excellent Melancthon, in his first Common Places (which received the sanction of Luther's express approbation), does, in the first chapter, which treats professedly of free-will and predestination, set out with clearing and establishing the doctrine of God's decrees, and then proceeds to point out the necessity and manifold usefulness of asserting and believing it. He even goes so far as to affirm roundly that "a right fear of God, and a true confidence in him, can be learned more assuredly from no other source than from the doctrine of predestination." But Melancthon's judgment of these matters will best appear from the whole passage, which the reader will find in the book and chapter just referred to.

"*Divina predestinatio*," says he, "*libertatem homini adimit*: Divine predestination quite strips man of his boasted liberty; for all things come to pass according to God's fore-appointment, even the internal thoughts of all creatures, no less than their external works. Therefore, Eph. i. the apostle gives us to understand that God performeth all things according to the counsel of his own will. And our Lord himself asks, Matt. x. Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? yet one of them falleth not to the ground without your Father. Pray, what can be more full to the point than such a declaration? So Solomon, Prov. xvi., The Lord hath made all things for himself; yea, even the wicked for the day of evil. And in the xxth chap., Man's goings are of the Lord: how then can a man understand his own way? To which the prophet Jeremiah does also set his seal, saying, chapter x., O Lord, I know that the way of man is not in himself: it is not in man that walketh to direct his own steps. The historical part of Scripture teaches us the same great truth. So, Gen. xv., we read that the iniquity of the Amorites was not yet full. In 1 Sam. ii. we are told that Eli's sons hearkened not to his reproof, because the Lord would slay them. What could bear a stronger resemblance to chance and accident than Saul's calling upon Samuel only with a view to seek out his father's asses? 1 Sam. ix. Yet the visit was foreordained of God, and designed to answer a purpose little thought of by Saul; 1 Sam. ix. 15, 16." [See also a most remarkable chain of predestinated events in reference to Saul, and foretold by the prophet, 1 Sam. x. 2, 8.] "In pursuance of the divine preordination, there went with Saul a band of men whose hearts God had touched, 1 Sam. x. 26.—The harshness of king Rehoboam's answer to the ten tribes, and the subsequent revolt of those tribes from his dominion, are, by the sacred historian, expressly ascribed to God's decree: wherefore the king hearkened not unto the people; for the cause was from the Lord, that he might perform his saying which the Lord spake by Ahijah, the Shilonite, unto Jeroboam, the son of Nebat; 1 Kings xii. 15.—What is the drift of the apostle Paul in the 9th and 11th of Romans, *quàm ut omnia, quæ fiunt, in destinationem divinam referat?* but to resolve all things that come to pass into God's destination? the judgment of the flesh, or of mere unregenerate reason, usually starts back from this truth with horror; but, on the contrary, the judgment of a spiritual man will embrace it with affection. *Neque enim vel timorem Dei, vel*

(*y*) De Serv. Arbitr. cap. 20.

fiduciam in Deum, certius aliunde disces, quam ubi imbueris animum hâc de predestinatione sententiâ: You will not learn, either the fear of God, or affiance in him, from a surer source than from getting your mind deeply tinctured and seasoned with this doctrine of predestination. Does not Solomon, in the book of Proverbs, inculcate it throughout, and justly? for how else could he direct men to fear God and trust in him? the same he does in the Book of Ecclesiastes: nor had any thing so powerful a tendency to repress the pride of man's encroaching reason, and to lower the swelling conceit of his supposed discretion, as the firm belief, *quòd a Deo fiunt omnia* that all things are from God. What invincible comfort did Christ impart to his disciples, in assuring them that their very hairs were all numbered by the Creator? Is there, then (may an objector say), no such thing as contingency? no such thing as chance, or fortune?—No. *Omnia necessariò evenire scripturæ docent;* the doctrine of scripture is that all things come to pass necessarily. Be it so, that to you some events seem to happen contingently: you, nevertheless, must not be run away with by the suggestions of your own narrow-sighted reason. Solomon himself, the wisest of men, was so deeply versed in the doctrine of inscrutable predestination, as to leave this humbling maxim on record: When I applied my heart to know wisdom, and to see the business that is done upon the earth; then I beheld all the work of God, that a man cannot find out the work that is done under the sun: because, though a man labour to seek it out, yet he shall not find; yea, further, though a wise man think to know it, yet shall he not be able to find it. Ecclesiastes viii. 16, 17."

Melancthon prosecutes the argument much farther: but this may suffice for a specimen. And it is not unworthy of notice that Luther so highly approved of Melancthon's performance, and especially of the first chapter, (whence the above extract is given), that he [Luther] thus writes of it, in his Epistle to Erasmus, prefixed to his book, *De Serv. Arb.* "That it was worthy of everlasting duration and to be received into the ecclesiastical canon." Let it likewise be farther observed, that Melancthon never, to the very last, retracted a single word of what he there delivers; which a person of his decided piety and known integrity would most certainly have done, had he afterwards (as some have most artfully and falsely insinuated) found any reason to change his judgment on these heads.

APPENDIX

CONCERNING THE

FATE OF THE ANCIENTS. (z)

FATE (says Apuleius), according to Plato, is that, "*Per quod inevitabiles cogitationes Dei atque incepta complentur;* whereby the purposes and designs of God are accomplished. Hence the Platonics considered providence under a three-fold distinction: 1. The *Providentia prima*, or that which gave birth to all effects; and is defined by them to be του πρωτου θεου νοησις, the intention, or will of the supreme God. 2. The *Providentia secunda*, or actual agency of the secondary or inferior beings, who were supposed to pervade the heavens, and thence, by their influence, to regulate and dispose of all sublunary things; and especially to prevent the extinction of any one species below. 3. The *Providentia tertia*, supposed to be exerted by the *Genii*, whose office it was to exercise a particular care over mankind; to guard our persons, and direct our actions.

But the Stoical view of providence, or fate, was abundantly more simple, and required no such nicety of distinction. These philosophers did at once derive all the chain of causes and effects from their true and undoubted source, the will of the one living and true God. Hence, with these sages, the words Deity, Fate, Providence, were frequently reciprocated, as terms synonymous. Thus Seneca, speaking of God; "Will you call him Fate? You will call him rightly: for all things are suspended on him. Himself is *causa causarum*, the cause of all causes beside." The laws of the universe are from God; whence the same philosopher elsewhere observes, "*Omnia certâ et in æternum dictâ lege decurrere;* all things go on according to a certain rule or decree, ordained for ever;" meaning the law of fate. So Cicero: "All things come to pass, according to the sovereignty of the eternal law." And Pindar probably had an eye to this where he says, Νομου παντων βασιλεα, θνητων τε και αθανατων ειναι. That the law ruleth all, whether gods or mortals. Manlius most certainly had:

Sed nihil in totâ magis est mirabile mole.
Quam ratio, et certis quod legibus omnia parent.

Where, by *ratio* is evidently meant the decreeing mind of God: and by *leges* is meant Fate, or that series of causes and effects which is the offspring of his decree.

Homer cannot begin his Iliad without asserting this grand truth:—Διος δ' ετελειετο βουλη. The counsel or decree of Jupiter was fulfilled. The divine poet sets out on this

(z) Vide Lipsii Physiolog. Stoic. Lib. 1. Dissert. xii.

exalted principle: he puts it in front of the noblest poem in the world, as a testimony both of his wisdom and his faith. It was as if he had said, "I shall sing of numberless events, equally grand, entertaining and important: but I cannot begin to unfold them without laying down this as a first fundamental axiom, That, though brought to pass by the instrumental agency of men, they were the fruit of God's determining will, and of his all-directing providence."

Neither are those minuter events, which seemingly are the result of chance, excluded from this law. Even these do not happen, but come to pass in a regular order of succession, and at their due period of time. "*Causa pendet ex causâ privata ac publica longus ordo rerum trahit,*" says Seneca; "Cause proceeds from cause: the long train of things draws with it all events both public and private." Excellent is that of Sophocles; (Aj. Flagell). "I am firmly of opinion that all these things, and whatever else befal us, are in consequence of the divine purpose: whoso thinks otherwise is at liberty to follow his own judgment; but this will ever be mine."

The *Longus ordo rerum*, mentioned by Seneca, is what he elsewhere styles, *Causarum implexa series*, or a perpetual implication of causes. This, according to Laertius, was called by the Stoics, αιτια των ονταν ειρομεν, an involved, or concatenate causality of whatever has any existence; for ειρμος is a chain, or implicate connection. Agreeably to this idea, Chrysippus gives the following definition of fate: "Fate is that natural established order and constitution of all things from everlasting, whereby they mutually follow upon each other, in consequence of an immutable and perpetual complication."

Let us examine this celebrated definition of fate. 1. He calls it a natural συνταξις, meaning by nature, the great *natura prima*, or God: for, by some Stoics, God and nature are used promiscuously. But because the Deity must be supposed both to decree and to act with wisdom, intelligence and design, fate is sometimes mentioned by them under the name of Λογος, or reason. Thus they define fate *(Laert. in Zen.)* to be that supreme "reason whereby the world is governed and directed," or more minutely thus; that reason whereby the things that have been were; the things that now are have a present existence; and the things that are to be shall be. Reason you see, or wisdom in the Deity, is an antecedent cause whence both providence and inferior nature are derived. It is added in Stobæus, that Chrysippus sometimes varies his terms; and instead of the word reason, substitutes the words truth, cause, nature, necessity: intimating that fate is the true, natural, necessary cause of the things that are, and of the manner in which they are. 2. This fate is said to be εξ αϊδιε, from everlasting. Nor improperly: since the constitution of things was settled and fixed in the divine mind (where they had a sort of ideal existence) previous to their actual creation; and therefore, considered as certainly future in his decree, may be said to have been, in some sense, co-eternal with himself. 3. The immutable and perpetual complication, mentioned in the definition, means no more than that reciprocal involution of causes and effects from God downwards, by which things and events, *positis omnibus ponendis*, are necessarily produced, according to the plan which infinite wisdom designed from the beginning. God, the first cause, hath given being and activity to an immense number of secondary, subaltern causes, which are so inseparably linked and interwoven with their respective effects (a connection truly admirable, and not to be comprehended by man in his present state), that those things which do in reality come to pass necessarily, and by inevitable destiny, seem to the superficial observer to come to pass in the common course of nature, or by virtue of human reasoning and freedom. This is that inscrutable method of divine wisdom, "*A quâ*" (says St. Austin) "*est omnis modus, omnis species, omnis ordo, mensura, numerus, pondus; à quâ sunt semina formarum, formæ seminum, motus seminum atque formarum.*"

Necessity is the consequence of fate. So Trismegistus: All things are brought about by nature and by fate: neither is any place void of providence. Now providence is the self-perfect reason of the super-celestial God: from which reason of his issue two native powers, necessity and fate. Thus, in the judgment of the wiser heathens, effects were to be traced up to their producing causes; those producing causes were to be further traced up to the still higher causes by which they were produced; and those higher causes to God the cause of them. Persons, things, circumstances, events, and consequences, are the effects of necessity: necessity is the daughter of fate: fate is the offspring of God's infinite wisdom and sovereign will. Thus all things are ultimately resolved into their great primary cause; by whom the chain was originally let down from heaven, and on whom every link depends.

It must be owned that all the fatalists of antiquity (particularly among the Stoics) did not constantly express themselves with due precision. A Christian who is savingly taught by the word and Spirit of God, must be pained and disgusted, not to say shocked, when he reads such an assertion as this: Την πεπρωμενην μοιραν αδυνατον εσι αποφυγειν και Θεω. God himself cannot possi-

bly avoid his destiny (Herodot 1.) or that of the poet Philemon :

Δηλοι βασιλεων εισιν, οι βασιλεις Θεων
Ὁ Θεος αναγκης.

Common men are servants to kings; kings are servants to the Gods; and God is a servant to necessity. So Seneca : "*Eadem necessitas et Deos alligat : irrevocabilis divina pariter atque humana cursus vehit. Ille ipse, omnium conditor ac rector, scripsit quidem fata, sed sequitur. Semper paret : semel jussit.*" The self-same necessity binds the Gods themselves. All things divine, as well as human, are carried forward by one identical and overpowering rapidity. The supreme Author and Governor of the universe hath indeed written and ordained the fates; but having once ordained them, he ever after obeys them. He commanded them at first, for once : but his conformity to them is perpetual. This is without doubt very irreverently and very incautiously expressed.—Whence it has been common with many Christian writers to tax the Stoics with setting up a first cause, superior to God himself, and on which he is dependent.

But I apprehend these philosophers meant in reality no such thing. All they designed to inculcate was that the will of God and his decrees are unchangeable : that there can be no alteration in the divine intention; no new act arise in his mind; no reversion of his eternal plan; all being founded in adorable sovereignty; ordered by infallible wisdom; ratified by omnipotence; and cemented with immutability. Thus Lucan :

Finixit in æternum causas; quâ cuncta coërcet,
Se quoque lege tenens.

And this, not through any imbecility in God, or as if he was subject to fate, of which (on the contrary) himself was the ordainer; but because it is his pleasure to abide by his own decree. For as Seneca observes, "*Imminutio majestatis sit, et confessio erroris, mutanda fecisse. Necesse est ei eadem placere, qui nisi optima placere non possunt :*" it would detract from the greatness of God, and look as if he acknowledged himself liable to mistakes, was he to make changeable decrees : his pleasure must necessarily be always the same; seeing that only which is best can at any time please an all-perfect being. A good man (adds this philosopher) is under a kind of pleasing necessity to do good; and, if he did not do it he could not be a good man.

"*Magnum hoc argumentum est firmæ voluntatis, ne mutare quidem posse :*" it is a striking proof of a magnanimous will to be absolutely incapable of changing. And such is the will of God, it never fluctuates nor varies. But, on the other hand, was he susceptible of change; could he, through the intervention of any inferior cause, or by some untoward combination of external circumstances, be induced to recede from his purpose and alter his plan; it would be a most incontestible mark of weakness and dependence : the force of which argument made Seneca, though a heathen, cry out, "*Non externa Deos cogunt; sed sua illis in legem æterna voluntas est* : outward things cannot compel the Gods; but their own eternal will is a law to themselves. It may be objected that this seems to infer as if the Deity was still under some kind of restraint. By no means. Let Seneca obviate this cavil; as he effectually does, in these admirable words : "*Nec Deus ab hoc minùs liber aut potens est; ipse enim est necessitas sua* : God is not hereby either less free, or less powerful; for he himself is his own necessity.

On the whole, it is evident that when the Stoics speak, even in the strongest terms, of the obligation of fate on God himself, they may and ought to be understood in a sense worthy of the adorable, uncreated Majesty.—In thus interpreting the doctrine of fate, as taught by the genuine philosophers of the Portico, I have the great St Austin on my side : who after canvassing, and justly rejecting, the bastard or astrological fate; thus goes on : "*At qui omnium connectionem seriemque causarum, quâ fit omne quod fit, fati nomine appellant; non multum cum eis, de verbi controversiâ, certandum atque laborandum est : quandoquidem ipsum causarum ordinem, et quandam connectionem, summi Dei tribuunt voluntati : i. e.* But for those philosophers [meaning the Stoics] who, by the word fate mean that regular chain and series of causes to which all things that come to pass owe their immediate existence; we will not earnestly contend with these persons about a mere term; and we the rather acquiesce in their manner of expression because they carefully ascribe this fixed succession of things, and this mutual concatenation of causes and effects, to the will of the Supreme God. Austin adds many observations of the same import; and proves from Seneca himself, as rigid a Stoic as any, that this was the doctrine and the meaning of his philosophic brethren.

A LETTER

TO THE

REV. MR. JOHN WESLEY;

RELATIVE TO HIS PRETENDED

ABRIDGMENT

OF

ZANCHIUS ON PREDESTINATION.

Sic fatas senior, Telumque imbelle sine Ictu
Conjecit : rauco quod potinàs ære repulsum ;
Et summo Clypei nequicquam Umbone pependit.
Credulitate, Puer; Audacia, Juvenis; Deliriis, Senex. ÆNEID II.
Mr. De Bozz' Epitaph on Hardouin, the French Jesuit.

Nine months are now elapsed since the first publication of this letter ; in all which time Mr. W. has neither apologized for the misdemeanor which occasioned his hearing from me in this public manner, nor attempted to answer the charges entered against him. Judging, probably, that the former would be too condescending in one who has erected himself into the leader of a sect, and that the latter would prove rather too difficult a task, and involve him in a subsequent train of fresh detections, he has prudently omitted both.

Some of his followers, however, have not been so tamely inactive, on this occasion, as their pastor. Anxious, at once, to palliate his offence and to screen his timidity, several penny and two-penny defences have successively appeared : wherein the anonymous scribblers wretchedly endeavoured to gather up, and put together, the fragments of a shattered reputation. The very printers, the mid-wives who handed these "insects of a day" into public existence, were ashamed to subjoin their names at the bottom of the title pages.

Two lay-preachers, in particular, have feebly taken up the cudgels for their master. Of one I shall say very little, as he writes with some degree of decency. Of the other I shall not say much ; for both his talents and his morals sink him far below the dignity of chastisement. This illiterate "haberdasher of small wares" entitles his penny effusion, as well as I remember, "A Letter of thanks to the Reverend Mr. Toplady, in the Names of all the hardened Sinners in London and Westminster." The poor creature, it is plain from his title-page, aims at humour ; and yet unhappily for such a design, he is in reality but too literally qualified to act as secretary in chief to the sinners of London and Westminster. For he has given very numerous and ample proofs of his own sinnership, and that there can hardly exist, in those two cities, a more atrocious sinner than himself. I will not pollute this paper with a recital of his crimes. They who know the man are no strangers to his communication. Though a doctrinal Pharisee, his life has, long ago, evinced him a practical Sadducee. Surely, Arminianism is likely to flourish mainly under the auspices of such able and virtuous advocates !

And so much for Mr. Wesley's redoubtable subalterns.

> What image of their fury can we form ?
> Dulness and rage. A puddle in a storm.

If my advice carries any weight with them, they will carefully peruse their spelling-books before they make another sally from the press. As to themselves and their refined productions, I mean to take no farther notice of either. I am quite of Mr. Gay's opinion ;

> To shoot at crows is powder thrown away.

I had almost forgot the monthly reviewers. One word concerning them, and I have done. The two reverend gentlemen who are hired to dissect and characterize whatever comes within the divinity-department, *à calendis ad calendas*, would fain have it, in their superficial strictures on the first edition of this letter, than I am angry with Mr. Wesley. If, by anger, the ingenious animadverters mean a just and becoming disapprobation of Mr. Wesley's lying abridgment, and of the surreptitious manner in which he smuggled it into the world, I

acknowledge myself, in this respect, angry. I hope the reverend reviewers will not, in their turn, be angry too, at seeing themselvel tacked to the list of Mr. Wesley's allies: since, in their mode of representing my dispute (or, to adopt their own military term, my battle) with that gentleman, they seem to rank themselves in the number of his seconds. The reason is obvious. Mr. W. is a red-hot Arminian: and the sagacious doctors can discern, with half an eye, that Arminiaism lies within a bow-shot of Socinianism and Deism. Yet, notwithstanding the alliance is thus not altogether unnatural, why should these two divines, who are, certainly, possessed of abilities which might do honour to human nature, by a narrow, sordid attachment to party, render those abilities less respectable?

Broad Hembury, January, 9 1771.

Sir,

Possibly the following letter may fall into the hands of some who are unacquainted with the merits of the occasion on which I write. For the information of such, I must premise that, in November, 1769, I published a Two Shilling Pamphlet, entitled "The Doctrine of Absolute Predestination stated and asserted: with a preliminary Discourse on the Divine Attributes. Translated, in great measure, from the Latin of Jerom Zanchius."

Though you are neither mentioned, nor alluded to, throughout the whole book, yet it could hardly be imagined that a treatise apparently tending to lay the axe to the root of those pernicious doctrines which, for more than thirty years past, you have endeavoured to palm on your credulous followers, with all the sophistry of a jesuit, and the dictatorial authority of a pope, should long pass without some censure from the hand of a restless Arminian, who has so eagerly endeavoured to distinguish himself as the bell-wether of his deluded thousands.

Accordingly, in the month of March, 1770, out sneaks a printed paper (consisting of one sheet, folded into twelve pages; price one penny) entitled, "The Doctrine of Absolute Predestination stated and asserted, by the Reverend Mr. A———T———." Wherein you pretend to give an abridgment of the pamphlet above referred to. But,

1. Why did you not make your abridgment truly public? For an apparent reason: that, if possible it might elude my knowledge, and so escape the rod. Born of a stolen embrace, it was needful for the spurious pusillanimous performance to steal its way into the world. It privately crept abroad from the Foundry, the seat of its nativity; it was sold indeed, but sold under the rose; it was carefully circulated in the dark, and the friends of Mr. Wesley were designed to be the sole sphere of its acquaintance. Thus every one that doth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deed should be reproved. In such conduct, I can discern much of the Jesuit, but nothing of the saint.—I had to this hour remained unapprized of the secret stab, but for the information received from some of superior integrity to yourself.—I will put Christianity quite out of the question, and suppose it to have no kind of influence. But should you not at least act as a man of common honour? Come forth openly, sir, in future, like an honest generous assailant; and, from this moment forward, disdain to act the ignoble part of a lurking sly assassin.

2. Why did you not abridge me faithfully and fairly? Why must you lard your ridiculous compendium with additions and interpolations of your own; especially as you took the liberty of prefixing my name to it? Your reasons are obvious. My publication had spread among some of your people: and the longer it continued to diffuse itself, the more you trembled for your Diana. Hence, Demetrius like, you found it needful, by the help of a pious fraud, to prejudice your Ephesians against the doctrines of St. Paul. The book was likely to give the Arminian Babel a shake: therefore, no way so effectual to secure it as by endeavouring to spike the cannon which was planted against it. That you might seem to gratify the curiosity of your partisans, and keep them really hood-winked at the same time, you draw up a flimsy, partial compendium of Zanchius: a compendium which exhibits a few detached propositions, placed in the most disadvantageous point of view, and without including any part of the evidence on which they stand.

But this alone was not sufficient to compass the desired end. Unsatisfied with carefully and totally suppressing every proof alleged by Zanchius in support of his argument; a false colouring must likewise be superinduced, by inserting a sentence or two now and then of your own foisting in. After which you close the motley piece, with an entire paragraph, forged every word of it by yourself: and conclude all, as you began, with subjoining the initials of my name: to make the ignorant believe that the whole, with your omissions, additions, and alterations, actually came from me.—An instance of audacity and falsehood hardly to be paralleled!

I am very far from desiring the reader to take my word in proof of the charge alleged against you. As an instance of your want of honour, veracity, and justice, I refer to the following paragraph, 1. as published by me; and, 2. as quoted by you.

1 "When all the transactions of Providence and grace are wound up in the last day, he (Christ) will then properly sit as Judge, and openly publish, and solemnly ratify, if I may so, say his everlasting decrees, by receiving the elect, body and soul, into glory: and by passing sentence on the non-elect (not for having done what they could not help, but) for their wilful ignorance of divine things and their obstinate unbelief; for their omissions of moral duty, and for their repeated iniquities and transgressions."
Doct. of Abs. Predest.

2 "In the last day, Christ will sit as Judge and openly publish and solemnly ratify his everlasting decrees, by receiving the elect into glory, and by passing sentence on the non-elect (not for having done what they could not help, but) for their wilful ignorance of divine things and their obstinate unbelief; for their omissions of moral duty, and for their repeated iniquities and transgressions which they could not help." Wesley's Abridgement, p. 9.

Whether my view of the doctrine itself be, in fact, right or wrong is no part of the present enquiry: the question is, have you quoted me fairly? Blush, Mr. Wesley, if you are capable of blushing. For once publicly acknowledge yourself to have acted criminally: "unless," to use your own words on another occasion, "shame and you have shook hands and parted."

Your concluding paragraph, which you have the effrontery to palm on the world as mine, runs thus: "(*a*) The sum of all this: one in twenty (suppose) of mankind are elected; nineteen in twenty are reprobated. The elect shall be saved. do what they will; the reprobate shall be damned, do what they can. Reader, believe this, or be damned. Witness my hand, A—— T——."

In almost any other case, a similar forgery would transmit the criminal to Virginia or Maryland, if not to Tyburn. If such an opponent can be deemed an honest man, where shall we find a knave?—What would you think of me, were I infamous enough to abridge any treatise of yours, sprinkle it with interpolations, and conclude it thus: "Reader, buy this book, or be damned, witness my hand, John Wesley?"

And is it thus you contend for victory? are these the weapons of your warfare? Is this bearing down those who differ from you with meekness? Do you call this binding with cords of love? Away, for shame, with such disingenuous artifices. At least, endeavour to conceal that narrow sectarian spirit, which betrays itself more or less in almost every thing you write. Renounce the low serpentine cunning, which puts you on falsifying what you find yourself unable to refute. And, as you regard your character and the cause you espouse, dismiss those dirty subterfuges (the last resources of mean malicious impotence), which degrade the man of parts into a lying sophister, and sink a divine beneath the level of an oyster-woman. Cease to fight like the French, with old nails and broken glass. Charge fairly and fire as forcibly as you can. But if you persist to employ the weapons of scurrility and falsehood, the splinters will not only recoil on yourself, but you will continue to be posted for a theological coward.

And why should you, of all people in the world, be so very angry with the doctrines of grace? Forget not the days and months that are past. Remember that it once depended on the toss of a shilling, whether you yourself should be a Calvinist or an Arminian. Tails fell uppermost, and you resolved to be an universalist. It was a happy throw which consigned you to the tents of Arminius: for it saved us from the company of a man who, by a kind of religious gambling peculiarly his own, risked his faith on the most contemptible of all lots; and was capable of tossing up for his creed as porters or chairmen toss up for a halfpenny.

I have read of princes and other eminent persons, who, having risen from ignoble life to greatness, took care to have some striking memorials of their former obscurity frequently in their view, by way of a counterpoise to pride, and as a preservative from being exalted above measure. When from the pinnacle of your own importance you look down upon the advocates for free-grace, and consider them as reptiles, to be treated as you please, only recollect the humbling circumstance of which I have just reminded you: and repress the complacent swellings of self-adulation, by some such soliloquy as this: "I have been in danger myself of believing that St. Paul says true, when he declares that God hath mercy on whom he will have mercy. How precious was the shilling, and above all how lucky was the throw, which convinced me of St. Paul's mistake!" Forgive us if we as implicitly determine our faith by the Scriptures as you determined yours by the fall of the splendid shilling.

But even since this memorable epoch, you have by no means proved yourself that steady Arminian you would have the world believe. Proteus like, you disdain to be shackled and circumscribed by any certain form. Her ladyship of Loretto, though she has a different suit for every day in the year, is *semper eadem*, when compared with the *quondam* fellow of Lincoln College. There are times when you vary as much from your preceding self, as you do at all times from the rest of mankind. Possessed of more than

(*a*) Wesley's Abridgment, p. 12.

serpentine elability, you cast your slough not once a year, but almost once an hour. Hence your innumerable inconsistencies and flagrant self-contradictions; the jarring of your principles (ever at intestine war with each other), and the incoherence of your religious system. Your scheme of doctrines reminds me of the feet of a certain visionary image, which, as the sacred penman acquaints us, seemed to be composed of iron and clay—heterogeneous materials, which may, indeed be put together, but will never incorporate with each other. Somewhat like the necromantic soup, of which you have probably read in the tragedy of Macbeth; your doctrines may be stirred into a chaotic jumble, but witchcraft itself would strive in vain to bring them into coalition.—On the contrary, evangelical truth knows nothing of this harlequin assemblage. It is not like Joseph's coat of many colours; nor made up of a patch from Donatus, of another from Pelagius, and a third from Arminius: but is invariably simple, uniform, and harmonious; resembling the robe of its adorable Teacher, which was without seam, and woven from the top throughout.

On one occasion you had the candour to own your levity, as to points of faith. I am acquainted with a very respectable person (Mr. J. D.) who, not many years ago, taking the freedom to tell you that "your prejudices, like armed men, stood with their swords ready drawn, to guard all the passes of conviction, and hew down every truth as fast as it presented itself to your mind;" you had the unusual honesty to answer, "Ah! sir! if you knew how distressed I have been what doctrines I should embrace, and how I have been tossed about from system to system, you would think me the most open to conviction, and the least liable to prejudice of any man you ever knew."—This answer did you real honour, for I am persuaded you spoke true. Yet why should you, who have been so remarkably tossed about, take upon you to revile those who have been enabled to stand fast? I hope for your own sake that you will never cease tossing about, until you have gained the harbour of truth: and that, amidst all your manifold shifting from system to system, you will at length be enabled to fix on the only right system, which asserts the lawfulness of God's doing what he will with his own.

I am told the penny-sheet (which occasions this free address), is to be followed, some time hence, by a four-penny pamphlet against Zanchius: wherein you are to be siege the doctrine of predestination in form. Commence the siege, and welcome. Open your trenches and plant your batteries. Bring forth your strong arguments and play them off with vigour. I publicly profess, and subscribe my name to it, that if I cannot beat you back, I will freely capitulate and own myself conquered. But remember that if you would do any thing to purpose you must make a regular attack. You must encounter the whole of Zanchius, and take his arguments in their regular connection and dependency on each other. You must go through with my preface, which I prefixed to my translation of that great man. Having carried and dismantled the out-work, you must next proceed to demolish the dissertation on the divine attributes: which having destroyed, you are then to assail the citadel; I mean those five stubborn chapters which make up the body of the treatise itself. All the allies or the arguments drawn from Scripture and reason, must likewise be put to the sword. This should you attempt to do in a manner worthy of a scholar and a divine, I shall have no objection (if life and health continue) to measuring swords, or breaking a pike, with you. Controversy properly conducted is a friend to truth, and no enemy to benevolence. When the flint and the steel are in conflict some sparks may issue, which may both warm and enlighten.—But I have no notion of encountering a wind-mill in lieu of a giant. If, therefore you come against me (as now) with straws instead of artillery, and with chaff in the room of ammunition, I shall disdain to give you battle: I shall only laugh at you from the ramparts.

Much less, if you descend to your customary resource of false quotations, despicable invective, and unsupported dogmatisms, shall I hold myself obliged again to enter the lists with you. An opponent who thinks to add weight to his arguments by scurrility and abuse, resembles the insane person, who rolled himself in mud, in order to make himself fine. I would no more enter into a formal controversy with such a scribbler, than I would contend for the wall with a chimney-sweeper.

When some of your friends gave out, two or three months before your late doughty publication, that Mr. John (as they call you) was shutting himself up (*b*), in order to answer the translator of Zanchius; I really imagined that something tolerably respectable was going to make its appearance. But

Quid dignum tanto tulit hic promissor hiatu?

After the teeming mountain had been

(*b*) Dreadful his thunders, while unprinted roar,
But when once published, they are heard no more.
So distant bug bears fright: but, nearer draw,
The block's a block, and turns to mirth your awe.
Dr. Young.

shut up a competent time, long enough to have been brought to bed of a Hercules, forth creeps a puny toothless mouse! a mouse of heterogeneous kind: having little more than its head and tail *(c)* from you; and the main of its body made up of some mangled, castrated citations from Zanchius.

——*Currente rotâ, cur urceus exit?*

If I may judge of the future, by the past, and unless you amend greatly in a short time, your four-penny supplement, when it appears, will be no less inconsiderable than the penny sheet already extant. And, as the mouse is not cheap at a penny, I am very apprehensive the rat, when it ventures out, will be far too dear at a groat.

Hitherto your treatment of Zanchius resembles that of some clumsy, bungling anatomist: who in the dissection of an animal dwells much on the larger and more obvious particulars; but quite omits the nerves, the lymphatics, the muscles, and the most interesting parts of the complicate machine. Thus, in your piddling extract from the pamphlet, you have thought proper to curtail, you only give a few of the larger outlines; without at all entering into the spirit of the subject, or so much as producing (so far from attempting to refute) any of the turning points, on which the argument depends. Wrench the finest eye that ever shone in a lady's head from its socket, and it will appear frightful and deformed: whereas, in its natural connection, the symmetry and brilliancy, the expressiveness and the beauty, are conspicuous. So it often fares with authors. A detached sentence, artfully misplaced, or unseasonably introduced, maliciously applied, or unfairly cited, may appear to carry an idea the very reverse of its real meaning. But re-place the dislocated passage, and its propriety and importance are restored. I would wish every unprejudiced person, into whose hands your abridgment of my translation has fallen, to suspend his judgment concerning it until he sees the translation itself. On comparing the two together, he will at once perceive how candid and honest you are; and what quantity of confidence may be reposed on your integrity as a citer.

When I advert to the unjust and indecent manner in which you attacked the late excellent Mr. Hervey; above all, when I consider how daringly free you have made with the Scriptures themselves, both in your commentaries, and in your alterations of the text itself; I cease to wonder at the audacious licentiousness of your pen respecting me. I should rather wonder if you treated any opponent with equity, or canvassed any subject impartially. Rise but once to this, and I shall both wonder and rejoice.

You give me to understand that I am but "a young translator." Granted. Better however to be a young translator than an old plagiary. Which of our ancient divines have you not evaporated and spoiled? and then made them speak a language, when dead, which they would have started from, with horror, when alive? *(d)*

Yet Brutus is an honourable man!

How miserably have you pillaged even my publication? Books, when sent into the world, are no doubt in some sense public property. Zanchius, if you chose to buy him, was yours to read; and, if you thought yourself equal to the undertaking, was yours to answer: but he was not yours to mangle. Remember how narrowly you escaped a prosecution some years ago, for pirating the Poems of Dr. Young.

I would wish you to keep your hands from literary picking and stealing. However, if you cannot refrain from this kind of stealth, you can abstain from murdering what you steal. You ought not, with Ahab, to kill as well as take possession: nor, giant like, to strew the area of your den with the bones of such authors as you have seized and slain.

On most occasions you are too prone to set up your own infalliable judgment as the very *lapis lydius* of right and wrong. Hence the firebrands, arrows and death, which you hurl at those, who presume to vary from the oracles you dictate. Hence particularly your illiberal and malevolent spleen against the Protestant dissenters; *(e)* allowing us, on both sides, to retain our own opinions, for the softening our hearts towards each other? My dear friend, consider. I am not persuading you to leave or change your religion: but to follow after that fear and love of God without which all religion is vain. I say not a word to you about your opinions or outward manner of worship.—We ought, without this endless jangling about opinions, to provoke one another to love and to good works. Let the points wherein we differ stand aside. Here are enough wherein we agree.—O brethren, let us not still fall out by the way!

Mr. Wesley's Letter to a Roman Catholic, p. 4, 8-10.

Far be it from me to charge Mr. Wesley with a fondness for all the grosser parts of Popery. Yet I fear the partition between that Church and him is somewhat thinner than might be wished. Or rather, like the loving Pyramis and Thisbe, they endeavour to remedy the want of a perfect coalition, by kissing each other through a hole in the wall.

(c) The advertisement, on the back-side of Mr. Wesley's title-page; and his concluding paragraph, p. 12.

(d) See almost every part of what Mr. Wesley miscalls the Christian Library.

(e) "Howlittle is the case mended at the meeting! either the teachers are new-light men, denying the Lord that bought them; or they are predestinarians, and so preach predestination and final perseverance, more or less. Nor is it expedient for any methodist preacher to imitate the dissenters in their manner of praying: either in his tone, or in his language, or in the length of his prayer. Neither should we sing, like them, in a slow, drawling manner. We sing swift, both because it saves time, and because it tends to awake and enliven the soul."

Mr. Wesley's Preserv. against Unsettled Notions, p. 215.

How much more civilly, not to say cordially, this gentleman shakes hands with the Papists, let his own words declare: "Can nothing be done, even

though yourself are, in many respects a dissenter of the worst kind. I would not however by this declaration be understood as if I meant to dishonour that respectable body by classing you with them; for you stand alone, and are a dissenter of a cast peculiar to yourself. And yet, like Henry I., you are for making the length of your own arm the standard-measure for every body else. No wonder therefore that you eminently inherit the fate of Ishmael; that your hand is against every man, and every man's hand against you. Strange! that one who pleads so strenuously for universal love in the Deity should adopt so little of the love for which he pleads! that a person of principles so large should have a heart so narrow! bigots of every denomination are much the same: and of all vices, bigotry is one of the meanest and most mischievous. Its shrivelled, contracted breast leaves no room for the noble virtues to dilate and play. Candour, benevolence, and forbearance, become smothered and extinguished: partly from being cramped by littleness of mind, partly from being overwhelmed with intellectual dust. Bigotry is a determined enemy to truth; inasmuch as it essentially interferes with freedom of enquiry, restrains the grand indefeasible right of private judgment, confines our regards to a party, and, by limiting the extent of moderation and mutual good-will, tears up charity by the very roots. In short, bigotry is the very essence of Popery; and too often leads its votaries, before they are aware, into the bosom of that pretended Church, whose doctrines and maxims are the worst corruption of the best religion that ever was. And though this baneful vice is so uncomfortable in itself; so contrary to the genius of the gospel; and so extensively pernicious in its effects; yet is it not as common as it is detestable? May all God's children be enabled to cast it, with the rest of their idols, to the moles and to the bats!

You have obliquely given me a sneering lecture upon "modesty, self-diffidence, and tenderness" to opponents: and it must be owned, that the lesson comes with a peculiar grace and quite in character from you. The words sound well: but, like many other prescribers, you say and do not. Else why do you represent me as telling my readers that they must, "upon pain of damnation believe, that only one person in twenty is elected?" Why do you introduce me as enjoining them to believe under the same penalty that "the elect shall be saved, do what they will; and the reprobate damned, do what they can?" This is a sample indeed of your own modesty, tenderness, and self-diffidence: but God forbid that I should give such dismal proof of mine. I believe and preach that the chosen and ransomed of the Lord are appointed to salvation though sanctification of the Spirit, and belief of the truth: and, with regard to the rest, that they will be condemned, not for doing what they can in a moral way, but for not doing what they can: for not believing the gospel report; and for not ordering their conversation according to it.

Let me likewise ask you when or where I ever presumed to ascertain the number of God's elect? Point out the treatise and the page, wherein I assert that only "one in twenty of mankind are elected." The book of life is not in your keeping, nor in mine. The Lord, and the Lord only, knoweth them that are his. He alone who telleth the number of the stars, and calleth them all by their names, calleth also his own sheep by name, and leadeth them out, first from a state of sin into a state of grace, and then into the state of glory. Yet, as the learned and devout Beza expresses himself, "I shall never blush to abide by that simplicity which the Holy Spirit, speaking in the Scriptures, hath been pleased to adopt:" (*f*) and it is but too certain that in the Scriptures are such awful passages as these: Broad is the way and wide is the gate which leadeth to destruction, and many there be that go in thereat: while on the other hand, Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.—Many are called, but few chosen.—Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom.——There is a remnant, according to the election of grace. Declarations of this tremendous import, instead of furnishing you with fuel for contention, and setting you on a presumptuous and fruitless calculation of the number that shall be saved or lost, should rather bring you on your knees before God, with your hand upon your breast and this cry in your lips: "Search me, O Lord, and try me; prove me also and examine my thoughts. Shew me to which class I belong. Give me solid proof that my name is in the Lamb's Book of Life, by making it clear to me that I am in the faith." And ever remember that true faith utterly disclaims all ground of pretension to justification and eternal life, but on the sole footing of God's absolute grace and the Messiah's finished redemption. Pelagianism is for serving the Deity as pope Celestine III. is said to have treated the emperor Hen. VI. It quite kicks off the crown from the head of sovereign grace; and makes the will of God bend and truckle and shape itself to the caprice of man. Arminianism, somewhat more specious, but altogether as pernicious, cuts the crown in two, by dividing the praise of salvation between God and man, and fairly runs away with half. On the contrary, that faith which is of divine operation acts like the

(*f*) Me vero istius simplicitatis, quam Sp. S. amplexus est numquam pud bit. Beza, in Matth. ii. 2.

emperor Charles V. when he retired from the throne: it resigns the crown entirely, and renounces it for ever, without reserving so much as a single jewel for itself.

Should the Holy Spirit vouchsafe to lead you thus far you will then no longer be ready to object that "the elect shall be saved, do what they will:" for you will know by heart-felt experience that the converted elect are, and cannot but be, ambitious to perform all those good works in which God hath ordained them to walk; and to act worthy of him who hath graciously and effectually called them to his kingdom and glory.

Your pretended fear of Antinomianism, like your real fear of the comet, which was expected to have appeared a few years back, is perfectly idle and chimerical. You publicly testified your apprehensions that the latter would dry up our rivers, and burn up our vegetables if not reduce the earth itself to a cinder. But your prophesies proved to be "the baseless fabric of a vision;" and our rivers, trees, and earth remain as they were.——Nor will the doctrines of grace, experimentally received into the heart, destroy or weaken the obligation of moral (*g*) virtue. On the contrary they will operate on the practice, not like your scorching comet on our globe, but like the genial beams of the sun, which diffuse gladness, and occasion fruitfulness wherever they arise. Whoever wishes in earnest to lead a new life must first cordially embface the good old doctrine of salvation by grace alone.—In short, your own tenet of sinless perfection leads directly to the grossest Antinomianism. I once knew a lady whom you had inveigled into your pale, and who in a short space professed herself perfect. Being in her company some time after, I pointed out a part of her conduct which to me seemed hardly compatible with a sinless state. Her answer was to this effect: "You are no competent judge of my behaviour. You are not yourself perfectly sanctified; and therefore see my tempers and actions through a false medium. I may to you seem angry: but my anger is only Christian zeal."—I could, moreover mention the names of some of your quondam followers who, from professing themselves sinless, have cast off all appearance of godliness, and are working all manner of iniquity with greediness. If you are in search of Antinomians, truly and justly so called, you must look for them, not among those whom you term Calvinists, but among your own hair-brained (*h*) perfectionists. Had not you yourself (to remind you of but one instance) a proof of it not very long ago? You formed a scheme of collecting as many perfect ones as you could, to live together under one roof. A number of these flowers were accordingly transplanted from some of your nursery-beds to the hot-house. And a hot-house it soon proved. For would we believe it? the sinless people quarelled in a short time at so violent a rate that you found yourself forced to disband the select regiment. Had you kept them together much longer, that line would have been literally verified in these squabbling members of your Church Militant;

> The males pulled noses, and the females caps.

A very small house, I am persuaded, would hold the really perfect upon earth. You might drive them all into a nutshell. But to return.

I cannot dismiss your objection concerning the supposed fewness of God's truly elect people without observing that, how few soever they may appear, and really be in a single generation, and as balanced with

(*g*) Consciousness of guilt and dread of detection frequently put bad men upon entering those accusations against their opponents, which without such a timely precaution, they are justly apprehensive will be charged upon themselves, like the apostate spirits in Milton, who were for turning their own torments into weapons against heaven. Such is the prudent conduct of very many Arminians. Fully aware that their own lives are none of the best, they affect to cry out against Calvinism, as though she was the very mother and nurse of licentiousness. Were she really so, what multitudes would desert the standard of Arminius, and flock to the banner of Calvin! But all who are capable of discernment know that the pretended licentious tendency of Calvinism (so called) is no more than idle flourish and empty declamation. Were the doctrines of grace unfavourable to strict morality, we should quickly see them the reigning system of the age. On the contrary, they are therefore at present unfashionable because they make no allowance for the wickedness of the wicked. It is a fund-mental axiom with us, who abide by the principles of the Reformation, that holiness of heart and life is (not the cause, price or condition, but, which adds infinitely stronger security to the interests of moral virtue) an essential and inseparable part of that very salvation to which the elect were chosen from everlasting. A Calvinist must consequently renounce both the letter and the spirit of his own constitutive principles (*i.e.* he must cease to be a Calvinist), ere he can consistently degenerate into a sensualist.

(*h*) I might with too much justice add that some of Mr. W.'s own lay preachers are indisputably to be numbered among practical Antinomians. These, however, are regarded by their partizans as very excellent men, that have not yet attained to perfection, though they are in a fair way for it.—If Mr. Wesley should have the front to deny that any of his preaching mechanics are men of those lives, I have it in my power to appeal to facts, which a tenderness for those persons as individuals of mankind, and a concern for the honour of human nature in general, restrain me at present from holding up to public view. Nor would I be thought to hint at these things with pleasurable triumph. I feel too strongly for the interests of Christian obedience, and for the happiness of souls, to exult over the vices of the vicious. But, when men, whose lives would be a disgrace to heathenism; when men, whom Socrates or Seneca would have blushed to own for disciples, take upon them to arraign the doctrines of the Scriptures, and of our established Church, under a pretence of guarding against those immoralities of which they themselves are notorious and noon-day examples, what can such shameless railers expect but to have their own real crimes deservedly exposed?

the many unrighteous among whom they live below, yet when the whole number of the Redeemer's jewels is made up—when the entire harvest of his saints is gathered in—when his complete mystic body is presented collectively before the throne of his Father; they will amount to an exceeding great multitude which no man can number. On earth the company of the faithful may to us, who know but in part, resemble Elijah's cloud, which, at first, seemed no bigger than a man's hand; whereas, in the day of God, they will be found to overspread the whole heavens. They may appear now, to use Isaiah's phrase, but as two or three berries on the top of a bough, or as four or five in the most fruitful branches thereof; but they shall then be like the tree in Nebuchadnezzar's vision, the height of which reached unto heaven, and the sight of it to the end of all the earth; the leaves whereof were fair and the fruit thereof much. The kingdom of glory will both be more largely and more seriously peopled than bigots of all denominations are either able to think, or willing to allow.

Go now, sir, and dazzle the credulous with your mock victory over the supposed reprobation of "nineteen in twenty." Go on to chalk hideous figures on your wainscot; and enjoy the glorious triumph of battering your knuckles in fighting them. But father no more of your hideous figures on me. Do not dress up scare-crows of your own, and then affect to run away from them as mine. I do not expect to be treated by Mr. John Wesley with the candour of a gentleman, or the meekness of a Christian; but I wish him, for his reputation's sake, to write and act with the honesty of a heathen.

You affect to be deemed a minister of the national Church. Why then do you decry her doctrines, and, as far as in you lies, sap her discipline? That you decry her doctrines needs no proof: witness, for example, the wide discrepancy between her decisions and yours on the articles of free-will, justification, predestination, perseverance, and sinless perfection; to say nothing concerning your new-fangled doctrine of the intermediate state of departed souls (*i*).

That you likewise do not overflow with zeal for the discipline (*k*) of the Church of England is manifest, not only from the numerous and intricate regulations, with which you fetter (*l*) your societies, but from the measures you lately pursued, when a foreign mendicant was in England, who went by the name of Erasmus and stiled himself bishop of Arcadia. This old gentleman passed for a prelate of the Greek Church; though to me it seems not improbable that he might rather be a member of the Romish. Thus much, however, is certain; that the

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(*j*) In Mr. Wesley's first edition of his notes on the New Testament, published in 1755, are the two following assertions, than which even he himself has, perhaps, never given a more striking specimen of presumption and inconsistency. "Enoch and Elijah are not in heaven, but only in paradise." Note on John iii. 13. "Enoch and Elijah entered at once into the highest degree of glory without first waiting in paradise." Note on Rev. xix. 20. This it is to be wise above what is written!

(*k*) Mr. Wesley's re-baptization of some adult persons is another proof of this charge. I could point out by name more than one who have undergone from his hand a reiteration of that sacred ceremony. I shall only at present mention a single instance, which I had from the person herself with permission to publish her name at full length, in case Mr. Wesley should deny the fact. Mrs. L. S. now living in Southwark, was baptized in a bathing-tub, in a cellar, by Mr. John Wesley; who at the time, held her down so very long under water, while he deliberately pronounced the words of the administration, that some friends of hers who were present screamed out, from an apprehension that she was actually drowned: and she herself was so far gone that she began to grow insensible, and was lifted out of the water but just time enough to save her life.—Yet this is the man who, in the writings which he has published to the world, professes to hold infant baptism, and that by sprinkling, not by immersion!

Quo tendam vultus haut nutem Protea nodo?

(*l*) The rules of what Mr. Wesley calls Band Societies demonstrate the miserable servitude of those who are admitted into that gossiping club. The whole of these rules would be too tedious to insert. One or two of them, as samples of the rest, may not be unacceptable to the reader.

"To speak each of us in order, freely and plainly, the true state of our souls; with the faults we have committed, in thought, word, or deed; and the temptations we have felt since our last meeting.

"To desire some person among us to speak his own state first, and then ask the rest in order as many and as searching questions as may be, concerning their state, sins, and temptations."

Among the questions proposed to such as are candidates for admission into this pretended Sanctum Sanctorum is the following:

"Is it your entire and design to be on this, and all other occasions, entirely open, so as to speak every thing that is in your heart without exception, without disguise, and without reserve?"

The printed account, whence these extracts were taken verbatim, adds, that the five following questions are to be asked at every meeting:

"1. What known sins have you committed, since our last meeting?

"2. What temptations have you met with?

"3. How were you delivered?

"4. What have you thought said, or done, of which you doubt whether it be sin or not?

"5. Have you nothing you desire to keep a secret?"

The reader, doubtless, will on this occasion be reminded of the Popish practice of auricular confession. For my own part I make no scruple to acknowledge that confession, as managed in the Church of Rome, is infinitely preferable to confession as conducted under the auspices of Mr. Wesley. In those countries were Popery is established, confession is made only to one person, and he a priest: who, if he divulges what is made known to him under the character of confessor, is liable by law to suffer death. But, in these Band Societies the most open and unreserved confession is, it seems, made in the hearing of a dozen or twenty old women and boys, who are at liberty to blab out all they hear, without being obnoxious to any penalty at all.

I shall only transcribe from the above account the two following rules imposed on these same societies:

1. "To wear no needless ornaments; such as rings, ear-rings, necklaces, lace, ruffles.

2. "To use no needless self-indulgencies, such as taking snuff or tobacco: unless prescribed by physicians."

chaplains of the then Russian ambassador here knew nothing about him: and that to this day, the Greek Church in Amsterdam believed him to have been an impostor. With regard to this person, I take the liberty of putting one or two queries to you.

1. Did you or did you not get him (*m*) to ordain several of your lay preachers according to the manner of what he called the Greek Ritual?

2. Did these lay preachers of yours, or did they not, both dress and officiate as clergymen of the Church of England, in consequence of that ordination? And under the sanction of your own avowed approbation? notwithstanding, putting matters at the best, they could only be ministers of the Greek Church, and which could give them no legal right to act as ministers of the Church of England. Nay, did you not repeatedly declare that their ordination was, to all intents and purposes, as valid as your own which you received forty years ago at Oxford?

3. Did you or did you not strongly press this supposed Greek bishop to consecrate you a bishop at large, that you might be invested with a power of ordaining what ministers you pleased to officiate in your societies as clergymen? And did he not refuse to consecrate you, alleging this for his reason, That according to the canons of the Greek Church more than one bishop must be present to assist at the consecration of a new one?

4. In all this, did you or did you not palpably violate a certain oath which you have repeatedly taken? I mean the oath of supremacy; part of which runs thus:

And I do declare, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm: so help me God.

Now is not the conferring of orders an act of the highest ecclesiastical power and authority? And was not this man a foreigner? And were not the steps you took a positive acknowledgment of a foreign power and jurisdiction? And was not such acknowledgment a breach of your oath?

It matters not whether Erasmus was in fact an impostor or a genuine Greek bishop. Unless you were very insincere you took him to be what he passed for. If you did not, you were a party to a fraud. Either way, pretend no longer to love the Church of England! you who so lately endeavoured to set up *imperium in imperio!* If you are honest, you will either publicly confess your fault, or for ever throw aside your gown and cassock. You will either return to the service of the Church, or cease to wear her livery. You may think, perhaps, that I make too free in expostulating with you so plainly. And yet, on maturer thought, I question whether you may or not. How can Mr. Wesley, who on all occasions makes so very free with others, be angry with young translators for copying (though at humble distance) so venerable an example? Nor, indeed, ought a person who, beyond even what truth and decency permit, takes so great liberties with the rest of his contemporaries, to wonder if, so far as decency and truth allow, the rest of his contemporaries take as great liberties with him.

You complain, I am told, that the evangelical clergy are leaving no stone untumed "to raise John Calvin's ghost, in all quarters of the land." If you think the doctrines of that eminent and blessed reformer to be formidable as a ghost, you are welcome to do all you can towards laying them. Begin your incantations as soon as you please. The press is open, and you never had a fairer opportunity of trying your strength upon John Calvin than at present. Only take care that you do not, with all your skill in theological magic, get yourself into a circle, out of which you may find it difficult to retreat. And, a little to mitigate your wrath against

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(*m*) There is something vastly curious in the letter of orders which this vagrant gave to the persons he pretended to ordain. I once saw an original letter or certificate of this kind, signed by himself. It was written in very mean Greek; and, which added to my persuasion of Erasmus's being an impostor, was drawn up, not in the modern Greek, which the Christians of that Church now use, but in the ancient; and, if I am not greatly mistaken, the words were likewise accented. I read it over twice, and most sincerely wish I had taken a copy of it: but at that time I regarded it only as an article of present curiosity. A friend of mine, however, who improved his opportunity rather better, took a translation of it, which on my after request, he favoured me with; and, upon the strength of memory I can venture to assure the public that the version is materially a just one. I believe it to be perfectly so. It runs thus:

"Our measure from the grace, gift and power of the all-holy and life-giving Spirit, given by our Saviour Jesus Christ to his divine and holy apostles, to ordain sub-deacons and deacons; and also to advance to the dignity of a priest! Of this grace which hath descended to our humility, I have ordained sub-deacon and deacon, at Snows-fields Chapel, on the 19th day of November, 1764, and at Wells-street Chapel, on the 24th of the same month, priest the reverend Mr. W. C. according to the rules of the holy apostles and of our faith. Moreover I have given to him power to minister and teach in all the world the gospel of Jesus Christ, no one forbidding him in the Church of God. Wherefore, for that very purpose, I have made this present letter of recommendation from our humility, and have given it to the ordained Mr. W. C. for his certificate and security.

"Given and written at London, in Britain, Nov. 24th, 1764.

"ERASMUS, bishop of ARCADIA."

I cannot help suspecting that his humility, as he styles himself, is, if the truth was known, nearly related to another certain old gentleman, who no less humbly writes himself servant of the servants of God. His humility of Arcadia, and his holiness of Rome, are, I doubt not, sons of one and the same ecclesiastical mother.

the raisers of Calvin's ghost, remember that you yourself have been a great ghost-raiser in your time. Who raised the ghosts of John Goodwin, the Arminian regicide; and of Thomas Grantham, the Arminian baptist? Who raised the ghost of Monsieur (*n*) De Renty, the French Papist; and of many other Romish enthusiasts; by translating their lives into English, for the edification of Protestant readers?

Should you take any notice of this letter, I have three requests to make; or rather, there are three particulars on which I have a right to insist:

1. Do not quote unfairly.
2. Do not answer evasively.
3. Do not print clandestinely.

Canvass the points of doctrine wherein we differ, as strictly as you can. They will stand the test. They scorn disguise. They disdain to sue for quarter. Truth, like our first parents in the state of innocence, can shew herself naked, without being either afraid or ashamed: and he that doth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest that they are wrought in God.

May you at last begin to act from this principle, and no longer prostitute your time and talents to the wiredrawing of chicanery, and the circulation of error! I am not insensible of your parts: but alas! what is distinguished ability, if not wedded to integrity? No less just than ingenious is the remark of a learned and noble writer: "The riches of the mind, like those of fortune, may be employed so perversely as to become a nuisance and a pest, instead of an ornament and support to society." (*o*)

I am

Yours, &c.,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

Westminster,
March 26, 1770.

(*n*) As a specimen of Mr. Wesley's regard to, at least, the minutiæ of Popery, I shall select a few passages from his Life of this Monsieur De Renty, which now lies before me. The reader will observe that the sentences inclosed with inverted commas are Mr. Wesley's own words.

He speaks favourably of this French Papist, for his regularity "saying the nocturnum, and then "singing the litanies of our Lord," before he set out on any journey: and for taking due care to "sing the vespers," while he was upon the road. Page 3. Among the instances of Monsieur's humility, are reckoned (page 9 and 10.) his not permitting "a cushion to be carried for him" when he went to mass; and his frequent saying "his prayers at the outside of the Church." Also his going abroad, to visit a monastery "on foot," and that too "in thawing weather:" nay, he would sometimes "traverse in a manner all Paris," even when "it pour'd down with rain." And yet, with all this bad humility Mr. de Renty it seems kept a coach of his own. Had he been consistent he would have entirely shorn himself of this supernumerary convenience, by laying down his carriage. But then where would have been the merit of spontaneously traversing all Paris on foot when it poured down with rain? His dutiful demeanour to the priest who had the cure of his soul, as its father confessor, is a feature of Mr. De Renty's sainthship, on which Mr. Wesley, with peculiar rapture, dwells and dilates. Page 11. "A further proof of his humility was his carriage to his director. He did nothing that concerned himself without his conduct. To him he proposed whatever he designed either by speaking or writing, clearly and punctually; desiring his advice, his pleasure, and his blessing upon it: and that with the utmost respect and submission. And, without reply or disputing, he simply and exactly followed his order." This was good Catholic obedience indeed: and no doubt Mr. Wesley had a view in proposing such an example to the imitation of his Protestant followers. Under the article of De Renty's "Self-denial and mortification," we are informed (page 14.) that "he made but one meal a day for several years," and "always of the worst" provisions he could meet with. He would "often step into a baker's shop" and dine on "a piece of bread and a draught of water." From the same principle of gloomy and unthankful superstition, he would do penance, by "passing the night in a chair," or lying down in his "cloaths and boots," or sleeping "on a bench till morning." Being at Pontois "in winter" he desired "the Carmelite nuns not to make a fire, or prepare a bed" for him. He parted with several books (p. 16.) because they were "richly bound." He "used no gloves in any season; wore no clothes, but plain and close made;" and carried no silver in his pockets, "except for charity." After which detail of austerities, the biographer gravely adds, "I have seen him in his coach with a page and footman." His coach I presume was to carry him on foot when it rained; his page was to hold up his clothes which were plain and close made; and the office of the footman was to reach him his gloves, whereof he wore none in any season. Who could ever have surmised that such a doleful series of mortification and self-denial would end in the fopperies of a coach, a page, and a footman! Mr. De Renty's vanity, which mixed itself with his very austerities, reminds me of what I am told is common in the streets of Paris: where you may see many a blind beggar bawling for alms, in a bag-wig, his hat under his arm, a wooden sword by his side, and paper ruffles adorning the hand that is extended to receive charity. But to return to the hero of the tale. Having had a quarrel with his mother, and the breach being made up, "he was no sooner returned home than he caused Te Deum to be sung," page 24. "He had great respect unto holy persons, especially to priests. Whenever he met them, he saluted them with profound humility; and in his travels would alight off his horse to do it." page 33. Nor does Mr. Wesley omit to inform us, p. 30, of Mr. De Renty's regard to such fugitive Papists as had either rendered themselves obnoxious to the laws at home, or preferred begging in France to living under an heretical government in Great Britain. "He was the first that motioned some relief to the poor English, driven by persecution out of their own country." Nor must his very pilgrimages be overlooked. "Going one day to visit the holy place of Montmatre, after his prayers said in the Church, he retired into a desolate part of the mountain, near a little spring. There he kneeled down to prayer: and, that ended, he dined on a piece of bread and a draught of water." Page 45. Would it not have been still more devout not to have dined at allon such holy ground? "One day he visited a person who, from a groundless suspicion, had cruelly used his wife. Mr. De Renty accosted him with such soft language that he was persuaded at length to go to confession, which he had not done in twelve years before." P. 47, 48. Himself, says Mr. Wesley, speaking of Mr. De Renty's last illness, "made his confession almost every day till his death." Page 62.

I dismiss this and many other passages in this obnoxious performance without further remark. Their tendency is self-evident. I shall only add, that, if the reader has a desire to see still more enormous instances of Romish superstition and fanaticism, he will find them in Mr. Wesley's lives of some Spanish Nonks (who, more nationally grave, did not imitate the French Ascetic, by retaining their couches, pages, and footmen), in the last volume, or last but one, of his compilation entitled The Christian Library.

(*o*) Dialogues of the Dead. p. 297. Edit. 1765.

A WORD TO THE REVEREND MR. WALTER SELLON.

LATELY TRANSPLANTED FROM THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF ASHBY DE LA ZOUCH TO SOME PART OF YORKSHIRE.

OWING to your transplantation above mentioned, I am ignorant of your present place of abode, and must therefore direct to you at large.—I have obtained a sight of your late Strictures on Mr. Elisha Coles, just time enough to save the press. These Strictures are, it seems, the joint progeny of Mr. Wesley and yourself: a *par nobile fratrum*, whose united labours have been exerted for several years last past, in scraping together and licking into form the materials of this long-threatened fulmination. Consequently, whoever may deem it worth his while to encounter the cub, will have the additional satisfaction of stringing the two parental brothers at one and the same time.

For my own part, I assure you, sir, in particular, whose name adorns the direction of this postcript, that I should have left you in peaceable possession of your absolute insignificancy, had not the last page of your preface induced me to coincide with your apparent wish, by lending you my hand to lift you from your painful obscurity. How much credit you may gain by this my act of indulgence, and what figure you may make in the course of the exhibition, time will probably give you to feel. At present I have only room to observe that, in the aforesaid preface (which the style demonstrates to be all your own), you vibrate your Lilliputian spear at me; and give me to understand that I am next upon the list of those who are to feel the weight of your broken bulrush. I have published, you tell me, a "curious performance" concerning predestination; which said curious performance has, I hereby find, raised the bristles of a very curious adversary, who is so polite as to inform me that I am a Malmesbury Hobbist, a blasphemer, and a vile slanderer. Convenient names which dulness is never at a loss for,

When fancy flags and sense is at a stand.

So much for the rhetorical flowers with which the gentle prefacer crowns the brow of his imaginary victim. But the present chaplet is, it seems, only the sample of a whole garland to come. I am to be made "the subject of another piece;" wherein I am to be drubbed *ex professo*; that is to say, "Unless it be done by some abler hand, which," adds my hero, "I could wish to see." The plain English of this is, Mr. John Wesley's mastiff (who now only snarls) will actually bark at the mischievous vicar of Broad Hembury, unless Mr. John himself, the mastiff's owner, saves his poor cur the trouble by roaring *in propriâ personâ*.

I must, however, inform them both, to their no small discomfort, that let them roar ever so loud, and ever so long; be it a solo, or be it a duetto; they will not rob the naughty vicar of one moment's repose: though they may, perhaps render it proper for him to repeat his trespasses on the public condescension.

A. T.

BROAD HEMBURY; Feb. 9, 1771.

MORE WORK FOR MR. JOHN WESLEY;

OR

A VINDICATION OF THE DECREES AND PROVIDENCE OF GOD,

FROM THE DEFAMATION OF A LATE PRINTED PAPER,

ENTITLED

"THE CONSEQUENCE PROVED."

Conflatur invidia falsa interpretatione sententiæ, quæ infamanda suscipitur.—Non modò invidiosissimè exponuntur ipsa dogmata, sed et consectaria invidiosa ex iis deducuntur.—Hæ sunt potissimæ artes, quibus invidia movetur.—Visne probare infirmas esse illorum ratiocinationes? Contrariam veritatem perspicue exponito et validis argumentis firmato. LE CLERC, de Arg. Theol. ab. Inv. duct.

What in me is dark,
Illumine!
That, to the height of this great argument,
I may assert eternal providence,
And justify the ways of God to men. MILTON.

ADVERTISEMENT.

I EXPECT that this publication will, as usual, be followed by a succession of penny and two-penny squibs. Probably I shall take no notice of them. Mr. Wesley, it seems, has between two and three hundred lay-preachers in his connection. Their name is legion for they are many. It is impossible therefore, from their multitude, that they and their leader should not have the last word, if they are so determined. The latter has lately declared in print that he has been "fighting about words for almost these thirty years."

Doubtless, therefore, the last word must, in his estimation, be particularly worth fighting for. And (unless he should publish any thing at all to the purpose) the last word he is welcome to have. A man would have a hopeful task of it who should waste his life-time in playing at see-saw with almost three hundred such wise and genteel antagonists,

Who then talk most when least they have to say:

and some of whom have already shewn themselves unworthy of even being pilloried in a preface, or flogged at a pamphlet's end.

To those who know me not, it may seem needful to declare that, much as I disapprove Mr. Wesley's distinguishing principles, and the low cunning with which he circulates them, I still bear not the least ill-will to his person. As an individual, I wish him well, both here and ever. As a reviler, he lies (in a way of argument) at the mercy of those he defames. I make, however, no scruple to acknowledge that the manuscript of the following sheets has lain by me some weeks, merely with a view of striking out from time to time, whatever might savour of undue asperity and intemperate warmth. If I any where, however, express myself strongly, it is owing to the necessity I was under of exposing Mr. Wesley's unmanly and dishonest methods of attack.

Broad Hembury, Nov. 28, 1771.

MORE WORK FOR MR. JOHN WESLEY, &c.

If it be possible, says the apostle, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men: plainly intimating that in some cases this is not possible. For what if other men will not live peaceably with us? what if some, like the troubled sea which cannot rest, are perpetually casting up mire and dirt against the gospel of God, and against all that embrace it? Are such indefatigable slanderers to be let alone? The apostle's own conduct says No. His unavoidable contests with the false teachers of that age are demonstrative of the necessity which, occasionally, even the meek and the pacific are under, of sharply rebuking such: to the end that, if God so please, they may become sound in the faith; or, at least, learn not to blaspheme, nor to increase unto more ungodliness.

Our civil constitution is not more the envy of neighbouring nations, than our religious establishment is the eye-sore of Papists, Pelagians, and Arminians: (*p*) a triplicate, who too well agree in one. From the first settlement of our national Church, quite down to the present hour, it has been the ambition and the labour of those (*q*) factions to destroy her either by sap or by storm: and, when both these methods have miscarried, to adulterate and discolour the pure and undefiled system which they found themselves unable to overthrow.

Common justice commands me to acknowledge that no man has striven more to distinguish himself in this illaudable warfare than Mr. John Wesley. and at the same time, stubborn fact constrains me to add that few warriors have acquitted themselves more contemptibly. This gentleman, in his plenitude of ardour for the cause, has made long, ample, and repeated trial of all the three methods above mentioned: the silent sap, the vigorous assault, and the artful adulteration. But all without success. The mine will not spring. The assault cannot be carried. The adulteration is too gross to incorporate. What must he do? Prevail he cannot: to fly he is ashamed. In such an exigence, all that remains for him is to flourish his reed, to throw an occasional squib, and scorn to confess either the impiety or the impracticability of his enterprise. But reeds are still unable to batter Churches, and squibs (such as "The Consequence proved") are only calculated to amuse children and terrify old women. Yet he goes on to throw the one and to bran-

(*p*) Observe, I speak not of all Arminians. Many there are, who, notwithstanding their entanglement in that net, stand entitled to the character of pious, moderate, respectable men. Of these I myself know more than a few: and have the happiness to enjoy as much of their esteem, as they deservedly possess of mine. But I speak above of the noisy, factious, malevolent Arminians: restless bigots, whose false fire would shed disgrace on whatever party they might belong to. Who, not content with exercising their own right of private judgment, are for reviling and condemning every individual person who claims the same right of judging for himself, and will not sacrifice his creed at their shrine.

(*q*) I am fully aware that it is impossible for the Arminians, strictly so called, to be charged with opposing our national system from its first institution: seeing they had then no more than a virtual existence in the loins of their ancestors. Even Mr. Wesley is forced to acknowledge, in a paper misentitled The Question, What is an Arminian? Answered: p. 4.) that Arminius himself did not "Begin to doubt of the principles which he had till then received" (*i. e.* Arminius did not begin to apostatize from Calvinism) until the year 1591." However, let his "doubts" have "begun" when they would: I cannot find that he made any conspicuous figure, as an innovator on the Protestant faith, until about the year 1602. Consequently his English proselytes could not have laboured to subvert the religion of their country, so early as under Edward VI., nor even during the first years of Elizabeth. The Arminians, though at present a numerous, are very far from being an ancient, family. But as ever since they did spring up they have left no nerve unstrained in their attempts to demolish our doctrinal establishment: I have above consigned them, without scruple, to rank with the other two denominations there mentioned: an honour to which they have the fairer title, as they eminently promote the same good old cause, and so sedulously endeavour to make up in zeal what they want in antiquity.

dish the other: why? because his hatred of the heavenly doctrines is total; and he resolves that its perseverance shall be final. May divine grace, in mercy to his soul, supersede the former and forbid the latter!

The adventurer who embarks on such an expedition as that which has hitherto engrossed the attention of Mr. Wesley, should be prudent as well as daring. He has, I acknowledge, as much of the insidious in his composition as he has of the acid: and it would be difficult to say which predominates. But cunning is one thing, discretion is another. A few seeming grains of certain virtues, called humility and moderation, would have conduced in some measure to promote his views by screening them. The example of Arminius might have taught him this piece of theological policy, so needful in the ringleader of a sect. To give that erroneous Dutchman [Arminius] his due, he either had, or appeared to have, some remains of modesty and candour; which, more than all his arguments, contributed to his acquisition of disciples. But Mr. Wesley is for adding the lion to the fox. He wishes not only to wheedle, but to thunder the Church out of her Calvinism. Partly perhaps in resentment for his having been (very deservedly) thundered out of the Church. A deliverance, by the bye, on which I most heartily congratulate our sacred mother. And I believe her genuine sons may be safely confident (notwithstanding the late transactions at the Feathers Tavern), that she will not dispense with subscriptions to her Calvinism quite so complacently as she resigned Mr. John Wesley.

The complacency, however, is far from reciprocal. This discarded divine, like some discarded soldiers, cannot wholly divest himself of that military air which, under such circumstances, can, at best, but excite pity, instead of commanding respect. He is still, like Mahomet, for propagating his religion by the sword. Peals of anathemas are issued, and torrents of the lowest calumny are thrown out against all who abide by the doctrines of the xxxix articles. The gentleman's own

Sic volo, sic jubeo; stet, pro ratione, voluntas!

is expected to carry all the efficacy of demonstration on penalty of his utmost malediction. But, let me tell him that the thinking part of mankind, especially those of them whose eyes are spiritually opened, will pay no more regard to his empty fulminations, though launched, *quasi à tripode*, with all the assumed importance of oracular infallibility; than our magnanimous Elizabeth paid to the bloated menaces of pope Pius V. He continued to roar, and she continued to reign. Pope John's authority may have some weight with such men as Messieurs Walter Sellon, Haddon Smith and Thomas Olivers: but not an inch beyond the purlieus of ignorance, prejudice, and superstition, will his dictatorship extend.

Such of the public as have condescended to peruse a pamphlet entitled, A Letter to the Rev. Mr. John Wesley, relative to his pretended Abridgment of Zanchius on Predestination, must be sufficiently apprized of the nature and occasion of my contest with this veteran. Another edition of that letter having been called for, and published last winter, the veteran aforesaid, by way (or rather, in lieu) of reprisal, prints, in the month of August, 1771, another paper, folded and priced as usual, twelve pages for a penny; though a saint, who surely ought to be most scrupulously just in all his dealing, might rather have been expected to have fixed the price at only three fourths of a penny; seeing, of the twelve pages no more than nine are filled: which every reader, competently skilled in arithmetic, will grant are but three fourths of the dozen. Besides, it was piously and disinterestedly written as a therapeutic, to retrieve the erroneous; and as a prophylactic, to preserve the orthodox. Of course the cheaper the antidote, the more extensive; and the more extensive the more useful. But Mr. Wesley feels the force of the *argumentum ad crumenam* too deeply to vend his remedies at a rate so nicely conscientious. He had last year, if we may take his own word for it, near 30,000 followers. And supposing each follower (as, to be sure, each is in duty bound) to buy one, at least, of these penny papers, the farthing extraordinary amounts, in the whole, to thirty pounds, fourteen shillings. A sum of whose value saints of his complexion are as devoutly sensible as other men. Poor Robin's Almanack, alas! though twice as valuable, goes but for half the price of "The Consequence proved."

Let us now bring these nine pages to the test. Their title claims our first attention: "The Consequence proved." What consequence? even this! that, upon the scriptural and Church of England principle of predestination to life, it "naturally and necessarily follows that one in twenty, suppose of mankind, are elected; nineteen in twenty are reprobated; that the elect shall be saved do what they will; the reprobate shall be damned do what they can." These diabolical positions, enough to chill every reasonable and religious man with horror, are Mr. Wesley's own offspring, both as to sentiment and language. He had indeed, the matchless effrontery to publish them originally as mine: and, to render the audacious forgery complete, closed all with these words, "Reader believe this, or be damned: witness my hand, A. T." Now whence came it, that

this concluding cause was omitted in "The Consequence proved?" Was it because Mr. W. found himself ashamed to repeat so unparalleled a falsehood? I apprehend not. For aught appears, he is still as dead to the feelings of shame as he is blind to the doctrines of God. The reason, probably, was his utter despair of being able to torture a line of Zanchius into any thing like proof of my obtruding the doctrine of election upon pain of damnation: and he might well despair of this. Whom do I condemn? whom do I impiously consign to future punishment? I condemn no man. I dare not pronounce concerning any man's eternal state. Herein I judge not even Mr. Wesley himself: though I must tell him that if it be (as I most sincerely wish it may) the divine will to save him, he has an exceeding strait gate to pass through before he gets to heaven. In the meanwhile I return to "The Consequence proved."

The very title is inaccurate. The inferences which the writer pretends to deduce are not a consequence, but a chain of consequences. Let us see whether this mighty consequence-drawer is able to support the consequences drawn.

The proof opens thus:—"Mr. Toplady, a young, bold man, lately" [*i. e.* very nigh two years ago] "published a pamphlet, an extract from which was soon after" [*i. e.* about four months after] "printed, concluding with these words,—the sum of all is this: one in twenty (suppose) of mankind, &c."

Mr. W.'s present mode of phraseology is as pregnant with craft as his conduct is destitute of honour. Observe: "an extract from which," *i. e.* from which pamphlet: "concluding with these words—" Now would not any indifferent reader still imagine, that "those concluding words" were actually "extracted" from the "pamphlet" itself? And yet nothing can be wider from the fact. The "words," which he insinuates to have been "extracted," were not extracted from the pamphlet, but spun from his own daring invention. What shall we say of a man who first hatches blasphemy, and then fathers it on others? Nay, who adds crime to crime, by indirectly persisting in the falsehood, even after the falsehood has been detected and publicly exposed? His forehead must be petrified, and quite impervious to a blush.

The person who, in private conversation, utters a designed untruth, is deservedly branded with disgrace. But the man who sits down and deliberately writes a known, wilful, palpable lie to the public, may, it seems, still be "a saint," and "a precious labourer in the Lord's vineyard!" Away with such "saintship," away with such "precious labours."—Again: the man who forges my name in order to obtain a trifling sum of money is deemed guilty of a capital offence. But the man who subjoins my name to (*r*) blasphemous propositions of his own coining is to be treated as "an ancient, venerable servant of Christ, whose whole life has been devoted to the glory of God and the good of souls!" If all his "ancient services" were of a similar cast, even Arminianism itself must expunge them from the list of those good works which it supposes to be meritorious of salvation. Unless Mr. Wesley's Arminianism coincide with the Popish maxim, that bad works, if done to heretics, are transubstantiated into good ones.

But there are two charges alleged against me to which I shall assign a moment's attention: because, though pitiably frivolous, they are nevertheless somewhat curious and uncommon. I am it seems, "young," and "bold." To the first, I in part plead guilty. I have been but between nine and ten years in orders, though ordained as soon as my age would permit.——The merits of the second allegation I leave to the decision of others. However, let me be as "bold" as I will, I cannot be bold in a better cause. Was I even as bold as a lion, it would, according to the maxim of a very wise writer, be a mark, not of perverseness, but of righteousness. (*s*) The apostle tacitly commends a prophet for being not only bold, but very bold, in asserting the sovereignty, efficacy, and freeness of divine grace in opposition to the merits and free-will of man: Isaiah is very bold, and saith concerning God, I was found of them that sought me not, I was made manifest to them that asked not after me. (*t*) When the opposers of the Christian system are shameless, why should its defenders be spiritless? As to my inconsiderable self, I blush not to tread in the steps of one, to whose faith I subscribe from the utmost of my heart. If the apostle Paul, with his whole assemblage of gifts and graces (such as probably never shone before, nor will shine again in any mere man, while the world endures), could request the prayers of God's people; much more may I, the weakest of the weak, and the unworthiest of the unworthy, supplicate the intercession of those who love the truth, and entreat them to pray, on my behalf, that utterance may be given to me, that I may open my mouth boldly to make known the mystery of the gospel; that therein I may speak (and why not write?) boldly, as I ought to speak. (*u*)

(*r*) This epithet is not too strong. To say that any shall be saved, do what they will, and others damned, do what they can: is, in the first instance, blasphemy against the holiness of God, and in the second, blasphemy against his goodness.

(*s*) Prov. xxviii. 1. (*t*) Rom. x. 20. (*u*) Eph. vi. 19, 20.

After all, the charge of boldness (in the sense Mr. Wesley uses the term) comes more than a little out of character from his pen. I could never have dreamed of such an indictment from such a plaintiff. Had I publicly distorted and defamed the decrees of God; had I moreover advanced so many miles beyond boldness as to lay those distortions and defamations at the door of another; bold as I am affirmed to be, I could never have looked up afterwards. I should have thought every miscreant I met an honester man than myself. But Mr. John seems a perfect stranger to these feelings. His *murus æheneus* has been too long transferred from his conscience to his forenead. On the whole, could I descend so exceedingly low as to retaliate on this writer in his own way, I should thus return the compliment in kind: Mr. John Wesley, an old audacious man, lately published, ——— But I neither will nor can adopt his scurrility. I had rather let the ancient offender pass unchastised than soil my hands in the operation. I proceed therefore to his next paragraph.

"A great outcry has been raised on that account" [viz. on account of the lying extract from Zanchy, and on account of the blasphemous inferences and the forgery thereto annexed]: "A great outcry has been raised on that account" [it should have run on those accounts], "as though this was not a fair state of the case; and it has been vehemently affirmed that no such consequence follows from the doctrine of absolute predestination. I calmly affirm it is a fair state of the case. This consequence" [a mistake again for these consequences] "does" [another mistake for do] "naturally and necessarily follow from the doctrine of absolute predestination, as here" [it should be there] "stated and defended by bold Mr. Augustus Toplady." Thus far the honest and accurate Mr. Wesley. On the other hand bold Mr. Augustus no less "calmly affirms," that the "great outcry," at which bold Mr. John cries out was most justly raised against the said John; who by his deep-laid, but soon detected, cunning, by his avowed vacuity of of candour, truth and shame, hath in the general estimation of all unprejudiced people, whether serious or prophane (the most respectable of the Arminian party themselves not excepted), gotten a wound and dishonour and a reproach which all his whining and winding sophistry will never be able to wipe away.

With the same determined calmness, I do also affirm that his mode of stating the important controversy concerning predestination is so far from "fair," that it has nothing at all to do with the subject: but was invented, and adopted, merely to discolour the true state of the question, and to spread a mist before the eyes of such superficial readers as might be disposed to take matters on the word of Mr. John Which sort of readers, by the way, have, to that gentleman's no small disappointment and mortification, proved abundantly fewer than he wished and expected.

He goes on: "Indeed, I have not leisure to consider the matter at large." Then why did he dabble in it at all? A chain of principles, like those termed Calvinistic, each successive link of which depends on the foregoing till you arrive at the first, indispensably requires a consideration "at large." A partial view of the subject is equivalent to none. A disjointed, unconnected heap of doctrines, like that espoused by this man of no leisure; a farrago of opinions made up of incoherent shreds; may, indeed, be considered by scraps, without any injury to the whole. It is just the same, where you begin, and which you take. But there is a harmony, there is a correlative dependency, in the system of grace: and, not to advert to these, resembles transposing the notes in some capital piece of music. Mr. Wesley, therefore, must either find "leisure to consider the matter at large;" or they who have so considered it will, with equal certainty and justice, set him down for a pitiful nibbler at the file he cannot bite.

The truth is, he has jumped hand over head into an engagement, the progress of which does not answer his expectation. Hence his willingness to quit the field—for want of leisure: but, in fact, for want of success. And who must cover his retreat, but the heroic Thomas Oliver, alias Olivers? And who is this redoubtable Thomas? Truly, neither more nor less than a journeyman shoemaker, now retained by Mr. Wesley as a lay-preacher, at the rate of ten pounds *per annum*: which, I suppose, Thomas prefers to earning double the sum by working at his proper trade.

Pharaoh's remark, though malicious and untrue in its original application, is not always unjust: Ye are idle, ye are idle; therefore ye say, Let us go from our honest employs and pretend to serve the Lord. But the tougher the foal, the sleeker the ass. The idle shoemaker is, to give him his due, a very laborious Arminian. Though revolted, in some respect, from the gentle craft of St. Crispin, his genius hath constant employ and very ample scope for exertion in following the boisterous craft of Mr. John Wesley, to whom he, moreover, stands related as bully in chief; in chief did I say? I had forgot the Rev. Mr. Walter Sellon Prunella claims precedency of leather Thomas is only second in commission.

But seems it not rather strange that Mr Wesley, a man of education, and who has given proof upon proof that he is indued with a very competent portion of assurance should not be ashamed to skulk for shelter under a cobbler's apron? The Jews will by

no means work on the sabbath; but they set Gentiles to work without scruple. Mr. John affects to decline undertaking the argument in form: and the cobbler (still doomed to be an under-strapper) is delegated to supply Mr. John's lack of leisure as well as of leather. Already has the journeyman made an effort (with some of Mr. John's own assistance) to white-wash the said Mr. John. He might as well have laboured to blanch the Æthiop or to emaculate the leopard. But how can Robin Hood be better employed, than in standing up for Little John? It must be granted that Little John appears something taller on the shoulders of his man. I acknowledge, too, that there is upon the whole, some proportionable congruity between the pedestal and the image. Yet this mode of exhibition is not without its danger. I once saw, when a boy, a rope-dancer parading round May-fair on the shoulders of a booth-keeper. For some time the carrier and the carried engrossed the acclamations of the wondering populace. When, alas! either by a stumble of the elevator, or through defect of equilibrium in the elevatee, down came the latter; who, after such dishonour, was glad to trudge it back on foot, instead of venturing to re-ascend the living pedestal. Should the above illustration be deemed not sufficiently sublime for so towering a subject; take another from the pen of a late nobleman. "I remember," says his lordship, "to have seen a" [Popish] "procession at Aix la Chapelle, wherein an image of Charlemagne is carried on the shoulders of a man who is hid by the long robe of the imperial saint. Follow him into the vestry, you see the bearer slip from under the robe and the gigantic figure dwindles into an image of the ordinary size, and is set by among other lumber (*x*)."

The case in reality stands thus. The master does me an injury, by subjoining my name to what I never wrote. On which I publicly call the aggressor himself to account. The aggressor slinks behind one of his drudges, who says, "Fight me in my master's stead." I answer, No. *Ne sutor ultra crepidam.* What hast thou to do with controversy? Away to thy stall and leave Little John to fight his own battles. My business is not with the man, but with the master. I most certainly (at least in my present view of things) shall never descend to uncase that hog in armour. This Mr. Wesley could not but foresee. He therefore did shrewdly, to slip his own neck out of the collar, and thrust in that of a man who may strut with the collar on his neck, unnoticed and unmolested, till his dying day.

After all, let us see whether Mr. Wesley has extricated his own neck with any degree of dexterity. In order to this, we must examine whether the consequences, which he labours to squeeze from the doctrine of predestination, as stated by me, will stand.

1. The first pretended consequence was that "one in twenty, suppose, of mankind is elected; nineteen in twenty are reprobated." Mr. W. seems at present to give up this abominable inference. He does not so much as attempt to prove it in the paper now under examination. Which paper, therefore does not even, in appearance, answer its title. This consequence at least is not proved. Nay, it is thrown by and smothered in silence. Nor do I wonder at it. I should, indeed, be surprised to find even Mr. Wesley's own writings (and surely if they cannot, nothing can) put him out of countenance. But he had a motive not at all related to shame, for slipping that infamous paragraph out of sight. The credit of his perspicacity as a reasoner absolutely required it. For could any thing be more palpably absurd than to charge us with a peremptory consequence, affirmed to be drawn from absolute premises, which said peremptory consequence was (even in *terminis*) confessedly hypothetic, and founded on a mere vague supposition? The word "suppose" is the basis of the whole conclusion. But we never did, nor can "suppose" that no more than "one in twenty" is elected. Therefore the basis melts, and the entire consequential fabric (like the rope dancer at May-fair) tumbles to the ground.

Observe, reader, for it is worth thy while, how suddenly Mr. Wesley's polemical weather-glass rises and falls. In his printed letter to the late truly reverend and amiable Mr. Hervey, he charged that incomparable man, and the Calvinistic party in general, with holding the reprobation of "nine out of ten (*y*)." In March, 1770, we were charged with holding as above, that "nineteen in twenty are reprobated (*z*)." In February 1771, we were charged with holding the reprobation of "forty-nine out of fifty (*a*)." And now, about five months after, the glass is sunk 30 degrees lower, and in "The Consequence proved," stands again at "nineteen out of twenty." Next spring I suppose it will rise to ninety-nine out of a hundred. A very capable gentleman this to ascertain the number of the elect and reprobate, who reprobates his own

(*x*) See Pope's Works, vol. ix. letter 45.
(*y*) See Wesley's Preservative, p. 235.
(*z*) See Wesley's pretended Abridgment of Zanchius, p. 12.

(*a*) See a Scurrilous Letter, signed John Wesley, in Lloyd's Evening Post, for Friday, March 1 1771.

calculations almost as often as the clock strikes!—So much for the first consequence. Now for the second:

II. "The elect shall be saved, do what they will." By doing "what they will," is evidently meant be they finally ever so unholy, and be their lives ever so immoral. The expression must signify this, or it can signify nothing. It is either a paltry sophistical quibble upon the word will, and so evaporates into a term without a fixed idea, or it imports that, upon the footing of absolute election, personal sanctification and practical obedience are unnecessary to salvation.

The point of enquiry, then is, Whether the elect themselves can be ultimately saved without being previously sanctified by inherent grace, and (if adult) without evidencing that sanctification (according as ability and opportunity are given), by walking in the way of God's commandments? I affirm, with Scripture, that they cannot be saved without sanctification and obedience. Yet is not their salvation at all precarious: for that very decree of election by which they were nominated and ordained to eternal life, ordained their intermediate renewal after the image of God, in righteousness and true holiness. Nay, that renewal is itself the dawn and beginning of actual salvation: This is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent (*b*). Whence the apostle; By grace ye are saved, through faith (*c*). And again, Who hath saved us, and called us with a holy calling (*d*). Sanctity, therefore, of heart and life is not barely a prelude to, but even a part and initiatory anticipation of, the glory which shall be revealed.

The elect could no more be saved without personal holiness than they could be saved without personal existence. And why? because God's own decree secures the means as well as the end, and accomplishes the end by the means. The same gratuitous predestination which ordained the existence of the elect as men ordained their purification as saints: and they were ordained to both, in order to their being finally and completely saved in Jesus Christ with eternal glory.

The doctrine of election is a doctrine of mere revelation. Though human reason, when defecated from prejudice and sanctified by grace, cannot but assent to it as a scripture truth; yet reason would probably never have discovered it with certainty and clearness had not God expressly made it known in his written word. Consequently from that written word we are to learn the true nature and effects of electing grace: since God himself must be best acquainted with his own decrees.

The Holy Spirit, making the apostle's pen the channel of unerring inspiration, thus inspired him to write: According as he [God the Father] hath chosen us in him [in Christ] before the foundation of the world, that we should [not "be saved do what we will;" but] be holy and without blame before him in love. Eph. i. 4.—Election is always followed by regeneration: and regeneration is the source of all good works: whence the apostle adds, in the very next chapter, v. 10, We [the elect] are his [subsequent] workmanship, created [anew] in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath fore-ordained that we should walk in them. Consequently it does not follow from the doctrine of absolute predestination that "the elect shall be saved do what they will." On the contrary, they are chosen as much to holiness as to heaven; and are fore-ordained to walk in good works, by virtue of their election from eternity and of their conversion in time. Yet again: God hath from the beginning [*i. e.* from everlasting; see Prov. viii. 23. 1 John i. 1, 2.] chosen you to salvation through sanctification of the spirit and belief of the truth: 2 Thess. ii. 13. All therefore who are chosen to salvation are no less unalterably destined to holiness and faith in the mean while. And if so, it is giving God himself the lie to say that "the elect shall be saved do what they will." For the elect, like the blessed Person who redeemed them, come into the world not to do their own will, but the will of him that sent them: and this is the will of God concerning them, even their sanctification: 1 Thess. iv. 3. Hence they are expressly said to be elect—unto obedience (*e*): not indeed, chosen because of obedience, but chosen unto it: for works are not the fountain of grace, but streams flowing from it. Election does not depend upon holiness, but holiness depends upon election. So far therefore is predestination from being subversive of good works, that predestination is the primary cause of all the good works which have been and shall be wrought from the beginning to the end of time. It is only the peculiar people that are truly zealous of good works, Tit. ii. 14. The rest may profess that they know God, but even amidst all their noise about works, in their own works they deny him; being abominable and disobedient, and to every good work reprobate: Tit. i. 16. As I have elsewhere observed, they trust in good works, without doing them; while the peculiar people do good works without trusting in them.

Reason also joins with Scripture, in asserting the indispensable necessity of sanctification, upon the footing of the most ab-

(*b*) John xvii. 3. (*c*) Eph. ii. 8. (*d*) 2 Tim. i. 9. (*e*) 1 Pet. i. 2.

solute and irrespective election: or, in other words that the certainty of the end does not supersede, but ensure, the intervention of the means. It was decreed that Abraham should be a father of many nations. According to Mr. Wesley's mode of argumentation, Abraham might have been so, though he died in infancy. I say No. For the same purpose of God which appointed him to be a father of Nations appointed also (as a mean to the end) that he should live to a competent age.—St. Paul was decreed to preach the gospel before the Gentiles and kings, and the children of Israel (*f*). *Ergò*, says an Arminian, Paul might have preached in various nations without travelling a step, and without so much as opening his lips. I deny the consequence. Paul's travelling, and Paul's utterance, were as certainly and as necessarily included in the decree of the means as his preaching was determined by the decree of the end.—God resolved that Hezekiah should live fifteen years longer than Hezekiah expected. Hezekiah might therefore, according to Mr. Wesley's plan, have argued thus: "God has promised me fifteen years of life to come. *Ergò*, Live I shall, do what I will: die I shall not, do what I can. I will therefore neither eat, drink nor sleep. Nay, I will tie a millstone round my neck and throw myself headlong into the sea, from the highest precipice I can find." I answer, No. For it was as much comprised in God's decree that Hezekiah should eat, drink, and sleep, during those fifteen years; and that he should not jump into the sea with a millstone about his neck; as that fifteen years should be added to his life.——Cyrus was decreed to be the captor of Babylon, and an instrument of good to the Jewish people (*g*). Did that decree render it needless for Cyrus to be conceived and born? Surely, no: for the birth of Cyrus was no less infallibly secured by the decree itself than were the laurels he should reap and the good he was to do.

To multiply instances would be endless. Let us apply the few that have been given. If the Scriptures are true, God did, from all eternity, choose an innumerable multitude of Adam's posterity, to the certain attainment of grace and glory. This choice of them was in his Son: being pre-considered as fallen, they were chosen under that character, and federally given to him to be redeemed by his blood, and clothed with his righteousness. But this alone would not have sufficed. It was necessary that, as sinners, they should not only be redeemed from punishment and entitled to heaven; but endued, moreover, with an internal meetness for that inheritance to which they should be entitled and redeemed. This internal meetness for heaven can only be wrought by the restoring agency of God the Holy Ghost, who graciously engaged and took upon himself in the covenant of peace, to renew and "sanctify all the elect people of God;" saying I will put my law in their minds, and write it upon their hearts. This, most certainly was the view in which the decree of predestination was considered by the apostle Peter, when he thus wrote: Elect, according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, [according to his foreknowledge of the human fall; which foreknowledge made it necessary that election should be decreed to take effect, not independently on God the Son and God the Holy Ghost, but] through sanctification of the spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ (*h*). It appears, from this golden passage, 1. That all the three Divine Persons are equally concerned in the salvation of sinners: the Father elected them; the Son shed his blood for them; the Spirit sanctifies them. 2. That the objects of election were considered in that eternal decree as fallen: else, I cannot see how they could be chosen unto the sprinkling of the Messiah's blood, and unto the sanctification of the Spirit. 3. That election, though productive of good works, is not founded upon them: on the contrary, they are one of the glorious ends to which the elect are chosen. Saints do not bear the root, but the root them. "Elect—unto obedience." 4. That they who have been elected by God the Father shall be sprinkled by the Son, or legally purified by his atonement in a way of pardon; and experience the Holy Spirit's sanctification, in beginning, advancing, and perfecting the good work of grace on their souls. Whence, 5. the elect, the sprinkled, and the sanctified, are made to obey the commandments of God, and to imitate Christ as a pattern at the same time that they trust in him as their propitiation. I said, made to obey. Here perhaps, the unblushing Mr. Wesley may ask, "Are the elect then, mere machines?" I answer, No. They are made (*i*) willing to obey, in the day of God's power. And I believe no body ever yet heard of a willing machine.

It appears from the passages of Scripture, now alleged, that God decreed to bring his elect to glory in a way of sanctification, and in no other way but that. "If so," cries Mr. Wesley, "they will be saved, whether they are sanctified or no." What, notwithstanding their sanctification is itself an essential branch of the decree concern-

(*f*) Acts ix. 15. (*g*) Isai. xliv. 28. and xlv. 1. (*h*) 1 Pet. i, 2. (*i*) Psalm cx. 3.

ng them? The man may as well affirm that Abraham might have been the progenitor of nations, though he died in infancy: that Paul might have preached the gospel, *vivâ voce*, in fifty different regions, without travelling a step: that Hezekiah might have lived his fifteen years without food or sleep: that Cyrus would have fulfilled the prophecies concerning him, if he had never been born: and that the Church of God might have been redeemed by the blood of Christ, even if Christ had never assumed human nature.

Prior to the taking of Jericho, it was revealed to Joshua that he should certainly be master of the place. Nay, so peremptory was the decree, and so express the revelation of it, that it was predicted as if it had already taken effect: I have given into thy hand Jericho, and the king thereof and the mighty men of valour (*k*). This assurance, than which nothing could be more absolute, did not tie up Joshua's hands from action, and make him sit down without using the means, which were no less appointed than the end. On the contrary, he took care to regulate the procession pursuant to God's command; and the event was accomplished accordingly.—From fact, let us ascend to speculation.—The doctrine, which stands this united test, is and must be true. Suppose it was infalliably revealed to an army, or to any single individual, that the former should certainly gain such a battle, and the latter certainly win such a race. Would not the army be mad to say, "Then we will not fight a stroke?" Would not the racer be insane to add, "Nor will I move so much as one of my feet?" Now it is no less irrational to insinuate that the elect shall be saved without being spiritually and morally conformed to the image of Christ, than it would be to dream of gaining a battle without fighting, or of winning a prize without contending.—Would it not be absurd to affirm that Adam might have tilled and dressed the garden of Eden, whether he had been created or not? Equally illogical is Mr. Wesley's impudent slander, that "the elect shall be saved do what they will," *i. e.* whether they are holy or not.

This writer passes with some for a man of profound learning. But, surely, either his head is not so well furnished as these good people suppose; or his heart must be totally void of justice, candour, and truth. Either he is absolutely unacquainted with the first principles of reasoning; or he offers up the knowledge he has as a whole burnt-sacrifice on the altar of malice, calumny, and falsehood (*l*).

The consequence-drawer makes several

(*k*) Josh. vi. 3.

(*l*) Even Thomas Oliver, or Olivers, the fighting shoe-maker, is either a better reasoner, or an honester man than his leader: for, on a recent occasion (an occasion so well known to the religious world, since the appearance of the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Shirley's Narrative, just published, that it were needless for me to recite the particulars), this same Thomas was so deeply convinced of the irreconcileable contrariety of the London Minutes to the Bristol Declaration; that, having solemnly avowed the former, either common conscience, or common sense, would not permit him to sign the latter.—Mr. Wesley, however, swallowed both. He could declare in the one, that "We are rewarded because of our works; for the sake of our works; yea, secundum merita operum, as our works deserve." In the other, the same identical Mr. Wesley declares that he doth, "abhor the doctrine of justification by works, as a most perilous and abominable doctrine:" and that "our works have no part in meriting or purchasing our salvation from first to last, either in whole or in part." Where lives the man who can bring these two poles together?

Dic quibus in terris, et eris mihi magnus Apollo.

All the sophistical wriggling, twisting, straining, and wire-drawing in the world will never be able to make the above North and South shake hands. Was any thing upon earth ever equal to Mr. Wesley's duplicity? Yes: I have met with something which comes at least extremely near it. I mean the conduct of Arminius himself (or, if you please of Van Harmin the first), when he was examined for the Leyden professorship, A. D. 1603. Take the account in the words of the learned and moderate Mr. Hickman. "He [Arminius] was the first tapster, or chamberlain in a common inn: from whence by the care of some guests, who were pleased, even to admiration, at his prompt wit, he was removed and sent to school. He was maintained there out of the public treasury of Amsterdam: where, in process of time, he was by the magistrates of the city made Pastor: the learned Junius being dead, Utenbogard thought none so meek to succeed him as Van Harmin: but the Belgic churches knew him too well to let him easily come to such a place, in which he might influence all that were candidates for the ministry. The deputies of the churches did admonish Utenbogard that he would cease to commend so suspected a man to the curators of the University of Leyden. But he, too proud to regard such admonitions, desisted not to commend Arminius:" who obtained his dismission from Amsterdam, to Leyden on the following condition; *viz.* "That he should first have a conference with the learned Gomarus: and in that conference, by a more free and open declaration of his opinion," *i. e.* of his real sentiments as to matters of religion, "free himself from all suspicion of heterodoxy; and that he should promise, if he had any singular opinions he would not discover them" [*i. e.* not disseminate them] "to the disturbances of the Churches.—Accordingly a conference there was, before the curators of the University and the deputies of the Synod; in which Arminius most expressly denied and condemned the opinions of the Pelagians concerning grace, free-will, original sin, perfection in this life, predestination: adding that he approved all that Augustin and other fathers had written against Pelagius; promising also to read nothing" [*i. e.* to deliver nothing to his pupils and other hearers] "dissonant to the received doctrine" [of Calvinism] "Hereupon he was admitted Professor: and for some time, he defended the doctrine of the reformed churches in the point of Christ's satisfaction, justifying faith, justification by faith, perseverance in faith, certainty of salvation, and such other matters which afterwards he denied: and which he then" [*viz.* at the time of his defending them] "as is acknowledged by his good friend Corvinus, maintained against his conscience. He seemed by all his carriage to be one that was resolved not to venture any farther into the sea than that he might have opportunity to step when he pleased upon the shore." (Hickman's Animadversions on Heylin: p. 93, 94, Edit. 1674.)

Was I a believer of the Pythagorean Metempsychosis, I should certainly conclude that the soul of Arminius was transmigrated into that particular system of flesh and blood, known by the name of

appeals to my translation of Zanchius; from some parts of which he labours to cull premises, whereof to make a basis for his consequences. Like some wretched divines, who first patch up a system of their own, and then rummage the Bible for such texts, as by the help of "a little convenient straining," may seem to prop the pre-constructed Babel. I shall attend, however, to such passages in my pamphlet as Mr. Wesley alludes to. Only I must premise that I shall give them, not as they are mis-quoted by the calumniator, but as they stand in the pamphlet itself.

I have said that love, when predicated of God, signifies his eternal benevolence: *i. e.* his everlasting will, purpose, and determination, to deliver, bless, and save his people. Whereon Mr. Wesley thus descants: "I appeal to all men, whether it is not a natural consequence even of this, that all these shall be saved do what they will." I also appeal to every person of common honesty, and common sense, whether the man who would wish to distil such an infamous consequence from so innocent a paragraph, be not defective either in sense or honesty? Does not God's determination to deliver his people include and ensure their deliverance (among other evils) from the reigning power and dominion of sin? Is it not his will to bless them by turning away every one of them from their iniquities? Acts iii. 26. Does not the Son of God condescend to bear the gracious name of Jesus, because he saves and shall save his people from their sins, both as to guilt, dominion and punishment? Mat. i. 21. Is it possible that a man who has read, and who believes, such texts as these, should still dare to persist in bawling without end, "The elect shall be saved do what they will?" That the elect shall infallibly be saved, is a truth as certain as the word and the (*m*) oath of God can make it. But then it is equally true that, in order to the eventual accomplishment of that salvation in the next world, grace is given them in this to preserve them (and preserve them it does) from doing the evil they otherwise would. Whom God did foreknow (or forelove), he also did predestinate: to what? To be "saved, do what they will?" No, surely; but to be conformed to the spiritual and moral image of his Son, Rom. viii. 29. And this is all the election which Calvinism (or to speak more properly, Scripturism) contends for: even a predestination to holiness and heaven. It may here, perhaps, be objected that "the doctrine of predestination even to holiness itself may tend to relax the nerves of human diligence in the pursuit of that holiness to which men may suppose themselves predestinated." I utterly deny the doctrine to have any such tendency. And I deny it on Scripture warrant. The same apostle Peter, who declares that the people of God were elected unto obedience, exhorts those very people to give all diligence to make their calling and election undoubted; or to render it evidentially sure, by advancing in sanctification, and working the works of God: a direction this which the apostle (or, rather the Holy Spirit by him) would never have given had the doctrine of absolute election been subversive of industry and endeavours on the part of man.

Mr. Wesley himself, amidst all his pretension to the contrary, sees through the shameless fallacy of his own consequence. Witness the following passage: "All these," i. e. all God's people, "shall be saved, do what they will. You may say; Oh, but they will do only what is good. Be it so. Yet the consequence stands." In opposition to every part of this puerile paragraph, I should, 1. Be glad to know what Calvinist ever asserted that God's people "Will do

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John Wesley. The reader, if he pleases may see some gleanings of Mr. John's astonishing inconsistencies in a little tract, drawn up by a respectable hand and just published, entitled, "An answer to some capital Errors contained in Minutes of some late Conversations between the Rev. Mr. Wesley and others." We have already had a specimen of James against Van Harmin and Van Harmin against James. Nor does the last mentioned tract exhibit a less striking contrast of Wesley against John, and John against Wesley.

One word more respecting the Bristol Declaration of August, 1771. Mr. Wesley's prevarication seems to have surprised even the unbelieving Thomas above mentioned. Witness the following passage of Mr. Shirley, (Narrative, p. 16.) "One of the [lay-] preachers, namely, Mr." [Mr.!] Thomas Oliver, kept us a long time in debate; strenuously opposed the declaration;" [I hope he is not like the man at Aix la Chapelle, going to give his image the slip!] "and to the last would not consent to sign it. He maintained that our second justification (*i. e.* in the day of judgment) is by works; and he saw very clearly that for one that holds that tenet solemnly to declare in the sight of God that he has no trust or confidence but in the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, for justification, or salvation in life, death, or the day of Judgment, would be acting neither a consistent nor an upright part. For all the subtilties of metaphysical distinctions can never reconcile tenets so diametrically opposite as these."

Query 1. Has Tom the shoe-maker more learning, or more integrity, than John the priest? Which way soever the problem be determined, that the shoe-maker has the advantage in point of consistency, for not going beyond his last, is out of all doubt.

Query 2. People imagine that Mr. Wesley meant as he spoke, in the London Minutes of 1770. And most people continue to believe that he means now what he spoke then; and that he still has his mental reserves. What security, therefore, will he give the evangelical world that he is sincere in the counter-declaration of 1771?

Query 3. Why gaddest thou about so much, to change thy way? Thou also shalt be ashamed of Egypt, as thou wast of Assyria. Jer. ii. 36.

(*m*) Isai. lv. 9. Heb. vi. 17, 18

only what is good?" A giddy perfectionist indeed might express himself in that manner: but none who have been led into the knowledge of God, of his law, or of themselves. Though we are asserters of real, we are nevertheless deniers of perfect, sanctification on earth. But 2. Supposing that we even believe that true saints will "do only what is good;" would it still follow that they shall be saved without sanctification? I should rather imagine that (so far from being unsanctified) the men who were to "do only what is good" must have been first completely sanctified; else the effect would rise higher than the cause. According therefore to Mr. Wesley's logic, perfect sanctification, evidenced by doing only that which is good, is but another phrase for no sanctification at all, and for trampling all God's commandments under foot! A reciprocation this, which by the way falls very heavy on such of his own followers as set up for sinlessp erfection: who, Mr. Wesley himself being judge, are necessarily a pack of arrant Antinomians. This however is a consequence, from his premises, which the short-sighted Arminian did not discern. It now meets him full in the face. See it he must; and he may jostle by it as well as he can. Dost thou not think reader that the logician who thus reciprocates the most contrary and inconvertible ideas; who calls evil good, and good evil, putting light for darkness, and darkness for light; must be most exquisitely qualified to set up for a distiller of consequences?

Sensible of having hitherto produced nothing to his purpose, the Arminian is for pressing a fresh paragraph of mine into the service of his consequence. But before it would even seem to countenance the idea he meant it should convey, he found it expedient to give the passage a little needful pruning and more than a little alteration. To judge of this, let us contrast my paragraph with his quotation.

Predestination, as relating to the elect only, is that eternal, unconditional, particular, and irresistable act of the divine will, whereby, in matchless love and adorable sovereignty, God determined within himself to deliver a certain number of Adam's degenerate offspring, out of that sinful and miserable estate, into which, by his primitive transgression, they were to fall. Trans. of Zanc.

"Predestination, as relating to the elect, is that irreversible act of the divine will, whereby God determined to deliver a certain number of men from hell." Wesley's Quotation.

The substituting of "men" absolute for Adam's degenerate offspring; and the changing of sinful and miserable estate into "hell," may, at first view, seem unimportant alterations. But Mr. Wesley has long since declared himself averse to "altering for altering sake." And herein I believe him. He had an end to serve, in thus shaping my words to his purpose. For though men, and the degenerate offspring of Adam, are convertible terms; yet in the present argument the terms require some distinction. Election, as stated and defined in Zanchius, considers Adam's offspring not merely as men; but complexly, as degenerate. It was therefore dishonestly artful in the Pelagian to omit an epithet which is of such consequence as to give the specific tinge to the whole definition. Zanchy was a Sub-lapsarian; and so is his translator. Let the Pelagian, with whom I am contending learn, at least in his old age, to represent men and things as they are. If his fingers tingle to fall foul on the Supra-lapsarians, let him indulge his fingers as soon as he pleases. There are worthies in that sentiment, who are able to make Mr. Wesley look about him, and to bid the tingling shift from his fingers to his head.

Perversion and falsification are essential figures in this man's rhetoric. Just representation will not square with his views. Whence, in order to support his outrageous slander, that "the elect shall be saved, do what they will," he varies and castrates the definition he pretends to quote, and only affirms me to have declared that predestination is God's determining will "to deliver a certain number of men from hell." Predestination includes a great deal more. Let us have no shifting of the terms. My expression was, To deliver them from their sinful and miserable estate: i. e. to make them inchoatively holy, in order to their being inchoatively and finally happy. Now can any reasonable man suppose that deliverance from sin is but another name for continuance in sin? yet this must be not only supposed but proved ere it can be fairly alleged that, upon the principle of absolute predestination, "the elect shall be saved, do what they will."

Nor is that monstrous conclusion at all more inferrible from the following passage, cited also by this forger of consequences: not one of the elect can perish; but they must all necessarily be saved. (*n*) Here the Pelagian lashes himself into rage, and asks with no small emotion, "Can any assert this, and yet deny the consequences?" I answer Yes. Christ himself asserted it, without so much as entering a caveat against any such detestable inferences; and a caveat Christ would have entered, had the inference been deducible. This is the Father's will, who hath sent me, that of all which he hath given me I shall lose nothing: John vi. 39. I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish: John x. 28.—Father, I will

(*n*) Doctr. of Abs. Pred.

that they also, whom thou hast given me, be with me where I am, that they may behold my glory: John xvii. 24. Well therefore might the apostle throw a gauntlet of universal defiance, and ask, if God be for us, who can be against us? who can lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? who is he that condemns? who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Rom viii. 31—35. Now if it be the Father's will that Christ should lose none of his elect; if Christ himself, in consequence of their covenant-donation to him, does actually give them eternal life, and solemnly avers that they shall never perish; if God be so for them that none can hinder their salvation; if nothing can be laid to their charge; if they cannot be condemned and nought shall separate them from the love of Christ; it clearly and inevitably follows that none of the elect can perish, but they must all necessarily be saved. Which salvation consists as much in the recovery of moral rectitude below, as in the enjoyment of eternal blessedness above.

I have followed Mr. John through his first pair of consequences; which (together with their fabricator) I have shewn to be utterly void of judgment, strength, and truth. Let me now advert to the third pretended consequence:

III. "The reprobate shall be damned, do what they can."

One would almost imagine that none but a reprobate could be capable of advancing a position so execrably shocking. Surely it must have cost even Mr. Wesley much both of time and pains to invent the idea, and to find suitable language for its clothing! This however I make no scruple to declare, that, be his inventions easy or laborious, few men's invention ever sunk deeper into the despicable, launched wider into the horrid, or went farther in the profane. The satanic guilt of the person who could excogitate and publish to the world a position like that baffles all power of description, and is only to be exceeded (if exceedable) by the satanic shamelessness which dares to lay the black position at the door of other men.—Let us examine whether any thing occurring in Zanchius could justly furnish this wretched defamer with materials for a deduction so truly infernal.

I am aware indeed that a perverse mind, like a depraved constitution, is capable of corrupting (so far as itself is concerned) even cordials into poison. The very things which should have been for their health are to such persons an occasion of falling. Instances of this kind (if final) are the most awful comment on that tremendous decree of preterition whereof the Scriptures so largely and so strongly speak. God Almighty grant that Mr. Wesley may not himself be a seal to the truth of this remark!

In rummaging the treatise he pretends to quote, he no doubt fixed his claw on those passages which he imagined were most capable of mis-interpretation. Before I introduce them here I beg the reader's permission to premise a few general observations, which have a close connection with the subject.

The two capital objections (to which perhaps all others are reducible) against the degree of non-election are drawn, one from the justice, the other from the mercy, of God. Both these objections I shall endeavour to consider in their utmost force.

1. Justice consists in rendering to every man his due. The supposed injustice, therefore, of preterition turns on this question, "Whether God is, or is not, a debtor to man." I more than imagine that he is not a debtor to any man. He owes no man the least of all his favours: and indeed his blessings could not be called favours, if man could claim them in a way of debt.—Who hath prevented me, [i. e. been beforehand with me in any good thing] that I should repay him. (o) Even those whom he had made righteous are unable to earn or merit the smallest temporal or eternal benefit of his hands: If thou be righteous what givest thou him? or what receiveth he of thy hand? Job xxxv. 11. Much less can the wicked (with whom alone reprobation has any thing to do) lay their Maker under obligation to save them. If it be proved that he owes salvation to every rational being he has made, then, and then only, it will follow that God is unjust in not paying this debt of salvation to each of his reasonable creatures. But, on the contrary, if God, instead of being an universal debtor (as Arminianism supposes him to be) is himself the universal creditor, who beneficently lends every earthly, and munificently bestows every celestial, happiness, according to the riches of his own free, sovereign, unmerited bounty—what shadow of injustice can be fastened on his conduct for in some cases withholding what he does not owe. The objection therefore (if it may be dignified by that name), being founded on a mistaken principle, evaporates into air.

Besides: the cavil will conclude as strongly against limited salvation (let its limitation be supposed to arise from what cause it will) as against the limiting decree. For I defy any man to shew in what single respect the actual limitation of happiness itself is a jot more just and equitable (in a being possessed with power) than the decretive limitation of the persons who shall enjoy

(o) Job. xli. 11.

that happiness. Until Mr. Wesley can demonstrate that every man is happy in this life; and that every man shall be so in the life to come; the argument, resulting from the plausible topic of divine justice, will never reach the merits of the case. If God is indebted to some men, why not to all? and if he owe salvation to all men, why will he condemn any man at last? should it be said that "some men will not permit God to pay them their debt of salvation, and by their own misbehaviour disqualify themselves from receiving it;" I answer, That to talk of man's not permitting God to be just is assuming a principle that cannot be allowed. God can never be over-ruled by man, until man is superior to God. Not to add that the Arminian hypothesis of men being God's creditors, rests (if it has any thing to rest upon) on the natural claim to happiness, wherewith man is supposed to be invested in right of involuntary creatureship: he derives his existence from God, and therefore (says Arminianism) God is bound to make that existence happy. Admit but this and universal salvation comes in with a full tide. There can be none, no, not one, to whom the Judge will or can say at the final audit, Depart from me, I know you not, ye workers of iniquity. For even those who live and die in their sins, are certainly God's creatures: and if God owe salvation to all his creatures as such, even the workers of iniquity will and must be saved, or God must cease to be just. Who sees not that the Arminian scheme, if probed to the bottom, opens, by necessary consequence the flood-gates of practical licentiousness; and with all its pretences to good works, is in reality but varnished Antinomianism? It says in effect, "Every man shall be saved, do what he will: no man shall be condemned, do what he can. Let narrow-spirited Calvinists cease to do evil and learn to do well. Let gloomy predestinarians insist that without holiness no man shall see the Lord; and fondly dream that sanctity and salvation are indissolubly connected. But let us, the liberald isciples of Arminius, act on a more expanded plan. Every son of Adam is God's creature: and every creature of God is good. We are all indued with independent free-will. Our Maker loves every man alike. His justice will not suffer him to reject any of us. Especially seeing we are all redeemed, one as well as another. Let us therefore take our ease, eat, drink and be merry: and to-morrow shall be as this day, and much more abundant."

This is the true language of Arminianism though not of all Arminians. It is the natural consequence of the scheme itself, though many, who embrace the scheme, are not aware of the consequence. — You may say, "Oh but no man shall actually be saved, though salvation is his due, except he perform certain conditions." This is no better than a very thin evasion: a mere barrel thrown out for the amusement of the whale, to keep him in play and make him lose sight of the ship.— Permit me to ask, Is salvation due to a man who does not perform those conditions? If you say, Yes; you jump hand over head into what you yourself call Antinomianism.—If you say that "salvation is not due to a man, unless he fulfil the conditions;" it will follow, 1. That man's own performances are meritorious of salvation, and bring God himself into debt: 2. That man, as a creature of God, is not entitled to salvation; and that God, as the Creator of man, is not therefore bound to save the men he has created.

There is no possible alternative. Either God is obliged in justice to save mankind; or he is not. If he be, it must be the works of men that lay him under the obligation. If he be not, then neither is he unjust in passing by some men: nay he might, had he so pleased, have passed by the whole of mankind, without electing any one individual of the fallen race; and yet have continued inviolably holy, just, and good.

Let us pursue the argument a little farther; and descend to instances rather more familiar: even to God's providential dealings with men in the present life. If eternal felicity be due to every man without exception, surely temporal felicity must be their due likewise: if they have a right to the greater, their claim to the less can hardly be doubted. If the Omnipotent is tied and bound, on penalty of becoming unjust, to do all he can to make every individual happy in the next life; he must be equally bound to render every individual happy in this. But are all men happy? Look round the world and say Yes if you can.—Is the Creator, therefore unjust? none but Satan would suggest it: none but his echoes will affirm it. The Lord is a God of truth, and without iniquity: just and right is he. Yet is it in the power of Omnipotence to banish misery from the universe. He could even have totally hindered its access. But, as the event demonstrates (and what speaks louder than fact?), it was not his will. He allows, and resolved to allow (for infinite wisdom does nothing ignorantly and undesignedly) its entrance, progress, and continuance. Sift the point ever so closely, and canvass the argument ever so nicely, you will find it extremely difficult (may I not say impossible?) to point out the difference between permission and design, in a being possessed (as God most certainly is) of unlimited wisdom and unlimited power. I am far from affirming that there is no difference between them: I only say that it would non-plus all the saga-

city of man, should we attempt clearly to shew wherein the difference lies.

Is the constituted order of things mysterious? impenetrably so. Yet the mysteriousness of God's dispensations evinces, not the injustice of the Sovereign Dispenser, but the shallowness of human comprehension, and the shortness of human sight. Let us then, by embracing and revering the Scripture doctrines of predestination and providence, give God credit for being infinitely wise, just, and good; though for the present his way is in the deep, and his paths in the great waters, and his footsteps are not known.

I should imagine that very few, even of the Arminians themselves, will venture to deny the real inequality of providential distributions below: since to deny that would be to contravene the first principles of reason, and the indisputable voice of fact and observation. Will the Arminians therefore pronounce the Father of all unjust, because he does not make all his offspring equally rich, good and happy? It is impossible to stave back the horrid consequence, if he is bound (and he certainly has power) to prevent every evil both natural and moral, which yet he does not. Sin, pain, affliction, grief, disease, and death, in twice ten thousand forms, lay waste mankind. Nay there is a whole world of apostate angels, who are banished from God and suffer without respite and without hope.(*p*) Yet the Deity could have put a negative upon all this. The same effectual grace which preserved the elect angels from falling could have preserved the rest, and have presented the whole choir faultless before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy. It could likewise have precluded the transgression of Adam, and all its (seemingly dismal) consequences. Or man being fallen, the same converting energy which retrieves some sinners to God is able to retrieve all. What shall we say then to these things? They can only be accounted for on the grand principle of God's absolute sovereignty, who doth according to his will in the armies of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth, i. e. who is the uncontrolable disposer of angels and of men; and none can stay his hand or say unto him, what dost thou? Dan. iv. 35. Our Lord also teaches us this important lesson: Even so Father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight: Matth. xi. 26.

The king of Great Britain has an unlimited right of peerage. He might, if such was his pleasure, ennoble every family in his dominions. Will any be so weak and perverse as to charge him with tyranny and injustice, only because it is not his will, though it is in his power, to make all his subjects noblemen?

But I shall be told perhaps that, "allowing God to act as a sovereign in his disposal of earthly benefits, this will not prove his acting on the same principle in his distribution of heavenly blessings: since between things temporal and things eternal the proportion will not hold." I answer, (1.) Things eternal are as much at his disposal as things temporal. God is either sovereign of all things or of nothing. His empire is undivided: and from his dominion nothing is excepted. Nor, indeed, if things spiritual and everlasting were not his, could he be said to give them to his people: which he is every where in Scripture affirmed to do. (2.) I grant that time and eternity are, in themselves, by no means parallel or commensurate. Yet if God were unjust in not ordaining one man as well as another to eternal happiness; the old Consequence (already mentioned) would follow too, *viz.* That he must be proportionably unjust in not ordaining all men to absolute happiness here on earth. For misery, though endured but for a year, or for a life-time, is, in its own nature, and for the time being, as truly misery as it would be if protracted ever so long. The *το quale* is the same, however the *το diu* may vary. And God can no more cease to be just for a year, or for a man's life-time, than he can cease to be just for a century or for ever. By the same rule that he can and does, without any impeachment of his moral attributes, permit any one being to be miserable for a moment; he may permit that being to be miserable for a much longer time: and so on *ad infinitum*: since, as was observed but now, he can no more be unjust for a single moment than he can be unjust for ever.

Will Mr. Wesley deny that there is such a thing as temporal evil, so called? he must

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(*p*) "It may be observed," says a great divine, "that we can hear and read of the non-election and rejection of angels, with very little emotion of mind. The devil may be cast down to hell, to be everlastingly damned, and be appointed thereto, and gives no great concern. No hard thoughts against God arise, no charge of cruelty, injustice, and want of kindness to his creatures and offspring. But, when any thing of this kind is hinted at with respect to any of the apostate sons of Adam, presently there is an outcry against it, and objections upon objections are suggested. The reason is because the latter, viz. the non-election of some men, comes nearer home. It is owing to partiality to ourselves, our nature, and our race. Whereas far greater severity, if it may be so called, is exercised on fallen angels, than on fallen men. God has not spared one of the angels that sinned; has provided no Saviour for them; not so much as given them the means of grace: while not only a Saviour is provided for fallen men, and means of grace allowed them; but thousands, and ten thousands, millions and millions of them are saved, by the abundant mercy and grace of God through Christ."

Dr. Gill's Body of Divinity; vol. I. p. 315.

first renounce his senses—or, admitting the existence of it, will he exempt it from the providence of God? will he say that it happens (as Cicero affirms Milo's servants to have slain Clodius, "*neque imperante, neque sciente, neque presente, Domino,*") God neither ordaining it nor knowing it, nor being so much as present? This would be atheism. For if any thing can come to pass in contrariety either to God's knowledge or his will, it must arise from a defect of wisdom, of power, or of goodness: and to suppose God deficient in these would be tantamount to supposing that there is no God at all.

I conclude then that the quantity of what is called secular evil is considerably great; and that every man comes in for his allotted share of it, more or less, and in one kind or other: (*q*) That this however does not arise from defect of wisdom in God; for he could have so drawn the plan, and have so conducted its execution, as to have effectually precluded all evil whatever. Nor from defect of vigilance; for not an hair can fall from our heads without his appointment, leave, and notice. Nor defect of power; for all second causes are totally and constantly dependent on him, both for existence, activity, and effectuosity. Nor from defect of justice; for he is "holy in all his ways, and righteous in all his works." Yet, though all-wise, all-vigilant, all-powerful, and all-just, he permits and has for near six thousand years permitted the reign of natural evil. Upon the same principle, might he not extend its reign to a still greater, yea, to an inconceivable length? might he not even draw it out to a never ending duration? He might: or this blasphemous and contradictory consequence (a consequence which I wonder Mr. Wesley never added to his others) must and will be indemolishable, that infinite justice has acted unjustly ever since the fall of Satan and his angels, and of Adam and his sons.

Should it be urged that "moral evil, or the transgression of angels and of man, was the producing cause of all the natural evil to which they have been liable ever since;" this will be urging no more than what every Calvinist admits. But still the old difficulty (a difficulty which Arminianism will never solve while heaven and earth remain)—the old difficulty still survives: how came moral evil to be permitted, when it might easily have been hindered, by a being of infinite goodness, power, and wisdom? Natural evil is but the fruit of moral: and had God not permitted the latter, the former could not have existed. "Oh, but he endued Adam with free-will." True. But did not He whose understanding is infinite, (*r*) pre-discern all the consequences of that endowment, and fore-know whither Adam's free-will would lead him, and what use he would make of it? And could not God have endued him with such holy strength of will as would have infallibly secured his perseverance in rectitude and happiness? "Oh, but then Adam would not have been a free-agent." Indeed but he would. God himself is a free-agent, though his will is necessarily unchangeable, and singly determined to do good, and to do good only. So are the elect angels. So are the glorified souls of saints departed, and so will both angels and saints be when time is over. And so might Adam have been had God pleased to have so created him. He might have been invariably holy, and his agency have continued free.

God is, and cannot but be, inviolably just, amidst all the sufferings of fallen angels and fallen men, involuntary beings as they are. And if his justice is unviolated amidst all they have suffered, and many of the latter do suffer (though God could have prevented the whole, both root and branch); consequently he will yet continue to be just in all they are yet to suffer. And if so, what becomes of the objection to God's decree of preterition, drawn from the article of injustice?

2. "And what becomes of mercy?" This I shall next enquire.

Mercy is considerable under a two-fold view: as it is an attribute in God; and as it is exercised toward men.—As an attribute in God, mercy is infinite; as all his attributes are and must be: because they necessarily coincide with his essence. But mercy, considered in the exercise of it, is neither necessarily nor actually infinite. As God's forbearing to create more worlds than he has is no impeachment of his omnipotence; so his forbearing to save as many as he might is no impeachment of his infinite mercy. I have touched this subject elsewhere. Let me for once quote myself. "Goodness, considered as it is in God, would have been just the same infinite and glorious attribute, supposing no rational beings had been created at all, or saved when created. To which may be added, that the goodness of the Deity does not cease to be infinite in itself, only because it is more extended to some objects than it is to others. The infinity of this perfection, as residing in God and coinciding with his essence, is sufficiently secured, without supposing it to reach indiscriminately to all the creatures he has made. For was that way of reasoning to be admitted it would lead us too far, and prove too much: since, if the infinity

(*q*) Hence, *viz.* from its universal diffusion below, it seems to have acquired the name of natural evil.

(*r*) Psalm xxxvii. 5.

of his goodness is to be estimated by the number of objects upon which it terminates there must be an absolute proper infinity of reasonable beings to terminate that goodness upon. Consequently it would follow, from such premises, either that the creation is as truly infinite as the Creator; or, if otherwise, that the Creator's goodness could not be infinite, because it has not an infinity of objects to make happy." (*s*) If therefore the decree of reprobation be exploded on account of its imaginary incompatibility with divine mercy; we must upon the same principle charge God with want of goodness in almost every part of his relative conduct. Arminians would do well to consider to what tremendous lengths their doctrine carries them. There is no way of solidly asserting "eternal providence," and of justifying "the ways of God with men," but upon this grand *datum*, that the exercise of his own infinite mercy is regulated by the voluntary determinations of his own most wise and sovereign pleasure. Allow but this rational, scriptural, (and I should think, incontrovertible, proposition; and every cavil grounded on the chimerical unmercifulness of non-election ceases even to be plausible.

But what if, after all, that very cruelty which Mr. Wesley pretends to charge on Calvinism, be found really chargeable on Arminianism? I pledge myself to prove this in its proper place, before I conclude this tract.

In the mean while I am all attention to those passages which he cites from me in affected support of his own horrible theses, that "the reprobate shall be damned, do what they can." The passages are eight.

1. When hatred is [in Scripture] ascribed to God, it implies, (1.) a negation of benevolence; or a resolution not to have mercy on such and such men. (2.) It denotes displeasure and dislike. (3.) It signifies a positive will to destroy the reprobate for their sins. (*t*) This, says the Pelagian, is "damning men, do what they can:" as if in punishing the wicked for the sins they have committed, God condemned them for endeavouring to become good! An inference so flatly contrary both to the premises and to common sense could only flow from such a pen as that of Mr. Wesley. This, even this is the man who has compiled a three-penny tract to explain the rules of logic! As to what is said of Esau, until the Pelagian can prove (which I defy him to do) that Esau did all he could to be saved, the consequence will not hold even as to him.

2. Reprobation denotes either, (1.) God's eternal preterition of some men, when he chose others to glory; and his predestination of them [*viz.* in a way of permission] to fill up the measure of their iniquities, and then to receive the just punishment of their crimes: or (2.) It may likewise signify God's forbearing to call by his grace those whom he hath thus ordained to condemnation (*u*). According to this simple and scriptural state of the case, reprobation is for the most part, a thing purely negative: and consists in God's not chusing some to glory, and not calling them by grace. Even his resolving to let such fill up the measure of their iniquities (which, by and by, we shall find to be a Scripture-phrase), has, so far as God is concerned, more in it of negation than of positivity: and is only tantamount to this, that the ungodly take advantage of the non-interference of grace, to follow the corrupt dictates of their own hearts, so far as they are not restrained by providence.

And now what hurt is there in this view of the argument? Is it not a fact verified by every day's observation? We see and hear of evil committed continually. But if effectual grace did interfere, that evil would not be committed. Yet is God in no sense the author of sin. If I am acquainted with an indigent neighbour, and have it in my power to enrich him and do it not, am I the author of that man's poverty, only for resolving to permit him, and for actually permitting him, to continue poor? Am I blameable for his poverty, because I do not give him the utmost I am able? Similar is the case now in debate. Ever since the fall of Adam, mankind are by nature spiritually poor. Was God obliged either to keep them from becoming so; or is he obliged to re-enrich them afterwards, with the blessings of grace and glory? I have proved already that God is not a debtor to his creatures. Who then and what art thou, O man that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say unto him that formed it, why hast thou made me thus? Hath not the potter power over the clay to make, of the same lump, one vessel unto honour and another unto dishonour? What if God, willing to shew his wrath, and to make his power known, endured with much long suffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction; even that he might make known the riches of his glory on the vessels of mercy whom he had afore prepared unto glory (*x*)?

Now are these the words of Scripture, or are they not? If not, prove the forgery. If they be, you cannot fight against reprobation without fighting against God.—"Oh, but God has no right to make any vessels unto dishonour: no right to shew his wrath and make his power known. It is tyranny,

(*s*) Doctr. of Abs. Predest
(*t*) Doctr. of Abs. Predest.
(*u*) Doctr. of Abs. Predest.
(*x*) Rom. ix. 20—23.

cruelty, injustice, partiality. He is bound to make every man a saint. He ought to make every man happy." Stop, friend. Your argument, if it holds at all, leads farther than you seem aware of. If God, in order to prove himself impartial, ought to make all men vessels unto honour, he ought to do more. He ought to have made us all arch-angels, and greater still, if greater can be. He ought to go even *ad ultimum sui posse*, and to make us all as honourable, glorious and happy, as omnipotence itself can. Where will you be able to draw the line of limitation? Either therefore you must plunge into profaneness and absurdity, without measure and without end; or you must submit to the good old doctrine of Christ and his apostles: the former of whom expressly asserts that it is lawful for God to do what he will with his own; and the latter with one voice declare that he hath mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth.

3. Another very innocent definition (though wretchedly mutilated, according to custom, in Mr. Wesley's citation) stands thus. Predestination, as it regards the reprobate, is that eternal, most holy, sovereign, and immutable act of God's will, whereby he hath determined to leave some men to perish in their sins and to be justly punished for them (*y*).—Against this John offers a query: "Can they avoid it" [i. e. can the reprobate avoid punishment] "by any thing they do?" Let me also put a query to the querist: can you prove that any one of them ever did what he could to avoid it? If this cannot be proved, it does not follow that "the reprobate shall be damned, do what they can."

Let us, moreover, (with all the respect and caution due to a subject to awful) enquire whether it be not, according to the Scripture account, plain, positive matter of fact, that God hast left some men in their sins, to be justly punished for them. What is the reason assigned by the Spirit of God why the profligate sons of Eli were deaf to their father's expostulations? They hearkened not to the voice of their father, because the Lord would slay them (1 Sam. ii. 25). In other words, 'God had determined to leave them to perish in their sins and to be justly punished for them.' Many other instances might be produced from the Old Testament. I shall however carry my appeal to the New. And my following proofs of that proposition shall be taken not from the epistles, but from the gospels (*z*).

Thou Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell: for if the mighty works which have been done in thee had been done in Sodom, it would have remained unto this day. Matth. xi. 23. It follows hence that, though God knew the citizens of Sodom would have reformed their conduct, had his providence made use of effectual means to that end, still these effectual means were not vouchsafed. What is this but saying that God had determined to leave those criminals to perish in their sins, and to be justly punished for them?—"But if the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah were left to perish; how came the Capernaites, who enjoyed "such superior means of grace, to continue impenitent?" Our Lord himself answers this question, v. 25—27. Thou hast hid these things [the great things of conversion and salvation] from the wise and prudent; even so Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight:—No man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son [βουληται] may will to reveal him.

What shall we say of the words that follow? Ye be witnesses unto yourselves, that ye are the children of them who killed the prophets: wherefore fill ye up the measure of your fathers. Matth. xxiii. 31, 32. Surely these were 'left to perish in their sins, and to be punished for them!'

Unto you it is given to know the mystery of the kingdom of God. But unto them that are without [*i. e.* who were not within the pale of election], all these things are done in parables; that seeing they may see, and not perceive, and hearing they may hear, and not understand: lest at any time they should be converted and their sins be forgiven them. Mark iv. 11, 12. St. Matthew, if possible, expresses it still more strongly: It is given unto you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven; but to them it is not given. Matt. xi. 13.

Why do ye not understand my speech? even because ye cannot hear my word. John viii. 43.

Jesus said, for judgment I am come into this world; that they who see not might see; and that they who see might be made blind. John ix. 39.

Ye believe not, because ye are not of my sheep, as I said unto you. John x. 26.

Once more. Though he had done so many miracles before them, yet they believed not on him: That the saying of Esaias the prophet might be fulfilled which he spake, Lord, who hath believed our report? and to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed? Therefore they could not believe because that Esaias said again, he hath

(*y*) Doctr. of Abs. Predest.

(*z*) The Apostolic epistles are of equal authority with the gospels, and were written under the unerring influence of the same Holy Spirit. It being however not unusual, with some of the modern Arminians, to call upon us for proof of our doctrines from the gospels in particular, I have selected two or three testimonies thence: which testimonies for the reason now alleged, are therefore chased by themselves.

blinded their eyes, and hardened their heart; that they should not see with their eyes, nor understand with their heart, and be converted that I should heal them. John xii. 37—40.

Now I leave to the decision of any unprejudiced capable man upon earth, whether it be not evident, from these passages (among a multitude of others), that 'God hath determined to leave some men to perish in their sins, and to be justly punished for them?' In affirming which I only gave the Scripture as I found it. Nay I never expressed my sentiments concerning reprobation half so strongly as the word of God does. It follows that I had,

4. Very ample ground for asserting that there is a predestination of some particular persons to death (2 Cor. iv. 3. 1 Pet. ii. 8. 2 Pet. ii. 12. Jude iv. Rev. xvii. 8.); which death they shall inevitably undergo justly, and on account of their sins (*d*). "That is," says my Pelagian expositor, "they shall be damned, do what they can." I totally deny the explication: unless by their doing what they can, he means their committing all the evil they can. For, as it follows in the very page whence part of the above extract was taken, sin is the meritorious and immediate cause of any man's damnation: God condemns and punishes the non-elect, not merely as men, but as sinners. To which I even ventured to add that, had it pleased the great Governor of the universe to have entirely prevented sin from having any entrance into the world, it should seem as if God could not, consistently with his own attributes, have condemned any man at all. So infinitely remote am I from either thinking or asserting directly or implicitly, that "the reprobate shall be damned, do what they can!" The Pelagian should rather have declared this to be his resolution, 'I am determined to contradict and blaspheme, say what you will.'

5. He represents me as affirming in so many words that "the non-elect were predestinated to eternal death:" for which words he refers by an asterism to my second chapter. I call upon him to tell me in what part of that chapter I make use of those words. Be they ever so expressive of my real belief, the words themselves are his. They occur not even in the fourth chapter, which treats professedly of reprobation. Will no length of years, nor infamy of detection, restrain this man from forgery?

If Mr. Wesley, instead of acknowledging his guilt and promising reformation for the future, should be hardened and mean enough to say, "Oh but though you have not made use of the words, either in those chapters or in the whole book, yet the sense of those words is inferrible from many passages incurring from both." I answer, be it so; yet this consequence stands, that the assailant who coins words for his adversaries which they never spoke, is not an honest man. When propositions are attacked, it is not enough to give the supposed sense of those propositions. The very phraseology in which they are expressed should be cited without variation, just as they came from the pen of the defendant. Words are the dress of thought. And an alteration of dress may so far disguise the wearer as to make him appear quite a different person.

But supposing I had even syllabically expressed my opinion in those very terms; still the consequence alleged would have lagged far behind the premises. For the old question would again have recurred, *viz.* Can Mr. Wesley produce a single instance of any one man who did all he could to be saved, and yet was lost? If he can, let him tell us who that man was, where he lived, when he died, what he did, and how it came to pass he laboured in vain. If he cannot, let him either retract his consequences, or continue to be posted for a shameless traducer.

6. The condemnation of the reprobate is necessary and inevitable. This I have both said and persist to say. It is a position which unavoidably follows even from the foreknowledge of God, putting all decrees quite out of the question. Only allow that some sinners actually will be condemned in the last day; and that God always knew and knows at this moment who those persons will be; and (not Mr. Wesley's, but) my consequence stands unshaken, that the condemnation of the reprobate is necessary and inevitable. Should it be said that "the fore-knowledge of God has no effective influence on events;" I answer that whether it has or not (which, however, would admit of some debate), still every event must and certainly will correspond to his foreknowledge of it: else the divine foreknowledge would be mere guess, and evaporate into empty, fallible, uncertain conjecture: *i. e.* the knowledge of God would be inferior to the knowledge which even man, in many cases, is possessed of. It was the consideration of this which induced the great Dr. South to renounce the Arminian novelties, and fall in with doctrinal Calvinism. I wish it may (for his own sake) have as good effect on little Mr. Wesley. I say for his own sake: since himself would be the principal gainer by his submission to grace We should acquire very little honour by the acquisition of such a proselyte.

(*d*) Doctrine of Absol. Predest.

"Surely," cries Mr. Wesley, "I need add no more on this head." You need not: unless, with all your diving, you could fetch up something to the purpose. "You see," continues the repetitionist, "that the reprobate shall be damned, do what they can, is the whole burden of the song." I have proved, and the reader has seen, that it makes no part of the song. But this I see, that unless God give Mr. Wesley repentance to the acknowledging of the truth, the unparalleled perverseness with which he labours to blacken some doctrines of Christianity will be the burden of his soul in the hour of death and in the day of judgment.

7. That the number of the elect, and also of the reprobate, is so fixed and determinate that neither can be augmented nor diminished, is affirmed in Zanchius, (*b*) and rests on clear, positive, repeated testimonies of Holy Scripture.——I would not scruple to hinge the whole weight of this proposition, likewise, on the certain and immutable knowledge of God. I know, says Christ, whom I have chosen (John xiii. 18.); but was the number fluctuating and precarious, susceptible of addition and diminution, Christ could not be said to know them, but only to guess at them. Absolute certainty is the alone ground of positive knowledge. Whatever is unfixed and unsure can, at the very highest, be the basis of no more than probable supposition.

So again, I know my sheep, John x. 14. But if their number was indeterminate, they could not be known: the sheep of to-day might degenerate into goats to-morrow; and the goats of yesterday might become sheep to-day, and be goats again before night. Nay, it might so happen that all his sheep might cease to remain such; and the great Shepherd might, at the long run, not have a single sheep to know. On the contrary, if Christ actually knows his sheep, and whom [ʽȣς, the very individual persons] he hath chosen; it follows that he must also know who are not his sheep, and whom he hath not chosen. I assert therefore again that if Omniscience itself knows any thing of the matter, the number of both is so fixed and determinate that neither can be augmented or diminished. The apostle himself makes use, among others, of this very argument: the foundation [or purpose] of the Lord standeth sure, having this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are his. 2 Tim. ii. 19.

Let me recommend one or two passages more to the reader's consideration. The election hath obtained, and the rest were blinded [επωρωθησαν, were hardened]; according as it is written, God hath given them the spirit of slumber, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear, unto this day. Rom. xi. 7, 8. Being disobedient, whereunto they were also appointed. 1 Pet. ii. 8. Whose names were not written in the Book of Life from the foundation of the world. Rev. xvii. 8. There is no meaning in words, if it does not follow, even from these few stubborn texts, as evidently as light flows from the sun, that the number of the elect and reprobate can neither be augmented nor diminished. The very nature, whether of election or of reprobation, makes this point manifest as to both: since, could the number of the elect (for instance) be lessened, the deduction would augment the number of the reprobate; for what was taken from the one would necessarily add to the other. In which case it would not be true that the election obtained and the rest were blinded. Nor would Solomon's assertion be true: I know that whatsoever God doth it shall be for ever: nothing can be put to it, nor any thing taken from it. Eccles. iii. 14. Now this must be meant, either of God's immanent acts, in a way of decree; or of his transient acts, in a way of providence. But it cannot be meant of his providential acts: for they are always the same: they are not for ever. It must therefore be meant of his immanent acts, *i. e.* of his decrees, purposes, and determinations, which cannot vary, but are for ever; to which nothing can be put or added, and from which nothing can be taken away. The counsel of the Lord standeth for ever, and the thoughts of his heart to all generations. Psal. xxxiii. 11. He is of one mind, who can turn him? and what his soul desireth, even that he doth: for he performeth the thing that is appointed for me, and many such things are with him. Job xxiii. 14.

8. The decrees of election and reprobation are immutable and irreversible (*c*). Mr. Wesley cites the sentence, but takes care to omit touching upon (or even producing) any one of the seven arguments brought by Zanchy in support of it. Let the Arminian refute these, or he will never succeed in his attack upon that. But he found it easier to spin a

IVth Consequence; namely, That, on the hypothesis of an absolute decree, there can be no such thing as sin: "It cannot," says this wonderful discoverer, "be sin in a spark to rise, or in a stone to fall."

If Mr. Wesley's illustration has any meaning at all, the meaning must be this: "Sparks and stones are incapable of moral agency; therefore men are so too. Sparks and stones are neither rewardable or punishable: *Ergò*, men are not responsible for the

(*b*) Doctr. of Abs. Predest.

(*c*) Doctr. of Abs. Predest.

sins they commit." The Arminian might as well have said, "Sparks and stones have no legs: *Ergò*, men have none. Sparks and stones are not endued with any of the five senses: *Ergò*, men can neither hear, see, feel, taste, nor smell." One would think that the levity of a spark and the dulness of a stone were, by a strange kind of association, united in Mr. John Wesley, before he could dream of illustrating his point by such an extraordinary brace of similes, which are no more related to the subject than a turf to an archangel,—"Oh, but you do not touch the main string. A spark rises, and a stone falls, necessarily. It is the necessity by which they rise and fall, that renders stones and sparks incapable of sinning." As if mere matter (supposing it could be even exempted from the laws of necessity) would therefore be capable of virtue and vice!

Mr. Wesley is singularly unhappy in the choice of his comparisons; and as singularly awkward in his application of them. The point he wishes to prove is evidently this: that "absolute decrees, prescience, and providence, are inconsistent with human free-agency; and, of course, that the finally wicked are not justly punishable for the evil they commit." I have purposely stated this objection in the clearest and strongest terms: lest I should even seem desirous of eluding instead of answering.—Now, if I can evince from the express doctrine of Scripture, and from express facts recorded in Scripture, that eventual necessity, or infallible certainty of event, is not incompatible with so much free-agency in man as may suffice to render him punishable for breaking the law of God, the objection will at once vanish into its native nothing.

1. For the doctrine of Scripture.—Woe to the world because of offences: for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh (Matt. xviii. 7.) Αναγκη εστι, there is a necessity that offences should come. Then surely, may an Arminian say, "There can be no woe due to the introducers of that whose introduction is necessary!" Our Lord says, Yes, there is. I conclude then, that necessity of event does not render sin excusable, nor the sinner impunable.—Again, when ye shall hear of wars, &c., be ye not troubled; for such things must needs be: δει γενεσθαι, they must come to pass. Mark xiii. 7. And yet, though there is a must-be for these events, that necessity does not supersede either the moral or the natural volitions of the parties concerned. — So 1 Cor. xi. 19. There must be heresies among you. But if this necessity for heresies did not absolutely coincide with the wills of the heretics, how could any heretics be blameable? — Once more. He [*i. e.* Christ] must reign until he hath put all his enemies under his feet. 1 Cor. xv. 25. There is therefore a necessity for Christ's reigning: yet, I fancy, even Arminians themselves will hardly venture to affirm that Christ reigns against his own will. Absolute necessity then is perfectly consistent with willingness and freedom in good agency, no less than in bad. For it is a true maxim, *Ubi voluntas ibi libertas:* all action is sufficiently free wherein a person's will is engaged: be his will engaged ever so necessarily.

2. Next for Scripture facts.

Joseph's brethren acted freely, *i. e.* with the full bent of their wills, when they sold him to the Midianites who carried him into Egypt. But, in truth, though they sold him to gratify their own malice, and had no higher view in what they did, they undesignedly fulfilled the decree of God. Whence Joseph's pious and just remark afterwards: Be not grieved nor angry with yourselves that ye sold me hither; for God did send me before you, to preserve life. So now it was not you that sent me hither, but God. Gen. xlv. 5, 8. As for you, ye thought evil against me: but God meant it for good, to bring to pass, as it is this day, to save much people alive. Chap. l. 20. So the Psalmist: He [*i. e.* God] sent a man before them, even Joseph, who was sold for a servant. Psalm cv. 17. It was God that sent him, though his brethren sold him.

Pharaoh acted freely (*i. e.* willingly), in his refusal to dismiss the Israelites: or, in other words, he refused to send them away, because his will was against their going. And yet he could will no otherwise than he did; Exod. vii. 3, 4. So, when Saul went home to Gibeah, it is said there went with him a band of men whose hearts God had touched: *i. e.* whose wills God had effectually inclined. 1 Sam. x. 26. Yet it cannot be inferred hence, that they did not go freely. In like manner, God is said to have stirred up the Spirit of Cyrus, or powerfully to have influenced his will, to issue an edict for the re-building of the temple. Yet this, though a necessary, was a free, act of that monarch. Ezra i. 1. The effects of that edict are also to be noted: Then rose up the chief of the fathers of Judah and Benjamin, and the priests and the Levites, with all them whose spirit the Spirit of God (*d*) had raised to go

(*d*) The eminently pious and learned bishop Beveridge gives a spiritual improvement of this passage, too valuable and just to be omitted here. These are his words: "It is God who worketh in us both to will and to do, of his own good pleasure. So that, though God offer heaven to all that will accept of it, in his Holy Scripture; yet none can accept of it but such whom himself stirs up by his Holy Spirit to endeavour after it. And thus we find it was in Israel's return from Babylon to Jerusalem. Though king Cyrus made a proclamation that whosoever would might go up to worship at the holy city: yet

up, v. 5. Will any man say that these did not will freely, only because they willed necessarily? It was from the acrimony of his own heart that Shimei cursed David: consequently his will was in it. And yet the Lord had said unto him, Curse David: *i. e.* he did it by God's own efficacious permission. 2 Sam. xvi. 10. Absalom, and the men of Israel who were with him, acted with perfect freedom, and with the full exercise of their reason, when they agreed in preferring the counsel of Hushai to that of Ahithophel: and yet, in so doing, their wills acted in absolute subserviency to the will and decree of God, who had appointed to defeat the good counsel of Ahithophel, to the intent that the Lord might bring evil upon Absalom. 2 Sam. xvii. 14. Thus also God foretold that he would turn the Assyrian king loose upon Israel, who should take them for his prey, and tread them down as mire in the street: in all which, when it came to pass, the king of Assyria acted merely on principles of ambition, cruelty, and pride; and, consequently, acted freely; proposing no other end to himself than the gratification of his own savage will and tyrannic disposition. Whereas, in reality, he was appointed of God to avenge his righteous quarrel with a hypocritical people, and to be the instrument, not merely of human, but, chiefly, of divine, resentment. Howbeit, says God, he meaneth not so, neither doth his heart think so: but it is in his heart to destroy and to cut off nations not a few. Isa. x. 6, 7.—Thus it is said concerning the ten kings who shall hate the mystic harlot, and destroy her, and burn her with fire, that God hath put into their hearts to fulfil his will, and to agree, and to give their kingdom unto the beast, until the words of God shall be fulfilled. Rev. xvii. 17. Does it follow that these kings must be stript of all free-agency, and cease to be accountable for their actions, and commence mere machines, only because God will bring their wills into subjection to his own?

Thanks be to God, says the apostle, who put the same earnest care into the heart of Titus for you: for indeed he accepted the exhortation; but being more forward, of his own accord he went unto you. 2 Cor. viii. 16, 17. Here it is said that God himself put that earnest care into the heart of Titus which induced him to visit the Corinthians. And yet Titus visited them of his own accord, or without any sensible compulsion. God therefore may work efficaciously on the human will, and the will (though it necessarily follows that efficacious direction) remain quite unforced. This is farther evident from the account which St. Paul gives of his own case, as a preacher: though I preach the gospel, I have nothing to glory of; for necessity is laid upon me [αναγκη μοι επικειται], yea, woe is me if I preach not the gospel. 1 Cor. ix. 16. Yet he preached the gospel freely and willingly. Necessity therefore, and freedom, are very good friends, notwithstanding all the efforts of Arminianism to set them at variance.—I have already observed that the great and awful transaction of Christ's crucifixion was, from all eternity, positively decreed and infallibly foreknown of God: yet neither did that decree, nor that foreknowledge, abate the guilt of those who accomplished both: for they were, at once, necessary and voluntary agents. Let me, as the subject so directly falls in with the point in hand, bestow a few moments upon it here.

The death of Jesus Christ was both the most important event that ever came to pass, and the most sinful act (in his murderers) that ever was committed. So wonderful are the ways of God!—this great event was predestinated in all its circumstances. It was not a matter of chance, but a matter of decree.—Thinkest thou that I cannot pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels? but how then shall the Scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be? Matt. xxvi. 53, 54.—And he began to teach them that the Son of man must suffer many things. Mark viii. 31.—I say unto you, that this that is written must yet be accomplished in me, And he was numbered with the transgressors. Luke xxii. 37.—The Son of man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified. Luke xxiv. 7.—Concerning Judas in particular, thus speak the oracles of God: Men and brethren, this Scripture must needs have been fulfilled, which the Holy Ghost by the mouth of David spake before concerning Judas, which was guide to them that took Jesus. Acts i. 16. And concerning all the other accomplices in this tremendous deed, it is expressly declared that they were gathered together, to do whatsoever God's hand and God's counsel προωρισε γενεσθαι, had predestinated to be done. Acts iv. 27, 28. Yet, throughout the whole,

there was none that accepted of the offer but those whose spirit God had raised to go up. So here, though God doth, as it were, proclaim to all the world, that whosoever will come to Christ shall certainly be saved; yet it doth not follow that all shall receive salvation from him: because it is certain all will not come; or, rather, none can will to come, unless God enables them. I am sure, to say none shall be saved but those that will of themselves, would be sad news for me, whose will is naturally so backward to every thing that is good. But this is my comfort; I am as certain my salvation is of God, as I am certain it cannot be of myself. It is Christ who vouchsafed to die for me, who hath likewise promised to live within me. It is he that will work all my works, both for me and in me too."—Private Thoughts, Art. VIII.

they acted freely. The Jews delivered him to Pilate *δια φθονον*, from a principle of envy and hatred. As the prophet says in another case, They knew not the thoughts of the Lord, neither understood they his counsel. No thanks to them that the decree of God was fulfilled, and the salvation of the Church effected by their putting Christ to death. They were as free and unforced in willing his crucifixion, and in bringing it about, as if there had been no decree in the case. The Saviour was indeed delivered up to their rage, *τη ωρισμενη βουλη και προγνωσει του Θεου*, by the determinate decree and foreknowledge of God; and his death was therefore, in the utmost sense of the word, necessary, being inevitably pre-ordained: and yet they took and slew him *δια χειρων ανομων*, with lawless, wicked hands. Acts ii. 23. The wickedness they were guilty of in perpetrating this crime was not excusable, nor the lawlessness of it mitigated, by the necessity of its coming to pass: since they only sought to satiate the rancour of their own wills, and to glut their own sanguinary malice.

From all which, and from many other scriptural examples which might be given, I infer, that God's decrees, and the necessity of event flowing thence, neither destroy the true free-agency of men, nor render the commission of sin a jot less heinous. They neither force the human will, nor extenuate the evil of human actions. Predestination, foreknowledge, and providence, only secure the event, and render it certainly future, in a way and manner (incomprehensible indeed by us; but) perfectly consistent with the nature of the second causes. The freedom of intelligent beings does by no means stand opposed to simple necessity; but only to violence and compulsive force. Thus the Son of man went *κατα το ωρισμενον*, according to what was decreed concerning him, and yet a woe was denounced against Judas who betrayed him, Luke xxii. 22, which woe could not have been denounced, much less inflicted, if Judas, notwithstanding the decree of God, had not betrayed him freely, and with the full consent of his own depraved will. These two therefore, are, in fact, quite reconcileable: *viz.* absolute determination on the part of God; and *lubentia*, or freedom in action, on the part of man. (*e*)

(*e*) I am far from standing alone in this assertion. Men, the dust from whose volumes I am not worthy to wipe, have intimated as much before me. "The old astronomers," says the celebrated Dr. John Edwards, of Cambridge, "used to tell us that the inferior orbs of heaven have all their proper" [*i. e.* their own peculiar] "motions, and yet, at the same time, are carried by the movement of the highest sphere; the primum mobile, as they called it. Which notion, if we apply it to the present case" [*i. e.* to the consistency of divine decrees with human freedom], "is no hypothesis or fiction, but a reality of the greatest importance: for all things and persons, besides [a tendency which they may seem to have of their own, have another impressed upon them by the decree, the first mover of all: and this overrules and controls all: and yet in such a way as is suitable to the particular nature of all agents whatsoever."—Veritas Redux, p. 28.

It may be objected to Dr. Edwards' testimony, that he was a professed Calvinist: and therefore only wrote in harmony with his own favourite principle—But what if the same principle be a favourite one with such eminent and masterly Anti-Calvinists as the present most learned bishop of Bristol; the late worthy dean Prideaux; and that exquisite proficient in refined literature, Monsieur Rollin?

I begin with the first of this respectable triumvirate; to whom, for his matchless Dissertation on the Prophecies, both the religious and the learned world are under the deepest obligations. In the course of that excellent work, his lordship thus expresses himself: "Jeremiah is said to be set over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant; because he was authorised to make known the purposes and decrees of God, and because these events would follow in consequence of his prophecies. Make the heart of his people fat, is therefore as much as to say, Denounce my judgments upon this people, that their heart shall be fat, and their ears heavy, and their eyes shut; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their hearts, and convert, and be healed." Vol. i. Dissert. 8.—And a few paces after, it follows: "We see that the great empires, which in their turns subdued and oppressed the people of God, are all come to ruin; because, though they executed the purposes of God, yet that was more than they understood. All they intended was to satiate their own pride and ambition, their own cruelty and revenge." Ibid. p. 241.

Let us next hear the learned dean of Norwich; who, treating of Julius Cæsar, has this observable remark: "Many of his enterprizes being entered upon with great rashness, this abundantly proves that he owed the success which he had in them only to an over-ruling power of Providence on his side: which, having set him up as a fit instrument for the work which he brought to pass, carried him through all dangers and hazards, to the full accomplishing of it; and after that, when there was no more for him to do, cast him off to perish, like a rod which is thrown into the fire when no more to be used. The work was God's: but it being malice and ambition that excited him to be the instrument in the execution of it, he justly had, for the reward thereof, the destruction by which he fell." Connection, part 2. B. 7. p. (mec.) 700, 701.

Rollin follows. "The omnipotence of God [is] manifested by the creation, preservation, and government of the world; by the sovereign power he exercises, not only over what is outward and visible, but over the heart and mind, in turning them as he pleases, from one resolution to another, according to his designs." Belles Lettres, vol. ii. p. 323. octav. 1769. "It is thus that God, the sole arbiter of all human events, determines, as Lord of all, the fate of empires; prescribes the form of them, regulates their limits, marks out their duration, and makes the very passions and crimes of men subservient to the execution of his gracious and just designs: and, by the secret springs of his admirable wisdom, disposes, at a distance, and without man's being sensible of it, the preparations for the great work to which all the rest relate, which is the establishment of his Church, and salvation of his elect." Ibid. vol. iii. p. 225.—Elsewhere, this fine writer has these solid reflections: "The kings who gloried so much in their puissance, have nothing which approaches in the least to that of Jesus Christ. They do not reign over the will of man, which is real dominion. He exercises his power principally on the hearts and minds of men. Nothing is done without his order or permission. Every thing is disposed by his wisdom and power. Every thing co-operates, directly or indirectly, to the accomplishment of his designs. Whilst all things are in motion, and fluctuate upon earth; while states and empires pass away with incredible rapidity, and the human

Sinners are as much responsible to God for their offences, as if God had never passed any decree at all. So that the mock objection drawn from "sparks and stones" is totally unparallel; and, therefore, totally inconclusive.

I mean unparallel as an objection; and as applied to that particular purpose for which Mr. Wesley introduces it. Otherwise, there are passages of Scripture wherein even the rational creature man is, under certain circumstances, and in certain respects, actually and expressly compared to the sparks that fly upward (see Job v. 7, and Isa. i. 31), and to stones which necessarily descend downward. The holy Baptist, without any ceremony or scruple, compared some of his unregenerate hearers to stones; saying, God is able, of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham: Matt. iii. 9; intimating that nothing short of divine ability can savingly convert the soul; and that unrenewed sinners can no more change themselves into saints than stones can transform themselves into men. Nay, even the regenerate are (though with some diversity of modification) exhibited under a similar image: Ye, therefore, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, 1 Pet. ii. 5. Teaching us, that although, by virtue of grace received, men are subsequently active and diligent in every good word and work; yet that, in their first reception of saving grace, poor free-will has no employ: but that the receivers of grace are absolutely passive, and that conversion is as totally the operation of God, as the severing of stones from their native quarry, and the erecting of them into an elegant building, are the effects of human agency. Nay, God the Father himself condescends (at least, as we render the passage) to speak of his elect people under a simile nearly allied to the foregoing: They shall be mine, saith the Lord of hosts, *i. e.* I will publicly own them as such, in that day when I make up my jewels. Mal. iii. 17. Now, unless I am vehemently mistaken, jewels are but another name for precious stones. On the whole, Mr. Wesley's daring to hammer out on the very anvil of Scripture, a cavil against the decrees of God; a cavil, partly made of Scripture metaphors; looks so like a wish to turn the Bible's own artillery against itself, as leaves too much room to fear that it is as natural to him to pervert and gainsay, as it is for a spark to ascend, a feather to float, or a stone to sink.

He brings to my mind however an anecdote equally instructive in itself, and pertinent to the case in hand. Two very eminent clergymen who are, and have long been, distinguished ornaments of the Church of England, were conversing together, some years ago, concerning predestination and invincible grace. One of these excellent persons (who was at that time an Arminian) said to the other, in the warmth of free debate, "Pray, sir, do not make me an absolute machine. Allow me to have a little more power of self-determination than a stock or stone!" To which his learned friend replied, "Indeed, sir, a stone has the advantage of you. Man's rebellious heart is, by nature, and so far as spiritual things are concerned, more untractable and unyielding than a stone itself. I may take up a stone and throw it this way or that, in what direction I please; and it obeys the impulse of my arm. Whereas in the sinner's heart there is every species of hatred and opposition to God; nor can any thing but omnipotent power slay its enmity and supersede its resistance." Hence God's gracious promise to renew his people runs in this remarkable style: I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh. Ezek. xxxvi. 26.

Still Mr. Wesley asserts with a "positively"(which, to be sure, is demonstration), that on the scheme of pre-ordination, the reprobate "can have no sin at all." Indeed! They are quite sinless, are they? As perfect as Mr. Wesley himself? Oh! excellent reprobation! Let not Mr. John, who is so fiery an advocate for sinless perfection, ever open his mouth against such a preterition as this! It is one of his own consequences (a consequence which, however, like the rest, remains unproved) that God's decree makes the reprobate themselves free from sin. What then must the elect be? And how does it ensue from those premises, that the former shall perish, "do what they can; and the latter be saved, be they ever so wicked?—Besides: If reprobates be sinless; if they be not merely nominal but real perfectionists; nay, immutably perfect, so that they can have "no sin at all;" will it not follow that Mr. Wesley's own perfectionists are reprobates? For surely if reprobates may be sinless, the sinless may be reprobates. Did not Mr. John's malice outrun his craft, when he advanced an objection so extremely unguarded and so easily retortible?

But on what is the sinlessness of reprobates supposed to depend? On two asser-

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race vainly employed in the external view of these things, are also drawn in by the same torrent, almost without perceiving it; there passes, in secret, an order and disposition of things, unknown and invisible, which, however, determine our fate to all eternity. The duration of ages has no other end than the formation of the bodies of the elect, which augments and tends daily towards perfection. When it shall receive its final accomplishment by the death of the last of the elect; Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father." Conclusion of Ancient History, p. 297, 298. Edit. 1768. What kingdom is that, which Christ as mediator, shall deliver up to God the Father? It is, says this admirable author, "The blessed and holy company of the elect." Belles Lettres, vol. ii. p. 304.

tions of mine: which, fairly quoted, are very unfavourable both to the consequence and to the consequence-drawer.

1. I have said in Zanchius that predestination (taken in its most comprehensive import) may be defined, that eternal, most wise, and immutable decree of God, whereby he did, from before all time, determine and ordain to create, dispose of, and direct to some particular end, every person and thing, to which he has given, or is yet to give, being: and to make the whole creation subservient to, and declarative of, his own glory. Said I this of myself? says not Scripture the same also? The Lord hath made all things for himself; yea, even the wicked for the day of evil. Prov. vi. 14. But do the righteous likewise fall under an unalterable decree? Yes: for it is written, being predestinated according to the purpose of him who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will. Eph. i. 11. And indeed either this is true, or there is no governor of the world. Unless God does actually work all things after the counsel of his own will, *i. e.* "dispose of, and direct to some particular end, every person and thing to which he hath given being;" Providence is no more than an empty name. Upon the plan of Mr. Wesley's Consequence, the wretch was not a fool, but wise, who said in his heart, There is no God. I defy the Pelagian to strike out a middle way between providence and chance. If God does not dispose of every being, and of every event, so as to "make the whole creation subservient to, and declarative of, his own glory;" chance, not providence, reigns. Prove but this, that chance is paramount: and maintain the existence of God, if you can. Why did the heathens themselves justly deem Epicurus an atheist? Not because he denied the being of God (for he asserted that); but because he denied the agency of God's universal providence. Yet predestination and providence do by no means annihilate sin. The doctrine only affirms that, through the unsearchable wisdom of the great superintending mind, even the efficacious permission of evil shall, in the end, be over-ruled to good. I cannot, moreover, but observe how wretchedly Mr. Wesley's Consequences clash together, and destroy each other. In this very paper, he revives the old impudent cavil, that predestination makes God the author of sin. "Whose fault was it," says he, "that Judas betrayed Christ? You plainly say it was not his fault, but God's." Without the least heat or emotion, I plainly say, Mr. Wesley lies. I never even thought nor intimated, much less said (least of all, said plainly) that it was "God's fault and not the fault of Judas." But if God's decree and providence are incompatible with sin, insomuch that the very reprobates themselves "can have no sin at all;" I should be glad to know how God's decree and providence can make him the author of sin? One or other therefore of these cavils must fall; they can never both be true, because they are flat contradictions. On one hand, God cannot be the author of evil, if there is no evil for him to be the author of: and on the other hand, even upon the horrid supposition of his being the author of sin, it would necessarily follow that sin and the decree were perfectly consistent. But the truth is, the consistency of God's decree with the voluntary nature of sin is evident from the many Scripture examples already alleged. I have proved by those that absolute predestination, on the part of God, does not make sin involuntary on the part of man. Consequently, God is not the author of moral evil. I have affirmed before, and I affirm again, that God is the creator of the wicked, but not of their wickedness: he is the author of their being, but not the infuser of their sin. It is most certainly his will (for adorable and unsearchable reasons) to permit sin: but with all possible reverence be it spoken, it should seem that he cannot, consistently with the purity of his nature, the glory of his attributes, and the truth of his declarations, be himself the author of it. Sin, says the apostle, entered into the world by one man: meaning by Adam. Consequently, it was not introduced by the Deity himself, though, without the permission of his will and the concurrence of his providence, its introduction had been impossible. Yet is he not hereby the author of sin so introduced.(*f*)

2. I am charged with simply and nakedly affirming that God himself did "predestinate them" [the reprobate] "to fill up the measure of their iniquities." Either Mr. Wesley is a very superficial peruser of the pamphlet on which he animadverts, or a very malicious and dishonest one. For is not my true meaning expressly declared where I speak thus? God not only works efficaciously on his elect, that they may will and do that which is well-pleasing in his sight; but does likewise frequently and powerfully suffer the wicked to fill up the measure of their iniquities, by committing

(*f*) See my Doctrine of Absolute Predestination, Is this making God the author of sin? Impudence itself might blush to affirm it. "Oh, but do not you say that God worketh all things in all men, even the wickedness in the wicked? and that this is one branch of his omnipotence?" I answer, No. I do not say so. Neither does Zanchius say so. It is Luther who says, 'Deum omnia operari in omnibus etiam mala in impiis:' and the words stand as a quotation from him. "But why did you quote those words at all?" For a very good reason; a reason alleged in the preface to the pamphlet itself: viz. to shew that Luther asserted the doctrine of predestination with much more warmth, and proceeded to much harsher lengths in defending it, than Calvin himself.

fresh sins. In proof of which latter part of the paragraph, I refer there to no fewer than sixteen passages of Scripture: all which are very prudently passed over without notice by the Pelagian methodist.

Can any thing be more certain than (1.) that God actually does work in his own people that which is well-pleasing in his sight (Heb. xiii. 21.)? And is it not equally matter of fact (2.) that he likewise suffers the wicked to fill up the measure of their iniquities? Is not the very phraseology, in which both these propositions are expressed, the positively repeated language of God himself? What was the reason which the Almighty condescended to give to Abraham, why the posterity of the latter should reside for several ages in Egypt prior to their settlement in the promised land? Because, says God, the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full. Gen. xv. 16. Divine sovereignty had determined to permit the Canaanites to arrive at a certain measure of wickedness; nor could they be dispossessed of their country until that measure was filled up. Many centuries after it was revealed to Daniel that the Romans should not be masters of the Grecian empire, and thereby be at full liberty to turn their arms against Judea, until the transgressors are come to the full, i. e. until the sinfulness of the latter was consummated, and they fully ripe for destruction: Dan. viii. 23, 24. If we descend to the age of the Messiah's incarnation, we shall find the Son of God himself speaking in the same awful terms: Fill ye up the measure of your fathers, was his tremendous language to the reprobate Jews, Matth. xxiii. 32. Of the same people St. Paul has the same expression, where he observes, that the Jews did all they could to obstruct the ministry of Christ's faithful messengers: forbidding us to speak to the Gentiles that they might be saved, to fill up their sins always, for wrath is come upon them to the uttermost. 1 Thess. ii. 16. As long as my humble efforts in behalf of truth speak the sense and bear the stamp of Scripture, it matters not though ten thousand Wesleys were to rave and rail.

The Arminian had still one more desperate push to make in favour of his sinking Consequence. To this end, I am introduced as saying, "That God decreed the Jews to be the crucifiers of Christ and Judas to betray him." How! the Jews to be the crucifiers of Christ! They were not: nor do I any where call them so. Every body knows that the Romans were the murderers of the Lord of glory, though they became such at Jewish instigation. I am once more under a necessity of quoting myself. God efficaciously permitted (having so decreed), i. e. having decreed to permit the Jews to be in effect the crucifiers of Christ, and Judas to betray him (*g*). Christ could not have been betrayed and crucified had not his prodition and crucifixion been permitted. And if permitted then the permission must have been decreed. For it were impiety equivalent to atheism to suppose that God permits any thing against his will: and the will of an all-wise unchangeable being is and must be eternal. If any new design (be it a design of efficiency or of permission) can have place in God, God is no longer unchangeable. Nay God would be no longer immortal: for as the learned and judicious Mr. Polhill (*h*) observes, "every change is a kind of death." Whoever undergoes any alteration dies to that he was before and which he changes from. In such a case," says that eminent master in Israel, "must there not fall a change upon the very being of God himself? and must not the Deity suffer, and as it were die, in this mutation? which astonishing catastrophes being for ever to be abhorred, I conclude that God's decrees must needs be immutable as long as there is any stability in his eternity, infallibility in his prescience, sureness in his grace and truth, and immortality in life or essence."

Mr. Wesley may possibly object that the betraying and death of Christ might be decreed as events, without positively fixing on the particular instruments by whom those events should be brought about. As if God would fix the end, without any effectual regard to the means! Would even a wise man act in this manner? Much less he who is wisdom itself. Judas was expressly pointed out as the traitor, by Christ himself: he that dippeth his hand with me in the dish, the same shall betray me. Matt. xxvi. 23. And this unhappy person, though chosen to the apostleship (John vi. 70.), was never chosen to salvation: whence that of our Lord, I speak not of you all; I know whom I have chosen; but that the Scripture may be fulfilled, he that eateth bread with me hath lifted up his heel against me, John xiii. 18. Nor was Judas ever endued with saving faith: Jesus knew from the beginning who they were that believed not, and who should betray him: and he said, Therefore said I unto you, that no man can come unto me

(*g*) Doctr. of Abs. Pred. vol. v. p. 262.

(*h*) In his admirable Treatise on The Divine Will considered in its eternal Decrees and holy Execution of them. This great Writer was a lay-gentleman of considerable family and fortune, seated at Burwash in Sussex. Another Treatise of his, entitled, Precious Faith considered in its Nature, Workings and Growth, is one of the finest and most evangelical books on that important subject, that is to be met with in the English language. If the volume I first mentioned speaks to the head, and ransacks almost all the stores of learning and genius; the latter speaks no less to the heart, and unlocks the richest treasures of experimental grace.—The author flourished in the reign of Charles II.

(i. e. no man savingly believe in me) unless it were given unto him of my Father. Hence, Judas is termed the son of perdition; and, when he died, is said to have gone to his own place. Should such awful passages as these excite us to blaspheme and reply against God? Should they not rather make us fall prostrate at his footstool, and cry, each for himself, in the dust of penitential abasement, God be merciful to me a sinner?—The Son of Man, said Incarnate Wisdom, goeth (*i. e.* dieth the death of the cross) as it was written of him καθω γεγραπται περι αυτυ, as it was decreed concerning him; but woe to that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed: it were good for that man if he had never been born, Matt. xxvi. 24. Now, notwithstanding the absolute decree, and notwithstanding Judas undesignedly fulfilled it, had he not been, in the midst of all, an accountable agent, a woe could not possibly have been denounced against him: much less such a woe as should render even non-existence a privilege. I infer therefore, from Christ's own words, that men are at once subject to God's disposal as a predestinator; and amenable to his tribunal as a law-giver.

When St. Peter declared that Christ was delivered up to death by the determinate counsel and fore-knowledge of God (Acts ii. 23.), it is worthy of observation that he declared this on the very day of Pentecost, immediately after the miraculous descent of the Holy Ghost. The apostle, therefore, was under the absolute impulse of that blessed person. Nay, he was filled with the Holy Spirit, and spake as that Spirit gave him utterance. Consequently, in the judgment of the Holy Spirit himself, there is no real incompatibility between God's determinate counsel and the wickedness of their hands who bring that counsel to pass. Mr. Wesley's frequent repetitions of the same threadbare objections oblige me, oftener than I could wish, to repeat my answers.

Be it so, then, that mortals are at present too short-sighted entirely to comprehend, and fully to discern, how the efficacious purposes of heaven are perfectly consistent with the moral responsibility of man. It is plain from Meridian evidence of Scripture that they are so: and this ought to satisfy those who believe that the Scriptures are of God. Woe unto him that striveth with his Maker: let the potsherd strive with the potsherds of the earth; but shall the clay say to him that fashioned it, What makest thou? Isa. xlv. 9. Shall we, with Mr. Wesley, labour to quench the light we have, and fly in the face of Scripture? and give God himself the lie, by way of desperate revenge for his not having made us omniscient? Nay; but may we, with fear and trembling, adore the deep things of God, until death takes off the veil. May divine grace make us believers on earth of what in heaven we trust to be comprehenders: nor suffer us to be carried away with that strong delusion, that monstrous system of Arminianism, which (in open defiance of all Scripture, reason and fact) represents God as accountable to man, under pretence of making man accountable to God.

"God determined," says the Pelagian, "that the reprobate should live and die in their sins, that he might afterwards damn them!" Say rather, that some men are permitted to live and die in their sins, the consequence of which is condemnation.—As to the horrid parallel, which Mr. W. labours to run between the Most High God, and one of the most abandoned emperors that ever disgraced the Roman diadem—I have only this to remark: 1. That the writer who is capable of taking such blasphemous liberties with the adorable Sovereign of heaven and earth must have drunk deep indeed into that satanic spirit which opposeth and exalteth itself above all that is called God. 2. The whole parallel is copied almost verbatim from an old book, first published in the reign of Charles I., A. D. 1633, by one Samuel Hoord, alias Hoard, alias Hord (for I find him bearing all these names in print). He was a clergyman of the Laudean faction, and, by way of cover for his apostacy, (having been originally a zealous maintainer of the XXXIX Articles), printed the above-mentioned treatise, commonly known by the title of "God's love to mankind." From which treatise Mr. Wesley borrowed his whole paragraph concerning God and Tiberius; but without giving it as a quotation, or dropping the least hint to his readers that the comparison was none of his own. Nothing comes amiss to this gentleman. Not content with assaulting the living, he even rifles the dead: and, rather than not rifle at all, robs them of their very blasphemies. Unless he goes upon the old fanatic principles, that brethren should have all things in common. 3. I am saved from the trouble of canvassing Mr. Hoord's simile; it having been effectually done to my hands by no less persons than the renowned Dr. Davenant, bishop of Salisbury, and that prodigy of metaphysical learning, the ever memorable Dr. Twisse, who condescended to immortalize Hoord's name, by their candid, solid and learned answers. For the refutation of that particular calumny against God, which Mr. Wesley's plagiarism has adopted for his own, I shall content myself with referring the reader to the treatises of those great and eminent champions of grace. (*i*) It may be worth a

(*i*) See Bishop Davenant's Animadversions, &c., p. 159. edit. 1641 — and Dr. Twisse's Riches of God's Love to the vessels of Mercy, p. 23, 24. edit. 1653. fol

moment's while, however to trace the pedigree of the impious comparison. Bertius (*k*) (as Dr. Twisse observes) objected it long before to the celebrated Piscator, by whom it was amply refuted. Hoord copied it from Bertius, and Mr. Wesley cribbed it from Hoord. I congratulate the reader on his sight of land. We are come now to the

V. and last Consequence, *viz.*, that on the principle of absolute predestination there can be "no future judgment." Here again the Consequence is false. For absolute predestination is the very thing that renders the future judgment certain: God hath appointed [ἐστησεν, hath fixed] a day in which he will judge the world in righteousness, by that man whom he hath ordained [ωρισε, decreed:] Acts xvii. 31.—Nay, says Mr. John, "It requires more pains than all the men upon earth and all the devils in hell will ever be able to take:" *viz.* to reconcile the doctrine of reprobation with the doctrine of a judgment day. Be not quite so fiery, meek Mr. John. It might perhaps be for your interest (and it certainly would for that of "the devils in hell") to find that reprobates cannot be judged. But feed not yourself with such delusive hope. I have already shewn that even the most flagrant sinners sin voluntarily, notwithstanding the inevitable accomplishment of God's effective and permissive decrees. Now they who sin voluntarily are accountable: and accountable sinners are judicable: and if judicable, they are punishable. Be content therefore with conjuring back the ghosts of Peter Bertius, Samuel Hoord, Gregory Lopez, John Goodwin, and Thomas Grantham. The second-hand arguments which you so industriously cull from these and such like heroes, are quite sufficient (though not to prove your doctrines, yet) to convince us of your zeal and your abilities without your calling up "all the devils in hell" to augment your train. Besides, the testimony of the latter would do you no good: for they were liars from the beginning. I wish your own future regard to truth may give us reason to hope that they have nothing to do with you nor you with them.

God "had determined," says the objector, that the reprobate should "continue impenitent." Their ignorance of God, and the things of God, was not wilful, but owing to the sovereign will of God. God had absolutely decreed before they were born that they should live and die in unbelief. God himself unalterably decreed that they should not love either God or man. Their repeated iniquities and transgressions were in effect his own act and deed."—Flagrant misrepresentation throughout. The utmost our doctrine amounts to is that the Omniscient mind (to whom all things are, and ever were, present at once) considering the human race as fallen, was pleased to ordain the recovery of an innumerable multitude, and to leave the rest unrestored. So that, with regard to the former, mercy is glorified in their election, redemption, sanctification, and eternal happiness: as justice is in the condemnation of the latter, for their impenitence, unbelief, and disobedience. "Oh, but could they ever repent, believe, and obey?" I am not afraid to answer with the word of God, that repentance, faith, and sanctification, are God's own gifts, which he is not bound to bestow on any man, and might have withheld from all men. Where these graces are given, rectitude and happiness follow: where they are not given, sin and misery continue to reign. Given they are to some, or none would have them. Given they are not to all, else none would be without them. The regenerate work the works of God with consent, freedom, and desire, in consequence of grace bestowed; the unregenerate commit evil with no less desire, freedom, and consent, in consequence of that original depravation which God (for unfathomable reasons) was pleased to permit, and which nothing but his own grace can effectually supersede. Which grace he vouchsafes to and withholds from, whom he pleases.

Neither election, on the one hand, nor reprobation on the other, will be found to clash with the process of the final judgment. Not election: for Christ himself will preach election from the judgment-seat. Come ye blessed of my Father (why blessed of his Father, in particular? because election was God the Father's act), inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. Matt. xxv. 34.—Nor reprobation: for God's decree of preterition (evinced by the voluntary transgressions of the persons passed by), will be solemnly appealed to, in that great and terrible day. Whosoever was not found written in the Book of Life, was cast into the lake of fire. Rev. xx. 15.

So much for Mr. John Wesley and his Consequences. A few words in my turn, concerning Calvinism and Arminianism in general; and then for the present, *manum de tabulâ*.

It might naturally enough be expected

(*k*) This was the same Peter Bertius, who pronounced Arminius's Funeral Oration (vide ips. Orat. Arminii Operib. præfix.) and some years after, rendered his Arminianism complete, by openly declaring himself a Papist: see Archbishop Usher's Letters, subjoined to his life by Dr. Parr, let. 50, and 53. p. 28 and 85.—This Bertius had long figured at the head of the Arminian faction, and had particularly distinguished himself by a treatise against Final Perseverance, entitled Hymenæus Desertor. To which latter circumstance archbishop Usher smartly alludes, where he observes (ut supr.), that in commencing Roman Catholic Bertius did verify the title of his own book.

that a man who is so liberally lamentable in his outcries against the doctrine of predestination, and carries to such horrid length his invectives against the purposes and providence of God, should himself adopt, and be fairly able to propose a scheme of salvation exempt even from the appearance of that unmercifulness which he affects to find in the scheme of those from whom he so violently dissents. But what if the reverse be true? What if that very Arminian doctrine asserted by Mr. Wesley should, on a near inspection, be fairly convicted of not only apparent but real unmercifulness? even of more and greater than malice itself can charge on the most distorted portrait of Calvinism? This I, some pages back, engaged to make good. All passion and prejudice apart, let us coolly and candidly address ourselves to the enquiry.

According to Mr. Wesley's own fundamental principle of universal grace, grace itself, or the saving influence of the Holy Spirit on the hearts of men, does and must become the ministration of eternal death to thousands and millions. That I do not wrong Mr. Wesley, in asserting this, shall be proved from his own words: or rather from the words of Mr. Robert Barclay, the celebrated quaker; from whose apology for that people, Mr. Wesley (without mentioning the name of his author) hath pirated a little Tractate, price 2d. and to which he hath given the title of Serious Considerations on Absolute Predestination. In this Tractate, pirated as aforesaid, Mr. Wesley thus expresses himself (p. 13.): "He [*i. e.* God] hath given to every man a measure of light and grace; which, if it is not resisted, will work the salvation of all: but if it is, will become their condemnation." So then there is such a thing as condemning grace, or grace that eventually damns some unhappy persons on whom it is (most kindly!) bestowed. A very odd species of grace indeed. It would be just as sound divinity, and as sound sense, to talk of a damning salvation, as of damning grace. Surely such a kind of grace as this, a grace which (as Mr. Wesley himself acknowledges) is too often baffled and foiled by the will of man, and, of course, eventually conducive to sink him deeper into everlasting ruin, had much better not have been given or offered, than offered or given to increase the condemnation of those upon whom it is conferred! "Oh, but God does not give his grace with a view to increase their condemnation who reject it: so far from this, he seriously intended that it shall, and earnestly desires that it may, work them into a state of salvation. Which it will do if they are willing to admit it and improve it." I would only ask you one plain question. Does God know, or does he not, previous to, and at that time of this supposed gift or offer, whether the persons, *to* whom the offer is made, will or will not reject it? Let us have no equivocation. No shuffling. No evasion. No shifting of terms.

If you say, "God does not know what the event will be;" I give you up for incurable. It is less impious to deny the very existence of God, than to strip him of his omniscience and thereby make him (as far as in you lies) such an one as yourself. By pleading divine ignorance (I shudder at the very idea), you certainly slip out of my hands: and it is the only way by which you can. But your escape costs you very dear. In flying from Calvinism, you jump into atheism.

If you say, that "God does know what the issue will be, and that he deliberately offers or designedly implants (no matter which) his grace to or in a person who, he certainly knows, will augment his guilt by finally resisting the grace so offered or implanted;"—then where, oh where, is the goodness of God? I see not the least trace of it. But I see enough of its reverse: unless love and hatred, mercy and cruelty are terms synonymous.—To harp on the old string, and allege that "grace is not offered that it may increase condemnation," would be nothing to the purpose. So far is it from being able to turn the balance in your favour, that it is "lighter than the breath of a fly." If God knows that the offered grace will be rejected, it would be mercy to forbear the offer. Prove the contrary if you are able.

As I trust there is no man who dares, on mature consideration, to deny the all-comprehending foreknowledge or (if you had rather have it so expressed) the omniscience of God; I will venture to take that attribute for granted: and argue from it as from a principle assumed. To this end I shall put the following case.

That ever blessed Being, to whom all futurities are known from everlasting, knew (we will suppose) that a man named Tiberius, would be born at such a time, of such parents, and live in such a place. God knew, moreover (even before this person had being), that he would obstinately resist and reject the influences of grace, though seriously proposed [I argue on the Arminian principle] and tendered to his acceptance: that he would by no means admit it, or be guided by it, though God sincerely wished he would, and used all feasible methods for that purpose. And yet it seems God actually offers grace to this man: nay even draws him (*i. e.* according to the Arminian notion of divine traction, God solicits, propounds motives, excites and would fain have him) to accept of it. But why this waste of divine influence? Is it to add to iniquities already too great? and to seal destruction

already too sure? Can God be in earnest, in offering grace to one who, he infallibly knows beforehand, will infallibly refuse it, and therefore will never be the better, but much the worse, for the offer? or can it be from a principle of loving-kindness that the Deity is supposed to tamper (for tampering it is) with Tiberius by an offer of grace, which the Omniscient Offerer knows will be ineffectual? "Oh, but men are hereby made inexcusable." Be it so: yet surely God can never be thought knowingly to render a man more inexcusable by taking such measures as will certainly load him with accumulated condemnation, out of mere love to that man!

Let those, then, who plead for such grace as this, forbear to charge the asserters of special and efficacious vocation with representing the Deity as unmerciful: and, for common decency's sake, cease to tax the doctrine we plead for with tyranny and cruelty. Might I dare to accommodate those awful words to the present occasion, I would say to the patrons of ineffectual grace, weep not for us, but weep for yourselves. Level your tragical exclamations about unmercifulness at your own scheme, which truly and properly deserves them. I appeal to the judgment of every capable and unprejudiced man, which system is most worthy of God? the Arminian one, which represents the Father of mercies as offering grace to them who, he knows, will only add sin to sin, and make themselves two-fold more the children of hell by refusing it; or our's which, in perfect harmony with the Scriptures, asserts that grace is given to those only who, by that very grace so given them, are made willing to receive it, and in whom it is a well of water springing up into holiness, good works, and life everlasting?

Justly does the great Calvin exclaim against the weakness and absurdity of those reasoners who, while they affect to be "such conscientious advocates for the [mercy and] justice of God, stumble at every straw that lies in their way (*l*):" but when they have a turn to serve, or an idol-opinion of their own to set up, "make nothing of jumping over massy beams," and fighting through thick and thin. For God to restrain the operations of grace to them who shall actually be saved is "partiality and injustice." But to offer, and even to give, his grace to those that will certainly reject and make an ill use of it, and thereby render it the means of greater condemnation; this is "mercy, goodness, compassion and tender loving-kindness!" In this manner does Arminianism strain at gnats and swallow camels! even by representing grace itself as the administration of complicated sin and accumulated ruin to millions and millions of Adam's posterity. While honest Calvinism makes grace the real administration of present holiness and endless happiness to all on whom it is conferred. The former turns the very goodness of God into eventual poison. The latter only affirms that the non-elect are left in a state of nature, without the addition of ineffectual grace to double the measure of their sin and misery, and that with regard to the elect, whose millions are countless by man, God both intends their regeneration, and actually effects it by the omnipotence of his love. On the whole we must, 1. either deny the omniscience of God (and we may as well deny his existence outright); or 2. make grace itself the designed ministration of death to unnumbered myriads of men; or 3. acknowledge, with Scripture, that God is the sovereign dispenser of his own grace; that this grace is divinely effectual; and, consequently, that God hath mercy on whom he will have mercy.

I have often wondered how so many good people, who would start at Arianism, can so glibly swallow, and so easily digest, Arminianism. "Oh, but Mr. John has told us that Arminians are not Arians." True; all Arminians are not; though very many of them are. Most Arians, however, are Arminians, though some Arminians are not Arians. Arianism robs two of the divine persons. Arminianism robs all the three: If Arianism robs the Son and Spirit of their proper deity; Arminianism robs the Father of his sovereignty, decrees and providence: the Son of his efficacy as a Saviour: and the Spirit of his efficacy as a Sanctifier. An Arian represents the Son and Spirit as dependents on God the Father; an Arminian represents God the Father as dependent on the wills of men for the accomplishment of his desires, God the Son as dependent on the wills of men for the success of his mediation, and God the Spirit as dependent on the wills of men for the success of his agency.

Arianism and Arminianism, like water and ice, have a natural tendency to produce each other. Nor was it without reason, that a very able (*m*) advocate for the doctrine of the Trinity traces, in the preface to his excellent work on that subject, both the Arianism and the Deism of the age to Arminianism, as the grand source of both. The reader, I am persuaded, will not only excuse, but approve, my laying before him a

(*l*) Bonos istos justitiæ Dei patronos perplexos hærere in festucâ, altas vero trabes superare nimis absurdum est. Calv. Instit. l. 3. c. 23. § 7.

(*m*) The present learned, worthy and venerable Mr. Sloss, of Nottingham.

short extract from that masterly preface, which I the rather do, as it may be a means of acquainting some with a certain truth they do not seem aware of: *viz.* that the trite, common-place objection to predestination, drawn from the plausible topics of partiality, unmercifulness and injustice, does, if admitted at all, conclude as strongly against the whole Christian revelation as against the doctrines of grace in particular.

The argument by which some men "are induced to deny the doctrine of election, will, with equal force, conclude with the Deists against all revealed religion: and, according to their [i. e. the Arminian] way of reasoning, it is impossible that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament can be a revelation from God: because it is not made to all mankind. If it be essential to the goodness and equity of the divine nature for God to have an equal regard to all his creatures; and if he is so tied up by those perfections that he cannot, in his sovereignty and free grace, bestow peculiar and distinguishing favours on those upon whom he pleases to fix his love; then he must either not make any revelation at all, or else that revelation must be made to every individual of the human race. But, since it is plain that the method of salvation, revealed in the Scriptures, is not made known to every individual [of mankind]; it would follow by necessary consequence [from the above principle] that the Scripture cannot be a revelation from God: because his perfections, as is supposed, would oblige him to make those Scriptures equally known to all men.—Those therefore who deny the doctrine of election upon this principle, that it is inconsistent with that goodness, equity and justice, which are essential to the divine nature, whereby he regards equally all his creatures; are obliged, upon the same principle, to deny that the Scriptures are a divine revelation. If election be denied, because it makes a difference among those who [are supposed to] have an equal claim to the divine favour; it must be no less inconsistent with the goodness and justice of God to make any such revelation to any part of mankind, whereby their condition is made better than others of the human race to whom that revelation is not made known. Which [way of reasoning in either case] throws the greatest reflection on the whole conduct of Divine Providence in all those instances of it, whereby the condition of any of God's reasonable creatures is made better than the state of others; and cuts off entirely the sovereignty of the Supreme Being, by which he dispenses his favours to his creatures at pleasure, without trespassing on the equity and righteousness of his nature; since none of them have any claim to the least favour above another, by any thing in themselves, which they are possessed of independently of him who alone maketh any to differ. Since then the same arguments, made use of by some Protestants against the doctrine of the free grace of God in the eternal election of a part of the apostate race of Adam, hold with equal force against all divine revelation, and, consequently, against all Christianity; they would do well to consider how far they may have contributed to the prevailing deism of this present time, by furnishing the adversaries of divine revelation (who know very well how to improve any advantage against the truth) with arguments against Christianity in general." Thus far this calm and judicious reasoner.

As Arminianism fails in its attempts to magnify the divine mercy, so is it equally deficient in its pretences to promote human sanctity. Election ensures holiness to a very great part of mankind: whereas precarious grace, deriving all its efficacy from the caprice of free-will, could not ensure holiness to any one individual of the whole species. "Oh but some people, presuming upon election, neglect sanctification." This is much easier said than proved. Admitting it however to be a possible case, shall we mend the matter a single jot by going over to Arminianism? Let us examine: "The goodness of God is unlimited in its exercise; and Christ died to atone for all the sins of all mankind: moreover, every man is endued, either by nature or grace, with such liberty of will as to turn to God, if it be not his own fault." Surely these doctrines (I will not say necessarily, but) naturally carry a very gentle aspect on neglect of morals. They are, to say the very least, liable to vast abuse. "Oh, but if the doctrines are abused, it is owing, not to the doctrines, but to men of corrupt minds." It may be so. And will not the same remark hold equally true of the opposite doctrines? It will hold still truer. For no man, according to our system, has a right to look upon himself as elected until sanctifying grace has converted him to faith and good works. Consequently the doctrine of election is not so liable even to speculative abuse as the doctrine which asserts that "God loves every man alike, and that Christ died for the sins of all mankind." I speak it without the least intention either to grieve or offend any: but it is too true that several remarkable transactions have very lately happened in the Arminian world (I mean in that part of it which is supposed to be more holy than the rest), which transactions too plainly proved, notwithstanding many truly conscientious people are Arminians, that Arminianism and good works are by no means so nearly related as some folks imagine. Indeed, the farther we extend our observation, the more

we must be convinced of this. Arminianism was never more rampant in England since the reformation than at present. And I appeal to every man, whether virtue is not as much on the decline? Like alternate buckets, the one rises as the other falls.

Suppose we carry back our investigation from the present century to the last? In the last century, Arminianism was confined to much narrower bounds, and lay in much fewer hands than now. Yet where it did obtain, its influence on morals too often resembled the agency of a blast on the blossom. Even the candid Mr. Hickman mentions an instance of it. "This," says that excellent writer, "was the refuge and χρησφύγετον of that grand propagator of Arminianism, Mr. Thomson. When he was in a fit of intemperance, if any one reminded him of the wrath of God threatened against such courses, he would answer, I am a child of the devil to-day; but I have free-will; and to morrow I will make myself a child of God (*n*)."

"Oh, but if we hold free-will, we do not hold final perseverance. It is perseverance that throws open the flood-gates of licentiousness." How can that be? It is neither licentious, nor absurd, to suppose, 1. that the truly righteous are the peculiar care of God. And, 2. that, being his peculiar care, they are kept by his power through faith unto salvation (1 Pet. i. 3, 4, 5.): so kept as to be preserved fruitful in every good word and work. Now if to persevere in every good word and work be the turnpike road to licentiousness, then I grant that the doctrine of perseverance is a licentious doctrine. When holiness and sin are one and the same thing, then and not until then, will continuance in the former open a door to the latter.—But why do I detain my reader and myself, in wasting arguments on Mr. Wesley? The man who did not blush to call even the exemplary Mr. Hervey an Antinomian may well be supposed to hurl the name, indiscriminately, at the head of every one who says, with St. Paul, By grace ye are saved through faith and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God: not of works, lest any man should boast. For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works; which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them. Eph. ii. 8, 9, 10.

Let us now hear the sum of the whole matter. All things are of God: 2. Cor. v. 18. He is the efficacious ordainer of good: he is the wise and voluntary permitter of evil. There is no good of which he is not the author: there is no evil of which he is not the permitter. Consequently it is a first principle of the Bible, and of sound reason, that "whatever is, is right;" or will answer, some great end (an end at present unknown) in its relation to the whole, and at the final result of things. I must, even as a rational being, and much more as a Christian, repeat, and continue to insist upon, that celebrated maxim (under certain modifications); notwithstanding the controversial dust it has raised among the Arminians of Mr. Wesley's predicament, and among some small divines elsewhere. Nor will I ever give up that maxim, until I can see the conduct of Divine Providence fairly vindicated without its help.—You may say perhaps, with a late great and good man, that "the disposals of Providence are undoubtedly right." Allowed. But is there any thing in which Providence has no concern? If there be, tell us what that thing is. If there be not, then it unavoidably follows that "whatever is, is right," in some respect or other. Even Grotius himself found it absolutely necessary to grant this (*o*): else, as that learned man plainly saw, he must have left a very dangerous breach in the fortifications of Christianity.

It was even right that Mr. Wesley should be permitted to charge me with blasphemies I abhor, with positions I never wrote, and with consequences which my principles cannot produce. "Then why do you rap his knuckles for so doing?" Because, even upon my own maxim, it was no less right that his knuckles should be rapped. Zeno, the founder of the Stoics, one day thrashed his servant for pilfering. The fellow, knowing his master was a fatalist, thought to bring himself off by alledging that he was "destined to steal, and therefore ought not to be beat for it."—"You are destined to steal, are you?" answered the philosopher; "then you are no less destined to be thrashed for it;" and laid on some hearty blows extraordinary (*p*).

The motive of the agent is very distinguishable from the eventual tendency of the act. A man who means ill deserves chastisement, even though the ill he means be made (by superior direction) conducive to ultimate good. Should it be objected that, according to the above maxim, "there can be no such thing as ill meaning;" I deny the consequence. Let us weigh the terms of the maxim itself. "Whatever is, is right." Whatever is. Not what has merely an invisible, ideal existence in the mind of the agent; but whatever has a perceptible, outward existence, in the course and train of things. A being possessed of infinite

(*n*) Hickman's Animadv. on Heylin, p. 91, and 227.

(*o*) Quæ vero permittuntur non carent interin suit structu. De Vitat. l. i. f. 10.

(*p*) See Stanley's Lives of the Philos. p. 296.

knowledge to discern all consequences; of infinite power to prevent what he pleases; and of infinite goodness to will the best; cannot consistently with those perfections, be supposed to permit any event, without some wise and just view. Of these views, we are by no means competent judges. In a state of superior existence we shall, I doubt not, see the propriety and fitness of divine conduct. Here we know but in part; and in many instances we know nothing at all. Hereafter we shall know, even as we are known. What I do thou knowest not now; but thou shalt know hereafter. Wisdom itself never suggested a more certain truth than that with which the following words present us: Behold in this thou art not just: I will answer thee that God is greater than man. Why dost thou strive against him? For he giveth not account of any of his matters. Job xxxiii. 12, 13.

"It is very reasonable to believe," said Mr. Addison, "that part of the pleasure which happy minds shall enjoy in a future state will arise from an enlarged contemplation of the divine wisdom in the government of the world, and in a discovery of the sacred and amazing steps of Providence, from the beginning to the end of time. In our present condition, which is a middle state, our minds are as it were, chequered with truth and falsehood; and as our faculties are narrow and our views imperfect, it is impossible but our curiosity must meet with many repulses.

"*Visu carentem magna pars veri latet.*

"We are not at present in a proper situation to judge of the counsels by which Providence acts: since but little arrives at our knowledge, and even that little we discern imperfectly. Since Providence therefore in its economy regards the whole system of time and things together, we cannot discover the beautiful connections between incidents which lie widely separated in time; and, by losing so many links of the chain, our reasonings become broken and imperfect. Thus those parts in the moral world which have not an absolute, may yet have a relative, beauty in respect of some other parts concealed from us but open to his eye before whom past present and to come are set together in one point of view. And those events the permission of which seems now to accuse his goodness, may, in the consummation of things, both magnify his goodness and exalt his wisdom. And this is enough [at least it ought to be enough] to check our presumption; since it is in vain to apply our measures of regularity to matters of which we know neither the antecedents nor the consequents, the beginning nor the end." Spectator, vol. iii. No. 237.

There is therefore, what Calvin very justly calls a learned ignorance: (*q*) for it is real wisdom in man to acquiesce, with the most absolute and implicit confidence, in the decrees and dispensations of that God "whose never failing providence," as our Church expresses it, "ordereth all things both in heaven and earth."

I shall close the subject with the following passages: which, though taken from the Apocryphal Book, are pregnant with just reasoning, and speak the language of piety and sense. Let Mr. Wesley listen; and learn for the time to come not to aspers the decrees he cannot comprehend.

Thy heart hath gone too far in this world, and thinkest thou to comprehend the way of the Most High?—And I said unto him, Yea, Lord.—And he answered me and said, I am sent to shew thee three ways, and to set three similitudes before thee: whereof, if thou canst declare me one, I will shew thee also the way thou desirest to see, and I will shew thee from whence the wicked heart cometh. And I said, Tell on, my Lord. Then said he unto me Go thy way: weigh me the weight of the fire; or measure me the blast of the wind; or call me again the day that is past. Then answered I, What man is able to do that? And he said unto me, If I should ask thee how many great dwellings are in the midst of the sea, how many springs are in the beginning of the deep, or how many springs are above the firmament, or which are the out-goings of paradise: peradventure thou wouldst say unto me, I never went down into the deep, nor into hell, neither did I ever climb up into heaven. Neververtheless now have I asked thee but only of the fire and wind, and of the day where through thou hast past, and of things from which thou canst not be separated, and yet canst thou give me no answer of them. Thine own things and such as are grown up with

(*q*) Eorum enim quæ scire nec datur, nec fas est docta est ignorantia: scientiæ appetentia insaniæ species Calv. Inst. L. 3. C. 23 § 8.

This passage of Calvin's seems to have given Grotius the first hint of that fine epigram which he entitles Erudita Ignorantia: and which, as it is both exquisitely beautiful in itself, and so closely connected with the subject in hand, I here subjoin.

Qui curiosus postulat totum suæ
Patere menti, ferre qui non sufficit
Mediocritatis conscientiam suæ;
Index iniquus, æstimator est malus
Suique naturæque. Nam rerum parens,
Libanda tantum quæ venit mortalibus,
Nos scire pauca multa mirari jubet.
His primus error auctor est prejoribus.
Nam qui fateri nil potest incognitum,
Falso necesse est placet ignorantiam;
Umbrasque inanes captet inter nubilâ
Imaginosæ adulter Ixion Deæ.
Magis quiescet animus, errabit minus,
Contentus eruditione parabili:
Nec quæret illam siqua quærentem fugit.
Nescire quædam magna pars sapientiæ est.
Vide Grotii. Poemat. p. 235.—Ludg. 1639.

thee, canst thou not know? How should thy vessel then be able to comprehend the way of the Highest? And, the world being now outwardly corrupted, to understand the corruption that is evident in my sight? The more thou searchest, the more thou shalt marvel. For the grain of evil seed hath been sown in the heart of Adam from the beginning: and how much ungodliness hath it brought up unto this time! and how much shall it yet bring forth, until the time of threshing come! Ponder now by thyself how great fruit of wickedness the grain of evil seed hath brought forth. And when the ears shall be cut down, which are without number, how great a floor shall they fill!—Then I answered and said, How and when shall these things come to pass?—And wherefore are our years few and evil?—And he answered, Do not thou hasten above the Most Highest: for thy haste is vain, and thou hast much exceeded. Did not the souls also of the righteous ask questions of these things in their chambers, saying, How long shall I hope on this fashion? When cometh the fruit of the floor of our reward? And to these things, Uriel the archangel gave them answer and said, Even when the number of seeds is fulfilled in you: for he hath weighed the world in a balance. By measure he hath measured the times: and by number he hath numbered the times: and he doth not move nor stir them until the said measure be fulfilled. 2 Esdr. iv.

Does God's seeming severity to the non-elect stumble us? It is enough for us to know that infinite wisdom cannot err, and that infinite goodness does all things well. Thou art sore troubled in mind for Israel's sake: lovest thou that people better than he that made them?—And I said, No, Lord; but of very grief have I spoken: for my reins pain me every hour while I labour to comprehend the way of the Most High and to seek out part of his judgment.—And he said unto me, Thou canst not. Number me the things that are not yet come, gather me together the drops that are scattered abroad, make the flowers green again that are withered; open me the places that are closed, and bring forth the winds that are shut up in them, shew me the image of a voice: and then will I declare unto thee the being that thou labourest to know.—And I said, O Lord that bearest rule, who may know these things but he that hath not his dwelling with men? As for me, I am unwise: how am I then to speak of these things whereof thou askest me? — Then said he unto me, Like as thou canst do none of these things that I have spoken of; even so canst thou not find out [on one hand] my judgment [toward the reprobate], nor, in the end, the love which I bear unto my people on the other. 2 Esdr. v.— For thou comest far short [of the implicit duty thou owest to me], that thou shouldst be able to love my creature more than I. Chap. iii. 47.

One word to Mr. Wesley himself, and I have done. Time, Sir, (I am informed) has already whitened your locks: and the hour must shortly come, which will transmit you to the tribunal of that God, on whose sovereignty a great part of your life has been one continued assault. At that bar I too must hold up my hand. Omniscience can tell which of us shall first appear before the Judge of all. I shortly may, you shortly must. The part you have been permitted to act in the religious world will, sooner or later, sit heavy on your mind. "Mixed in the warm converse of life, we think with men: on a death-bed, with God. Depend upon it, a period will arrive when the Father's electing mercy, and the Messiah's adorable righteousness, will appear in your eyes, even in your's, to be the only safe anchorage for a dying sinner. I mean, unless you are actually given over to final obduration. Which I trust you are not; and to which I most ardently beseech God you never may.

You have told us, *totidem verbis*, that "Men's believing is the cause of their justification:" (*r*) that "our obeying Christ is the cause of his giving us eternal life:" and that "our obedience to Christ is the cause of his becoming the author of eternal salvation to us." You have affirmed, speaking of God, that it can never "consist with his unerring wisdom to think that I am innocent, to judge that I am righteous, because another is so. He can no more in this manner confound me with Christ, than with David or Abraham." (*s*) Such doctrine may pass well enough, while life and health last: but it will leave us comfortless, hopeless, ruined, in that hour, when heart and flesh fail. Woe be to you, to me, and to all the race of Adam, if the righteousness of Christ will not then stand us in any more stead than the righteousness of David or Abraham! was that really to be the case, how could Mr. Wesley, in that particular, hope for justification at the hands of that God, whom he has impiously compared to "Tiberius" and "the Grand Turk."

May your name, sir, after all that you have done, be found at last in that Book of Life against which you have so daringly exclaimed! May your person be interested in that only perfect righteousness, on which you have so unhappily trampled! and, as an evidence of your part in both, may your

(*r*) See Mr. Wesley's Scripture Doctr. of Predestin. p. 7, 8.

(*s*) See a Sermon concerning Justification, in one of Mr. Wesley's three first volumes of Sermons.

future conduct display the spirit and breathe the language of these excellent lines :

> " Let not this weak, unknowing hand
> Presume thy bolts to throw,
> And deal damnation round the land
> On each I judge thy foe.
>
> If I am right, thy grace impart
> Still in the right to stay ;
> If I am wrong, O teach my heart
> To find that better way." (*t*)

Be this your supplication. And may your supplication be heard !

(*t*) Pope's Universal Prayer.

AN OLD FOX TARRED AND FEATHERED;

OCCASIONED BY WHAT IS CALLED,

MR. JOHN WESLEY'S CALM ADDRESS TO OUR AMERICAN COLONIES.

> " In politics I dabble too,
> Brave Jack of all Trades I."
> Cæciliane, Fur. es.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following sheet does not enter, seriously and argumentatively, into the merits of either side of the dispute now pending between England and America. This has already been done by others; and probably will be by more. The intention of these pages is, 1. To shew Mr. Wesley's honesty, as a Plagiarist : and, 2. To raise a little skin, by giving the Fox a gentle flogging as a turn-coat.

SECTION 1.

> "Another face of things was seen,
> And I became a Tory."

WHEREUNTO shall I liken Mr. John Wesley ? and with what shall I compare him ?

I will liken him unto a low and puny tadpole in divinity, which proudly seeks to disembowel a high and mighty whale in politics.

For it came to pass some months since, that Dr. Samuel Johnson sent forth an eighteen-penny pamphlet entitled, Taxation no Tyranny.

And some days ago, a methodist weathercock saluted the public with a two-penny paper (extracted by whole paragraphs together from the aforesaid doctor), ycleped, A calm Address to our American Colonies. The occasion whereof was this :

There dwelleth about 99 miles, one furlong and thirteen inches from a place called the Foundry in Moorfields (next door to a noted mad-house), a priest named Vulposo.

This priest is a perfect man and an upright : hating forgery, adultery, and covetousness.

Now he happened to buy Dr. Johnson's pamphlet abovementioned : and upon reading thereof he thus mused with himself.

" This tract, called Taxation no Tyranny, cost me one shilling and six-pence.

" What a man buys and pays for is certainly his own.

" Therefore this tract is no longer its author's, but mine.

" Consequently, I shall do no evil if I gut the substance of it, and republish it under my own name.

" There is an old Greek proverb which saith γνωθι καιρον, Know thy opportunity, and seize it. There is also a Latin poet who saith, *Malè dum recitas incipit esse tuum.*

" No tense like the present. Doctor Johnson has been for several weeks absent from the kingdom, on a tour to Paris. Therefore it is now or never. Like a mouse that has robbed a pantry, I will venture forth with my stolen morsel while the cat's out of the way.

" Now it is not that I care for government any more than Judas cared for the poor : but I have long wished to be taken notice of at court ; and this pilfering may procure me some preferment in the Church.

" I once (*a*) begged and prayed a foreign vagrant (who styled himself Erasmus, bishop of Arcadia) to give me episcopal consecration, that I might be a bishop at large, and have it in my power to ordain my ragged regiment of lay-preachers.

" Notwithstanding, though I gave the man many fair speeches, he would not hearken to my voice.

" But who knows whether in the borrowed (*b*) plumes of Dr. Johnson I may not perchance obtain a pension, if not slip into an English cathedral ; or (at least) be appointed to the first American bishoprick ?

" Alas ! alas ! a sudden thrill goes through me, and my cogitations are perplexed within me ! for before I can be made a (*c*) bishop my infamous plagiarism may be found out.

(*a*) See some account of this curious transaction in Mr. Toplady's Letter to Mr. John Wesley.

(*b*) Æsop relates, that a certain vain jack-daw picked up all the peacock's feathers he could meet with, and stuck them among his own : in hope that the elegant spoils might pass for the native productions of his back. The cheat was soon discovered : and the enraged birds not only stripped him of his artificial decorations, but made him feel the vengeance of their bills beside.

On this fable, Dr. Croxall very properly remarks, that for a man " to be barely pleased with appearing above what he really is, may justly render him contemptible in the eyes of his equals. But if, to enable him to do this with a better grace, he has feathered his nest with his neighbour's goods, he hath nothing to expect, when found out, but to be stript of his plunder, and used like a ——— into the bargain."

(*c*) In the Address to the Colonies, Mr. Wesley expresses himself thus : " I gain nothing, either by the

"However, worst come to worst, what if it be? It is not the first time that my old foxship has been started, and my impositions have been detected.

"Many writers have lustily plundered the works of other men: but I am resolved to out-plunder, and to out-blunder, them all."

SECTION II.

And it came to pass while the priest thus communed with his own heart, that a very aged man in black clothing rendered himself visible, and said:

"Fear not, my son, to do the thing which thy soul lusteth after:

"For much riches and renown and comfort shall it add unto thee.

"Nothing venture, nothing have. Snatch the precious moment. Distil the doctor's pamphlet. And when thou hast extracted the substance thereof, cork it up for sale in twopenny phials.

"Yet a little while, and revolving winds will waft the doctor back to his native shore.

"Imitate, therefore, certain worthy sons of mine (vulgarly called housebreakers), who are never better pleased than with committing an unmolested burglary, when a family is from home."

And therewith the black veteran gave the priest a tweak by the elbow; who, shaking his locks, and taking his quill in hand, entered immediately on this business of distillation.

How faithfully, how dexterously, how judiciously, and how (*d*) plentifully he executed the task, will appear from the following Synopsis: wherein the very words of Dr. Johnson are given on one side; and the very works of the foundry priest on the other.

Dr. Johnson.	Mr. Wesley.
1. "An English colony is a number of persons, to whom the king grants a charter, permitting them to settle in some distant country." [Tax. no Tyr. p. 25.]	1. "An English colony is a number of persons, to whom the King grants a charter, permitting them to settle in some far country." [Ad. to the Am. Col. P. 3.]
2. "And enabling them to constitute a corporation, enjoying such powers as the charter grants to be administered in such forms as the charter prescribes." Ibid. P. 4.	2. "As a corporation enjoying such powers as the charter grants, to be administered in such a manner as the charter prescribes." Ibid. P. 4.
3. "As a corporation, they make laws for themselves: but as a corporation subsisting by a grant from a higher authority, to the controul of that authority they continue subject." P. 25.	3. "As a corporation, they make laws for themselves; but, as a corporation subsisting by a grant from a higher authority, to the controul of that authority they still continue subject." P. 4.
4. "The Parliament of England has a right to bind them [the Americans] by statutes,—and has therefore a legal and constitutional power of laying upon them any tax or impost,—for the defence of America, for the purpose of raising a revenue, or for any other end beneficial to the empire." P. 30.	4. "The supreme power in England has a legal right of laying any tax upon them, for any end beneficial to the whole empire." Ibid.
5. "It is, say the American advocates, the natural distinction of a freeman, and the legal distinction of an Englishman,—that nothing can be taken from him, but by his own consent. This consent is given, for every man, by his representative in parliament." P. 31.	5. "But you object, It is the privilege of a freeman and an Englishman to be taxed, only by his own consent. And this consent is given for every man by his representative in parliament." Ibid.
6. "Whatever is true of taxation, is true of every other law." P. 32.	6. "Whatever holds with regard to taxation, holds with regard to all other laws." P. 5.
7. "He that denies the English parliament the right of taxation, denies it likewise the right of making any other laws, civil or criminal. Yet this power over the colonies was never yet disputed by themselves. They have always admitted statutes for the punishment of offences, and for the redress or prevention of inconveniencies." P. 32, 33.	7. "He who denies the English parliament the power of taxation, denies it the right of making any laws at all. But this power over the colonies you have never disputed. You have always admitted statutes, for the punishment of offences, and for the preventing or redressing of inconveniencies." Ibid.
8. "The reception of any law draws after it, by a chain which cannot be broken, the necessity of submitting to taxation." P. 33.	8. "The reception of any law draws after it, by a chain which cannot be broken, the necessity of admitting taxation." Ibid.
9. "That a freeman is governed by himself, or by laws to which he has consented; —every man —feels it to be false." Ibid.	9. "That every freeman is governed by laws to which he has consented,—is absolutely false." Ibid.
10. "In wide-extended dominions,——— a very small part of the people are either primarily or secondarily consulted in legislation." Ibid.	10. "In wide extended dominions, a very small part of the people are concerned in making laws." Ibid.
11. "The business of	11. "All public busi-

Government, or by the Americans; and probably never shall." P. 12. Is not this something like hinging out a sign-post to invite custom? or, simavis, putting up a bill importing, lodgings to let? or, setting himself up to auction, saying, "The party, whether Ministerial or American, that bids most for me, shall have me?" At least, is there not, in the above declaration, a loop-hole of reserve? a back door to creep out at?—Not to notice that, in affirming he "gains nothing by the Government," he is very ungrateful, and advances a known untruth. He "gains" protection at least, and toleration, from "Government," and instead of calling this much, has he the face to call it "Nothing?" I should be glad to know, what his gratitude would term something?—Moreover, time was, when Mr. Wesley gained, even from American bounty and civility. Has he forgot his residence at Savanna, and some certain incidents therewith connected?

(*d*) It may be alleged, that in Mr. Wesley's plentiful cribbings and carvings from Doctor Johnson, he had rather borrowed than stolen the Doctor's paragraphs. To which I answer: that if he has borrowed them, he is one of those, concerning whom David observes, the ungodly borroweth, and payeth not again. For Mr. Wesley is so far from acknowledging himself a debtor to Dr. Johnson, that he never, so much as once, from the beginning of his two penny Tract to the end, mentioned the Doctor's name, or made any reference to the Doctor's pamphlet; though that pamphlet is the hole of the pit from which Mr. Wesley has dug and fetched up his own.

DR. JOHNSON.
the public must be done by delegation. The choice of delegates is made by a select number. And those who are not electors, stand idle and helpless spectators." P. 43, 44.

12. "Of electors, the hap is but little better. Where the numbers approach to equality almost half must be governed, not only without, but against their choice." P. 44.

13. "How any man can have consented to institutions established in distant ages, it will be difficult to explain. The consent of individuals is merely passive—As all are born the subjects of some state or other, we may be said to have been all born consenting to some system of government. Other than consent than this, the condition of civil life does not allow." Ibid.

14. "The Americans are telling one another, — that they are entitled to life, liberty, and property; and that they have never ceded to any sovereign power whatever, a right to dispose of either, without their consent." P. 35.

15. "While they speak as the naked sons of nature, they claim but what is claimed by other men." Ibid.

16. "Their next resolution declares, that their ancestors, who first settled the colonies, were, at the time of their emigration from the mother country, entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities, of free and natural-born subjects within the realm of England. This likewise is true." P. 36.

17. "But, when this is granted, their boast of original rights is at an end. They are no longer in a state of nature.—These sets of themselves —these demi-gods of independence, sink down to colonists, governed by a charter."

Ibid.

18. "If their ancestors were subjects, they acknowledged a sovereign. If they had a right to English privileges, they were accountable to English laws; and —— had ceded to the king and parliament— the power of disposing, without their consent, of their lives, liberties, and properties." P. 37.

19. "It is required of them to prove, that the parliament ever ceded to them a dispensation from that obedience which they owe as natural born sub-

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ness must be done by delegation. The delegates are chosen by a select number. And those that are not electors,—stand by idle and helpless spectators." P. 5, 6.

12. "The case of electors themselves is little better. When they are near equally divided, almost half of them must be governed, not only without, but even against, their own consent." P. 6.

13. "How has any man consented to those laws which were made before he was born? Our consent to these—is purely passive. And, in every place, as all men are born the subjects of some state or other, so they are born passively, as it were, consenting to the laws of that state. Other than this kind of consent, the condition of civil life does not allow." Ibid.

14. "But say, you are entitled to life, liberty and property, by nature: and that you have never ceded to any sovereign power, the right to dispose of these, without your consent." Ibid.

15. "While you speak as the naked sons of nature, this is certainly true." P. 7.

16. "But you presently declare, our ancestors, at the time they settled these colonies, were entitled to all the rights of natural born subjects, within the realm of England. This likewise is true." Ibid.

17. "But, when this is granted, the boast of original rights is at an end. You are no longer in a state of nature, but sink down to colonists governed by a charter." Ibid.

18. "If your ancestors were subjects, they acknowledged a sovereign. If they had a right to English privileges, they were accountable to English laws; and had ceded to the king and parliament the power of disposing, without their consent, of both their lives, liberties, and properties." Ibid.

19. "Did the parliament cede to them a dispensation from the obedience which they owe as natural subjects? or any degree of independence,

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jects; or any degree of independence and immunity not enjoyed by other Englishmen?" P. 37.

20. "They say, that, by such emigration, they by no means forfeited any of those rights: that they were, and their descendants now are, entitled to the exercise and enjoyment of all such of them as their local and other circumstances enable them to exercise and enjoy." Ibid.

21. "That they who form a settlement by a lawful charter, having committed no crime, forfeit no privileges; will be readily confessed. But what they do not forfeit by any judicial sentence, they may lose by natural effects." P. 38.

22. "He, who goes voluntarily to America, cannot complain of losing what he leaves in Europe. He, perhaps, had a right to vote for a knight or burgess. By crossing the Atlantic, he has (e) not nullified his right; for he has made its exertion no longer possible. He has reduced himself, from a voter, to one of the innumerable multitude that have no vote."

Ibid.

23. "As the English colonists are not represented in the British parliament, they are entitled to a free power of legislation. They inherit, they say, from their ancestors, the right which their ancestors professed, of enjoying all the privileges of Englishmen. That they inherit the right of their ancestors, is allowed; but they can inherit no more."

P. 39, 40.

24. "Their ancestors left a country, where the representatives of the people were elected by men particularly qualified, and where those, who wanted qualifications, or who did not use them, were bound by the decisions of men whom they had not deputed." P. 40, 41.

25. "The colonists are the descendants of men, who either had no votes in elections; or who voluntarily restored them, for something in their opinion of more estimation. They have, therefore, exactly what their ancestors left them: not a vote in making laws, or in constituting legislators; but the happiness of being protected by law, and the duty of obeying it." P. 41.

26. "What their ancestors did not carry with them, neither they nor

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not enjoyed by other Englishmen." P. 7.

20. "They did not, indeed, as you observe, by emigration, forfeit any of those privileges; but they were, and their descendants now are, entitled to all such as their circumstances enable them to enjoy." P. 7, 8.

21. "That they who form a colony by a lawful charter, forfeit no privileges thereby, is certain. But what they do not forfeit by any judicial sentence, they may lose by natural effects." P. 8.

22. "When a man voluntarily comes into America, he may lose what he had in Europe. Perhaps he had a vote, for a knight or burgess. By crossing the sea, he did not forfeit this right; but it is plain he has made the exercise of it no longer possible. He has reduced himself, from a voter, to one of the innumerable multitude that have no votes."

Ibid.

23. "As the colonies are not represented in the British parliament, they are entitled to a free power of legislation. For they inherit all the right which their ancestors had, of enjoying all the privileges of Englishmen.—They do inherit all the privileges which their ancestors had; but they can inherit no more."

Ibid.

24. "Their ancestors left a country, where the representatives of the people were elected by men particularly qualified, and where those, who wanted that qualification, were bound by the decisions of men whom they had not deputed." P. 8, 9.

25. "You are the descendants of men, who either had no votes, or resigned them by emigration. You have therefore exactly what your ancestors left you; not a vote in making laws; nor in choosing legislators; but the happiness of being protected by laws, and the duty of obeying them." P. 9.

26. "What your ancestors did not bring with them, neither they nor

(e) The word *not* here seems to have crept in, through a mistake of the printer. The draft of the doctor's arguing is, to prove, that emigration does nullify those rights which the emigrant previously enjoyed in his own country. Mr. Wesley, however swallows the pamphlet by wholesale, errors and all, rough and smooth, as it runs; just as a man takes his wife for better for worse.

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their descendants have since acquired. They have not, by abandoning their part in one legislature, obtained the power of constituting another: any more than the multitudes, who are now debarred from voting, have a right to erect a separate parliament for themselves." P. 41,42.	their descendants have acquired. They have not, by abandoning their right in one legislature, acquired a right to constitute another, any more than the multitudes in England, who have no vote, have a right to erect a parliament for themselves." P. 9.
27. "His majesty's colonies are entitled to all the privileges and immunities granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or secured to them by their several codes of provincial laws. The first clause will be readily admitted. To all the privileges which a charter can convey, they are by a royal charter evidently entitled. The second clause is of greater difficulty." P. 42, 43.	27. "However, the colonies have a right to all the privileges granted them by royal charters, or secured to them by provincial laws. The first clause is allowed: they have certainly a right to all the privileges granted them by the royal charters. But as to the second, there is a doubt." P. 9, 10.
28. "Provincial laws may grant to certain individuals of the province, the enjoyment of gainful, or an immunity from onerous offices. But no province can confer provincial privileges on itself." P. 43.	28. "Provincial laws may grant privileges to individuals of the province; but, surely, no province can confer provincial privileges on itself." P. 10.
29. "They may have a right to all which the king has given them: but it is a conceit of the other hemisphere, that men have a right to all which they have given to themselves." Ibid.	29. "They have a right to all which the king has given them; but not to all which they have given themselves." Ibid.
30. "A corporation can no more extend its own immunities than a man can, by his own choice, assume dignities or titles." Ibid.	30. "A corporation can no more assume to itself privileges which it had not before, than a man can, by his own act and deed, assume titles or dignities." Ibid.
31. "The legislature of a colony is only the vestry of a larger parish, which may lay a cess on the inhabitants, but must modify its particular regulations by the general law; and, whatever may be its internal expenses, is still liable to taxes laid by superior authority." P. 44.	31. "The legislature of a colony may be compared to the vestry of a large parish, which may lay a cess on its inhabitants, but still regulated by the law; and, whatever be its internal expenses, is still liable to taxes laid by superior authority' Ibid.

Thus, gentle reader, it appears that the Foundry wasp has made very free with the Johnsonian hive. No fewer than thirty-one borrowed paragraphs in the course of only ten pages! In fact there are more of these pilfered goods stowed in the narrow compass of those five leaves. But the adduced specimens may suffice to convince thee with what an unsparing hand the master of arts has fleeced the doctor of laws.

But are Dr. Johnson's arguments and phraseology therefore the legitimate property of John Wesley because the latter puffs them off as his own? By no means. We might as well affirm that Mr. Wesley's body natural is therefore the lawful property of a leech, because the latter may have thought fit to pay its compliments to the veins of the former.

SECTION III.

It is not the intention of this tract to canvas the merits of Dr. Johnson's reasoning; but merely to shew that the best part of what Mr. Wesley most impudently and most untruly calls his own Address to the Americans; is, both as to matter and expression, a bundle of Lilliputian shafts, picked and stolen out of Dr. Johnson's pincushion.

If Mr. Wesley had the least spark of shame remaining, the simple detection of such enormous literary theft would be more terrible to his feelings than an English pumping, or an American tarring and feathering.

I can say in earnest what this unblushing priest lately declared concerning himself, viz. "I am no politician; politics lie quite out of my province (*f*)." It is not for me to enter deeply, much less with acrimony, into those public contests which now carry so formidable an aspect on the best interests of the English empire. My department and inclination lead me ardently to pray, in humble and pacific obscurity, for the safety and prosperity of my nation, church, and king. But the interested, the inconsistent, the shameless conduct of Mr. Wesley compels me to put thé two following queries to his conscience, if any thing like conscience has fallen to his share.

I. Did you not, within this twelvemonth, openly declare in the pulpit, at Bristol, that in your opinion, and to use your own canting words, "America is the favourite land of the Lord?" Adding, "Woe be to that man, either in England or out of it, that dares to lift up a finger against America!" I only ask, how does this (be it right or wrong comport with the tenor of that sound which you now echo from Dr. Johnson's drum?

II. Did you not, in the year 1770, thus express yourself (whether justly or improperly I have no design to enquire)? "I do not defend the measures which have been taken with regard to America. I doubt whether any man can defend them either on the foot of law, equity, or prudence." (*g*) Probably the weathercock is not even yet completely rusted. It may still vary with the wind. To what point of the compas will it veer next? Certainly not to a new one, for it has again and again turned to all the thirty-two. Go on, sir, to prove all things: but be sure that you do not forfeit your charter and sully the glory of your past eccentricities by holding fast any thing that is good. Keep up to your old character:

> "Stiff in opinion, mostly in the wrong,
> Be every thing by starts, and nothing long."

(*f*) Wesley's Free Thoughts on the State of Public Affairs, p. 3, printed in 1770. This gentleman laments (Ibid. p. 4.) that "every cobler, tinker, porter, and hackney-coachman," can dabble in politics. And yet the lamenter himself actually employs cobblers &c., to preach what he calls the gospel.

(*g*) These are Mr. Wesley's very words, in his Free Thoughts on the State, &c. p. 14.

The fly is now perched with much solemnity on Dr. Johnson's wheel. But who can tell what a moment may bring forth? The quondam (*h*) admirer of Junius may possibly, in the twinkling of an eye, commence the panegyrist of an English Cromwell, or of a Scotch Macbeth.

This is the Mr. Wesley who not long ago had the modesty to tell the world that his principles have been the same "for eight and twenty years." Instead of principles in the plural, he should have said principle in the singular. For I grant there is a principle by which he has uniformly abode; viz. to change and shift about like the minute-hand of a clock. Nor does he bid fair ever to stand at a point till all the vital weights are quite run down and the pendulum ceases to play.

Little more than two centuries ago a famous temporising priest who had turned with every tide; who was a half Protestant in the close of Henry VIII.'s reign, a whole Protestant in the reign of Edward VI., a good Catholic in the reign of Mary, and a Protestant again in the reign of Elizabeth; returned the following answer to a friend who charged him with religious and political unsteadiness, and with having either no conscience at all, or at least a very convenient conscience, made of stretching leather, equally capable of shrinking and dilating, as whim or interest might require.

"You are much mistaken," said the pious divine: "I am by no means that changeable person you take me for. No man in the world was ever more steady to his principles, or acted a more consistent part. When I was first presented to the vicarage of Bray, I resolved to hold it as long as I breathed. And I have acted accordingly. Vicar of Bray I was. Vicar of Bray I am. And vicar of Bray I will be to the end of the chapter."

By way of winding up the whole matter, I will take my present leave of Mr. Wesley, with submitting to the reader a very notable specimen of father John's wretched but (in him) not astonishing inconsistency.

"Your ancestors had ceded, to the king and parliament, the power of disposing, without their consent, of both their lives liberties, and properties." Wesley's Calm Address to the Americans. P. 7.

"No man can dispose of another's life, but by his own consent. I add, no, nor with his consent. For no man has a right to dispose of his own life. Now, it is an indisputable truth, *nihil dat quod non habet*: none gives what he has not. It plainly follows, that no man can give to another a right which he never had himself, viz. the power of the sword, any such power as implies a right to take away life."

Wesley's Thoughts on the Origin of Power, p. 11. printed A. D. 1772.

How delightfully do those two opposite paragraphs coalesce and hang together! But what are contradictions to John Wesley? I congratulate administration on their acquisition of so wise, so knowing, so honest, so uniform, so disinterested, so steady, and so respectable a politician. A politician, who in some companies affirms that his sudden approbation of government measures was occasioned by his perusal of Dr. Johnson's 'Taxation no Tyranny:' and without a blush avers in other companies that his said political conversion was brought about by virtue of a long conversation with two members of parliament. Pity it is that great truth-tellers, like great wits, should be so famous for short memories!

LONDON, Oct. 19, 1775

POSTSCRIPT.

Should Dr. Johnson's echo be asked to preach a charity sermon larded with tory politics in Bethnal Green Church; we shall have the title of a good old song realized afresh: and the charity girls may squeak a stanza to the tune of 'The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green.'

PARTICULARS OF POPE JOAN.

It has been confidently asserted by some modern members of the Romish communion that the story concerning pope Joan is a mere fiction, invented by Protestants to blacken the infallible Church. In opposition to which insinuation I here insert the following extract copied *verbatim* by my own hand from that scarce and curious old book entitled The Nuremburgh Chronicle: which was printed at Nuremburgh in the year of our Lord 1493; in a Popish city, by Popish printers, and compiled by Popish hands no less than four and twenty years before the first dawn of the Reformation which Luther afterwards began.

The reader will find the following succinct history of this famous female pope in the above work, p. 169, b.

"Johannes Anglicus (et ut ferunt), ex mogunciaco ortus, malis artibus pontificatum adeptus; mentitus enim sexum, cum femina esset. Adolescens admodum, Athenas cum viro docto amatore proficiscitur: ibique, præceptores bonarum artium audiendo, tantum profecit, ut Romam veniens, paucos admodum etiam in sacris literis pares haberet, nedum superiores. Legendo autem et disputando doctè et acutè, tantum benevolentiæ et auctoritatis sibi comparavit, ut, mortuo Leone, in ejus locum (ut Martinus ait), omnium consensu, pontifex crearetur. Verum postea a familiari compressa, cum aliquandiu occulte ventrem tulisset; tandem, cum ad Lateranensem basilicam proficisceretur, intra theatrum (quod Coloseum vo-

(*h*) See Mr. Wesley's tract, already referred to; viz. Free Thoughts, &c. p. 4.

cant) a Neronis coloso and sanctum Clementem, doloribus circumventa, peperit. Eoque loci mortua, pontificatûs sui anno secundo, mense uno, diebus quatuor, sine ullo honore sepelitur. Sunt qui hæc duo scribant: pontificem ipsum quum ad Lateranensum basilicam proficiscitur, detestandi facinoris causa, et viam illam consultò delinare; et ejusdem vitandi erroris causa, dum primò in sede Petri collocatur ad eam rem perforata genitalia ob ultimo diacono obtrectari."

TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE.

"John, of English descent, but said to have been born at Mentz, obtained the Popedom by sinister arts: for she palmed herself upon the world as a man, when in reality she was a woman. In her youth she accompanied a learned lover of her's to Athens: and there, by attending the lectures of the best literary professors, she made so great a progress in erudition that, on her arrival in Rome, she had few equals and no superiors in all kinds of theological knowledge. By her learned lectures and by her masterly disputations she acquired so much esteem and authority that, on the death of Leo, she was by universal consent (as Martinus affirms) created pope.

"Some time after her elevation to the pontifical dignity she became criminally familiar with one of her domestics; and pregnancy was the consequence. She took care by every precaution to conceal this circumstance as long as possible: until at last, as she was walking [in public procession] to the Lateran Church [in Rome], she was suddenly seized with labour-pains, and brought forth her infant in that part of th street which lies between the Theatre and the Church of St. Clement. She died on the spot; having held the Popedom two years, one month, and four days.

"Some writers affirm that to this very day, whenever the pope walks in procession to the Lateran Church, he constantly goes thither by another way, to avoid reviving the memory of the above-mentioned detestable event; and that, in order to prevent a similar imposition" [i. e. in order that the infallible Church may not again mistake the sex of her popes], "the new-elected Pontiff is properly examined by the junior deacon, at the time at his holiness's first enthronement in St. Peter's chair; the seat whereof is perforated for that purpose."

Thus far the Nuremburgh Chronicle. To which I add the following indisputable particulars.

1. This said Mrs. Joan (who called herself John VIII.) was successor in the popedom to Leo. IV. who died, A. D. 855, and she herself was succeeded by Benedict III.

2. Not only do many grave Roman Catholic historians assert the fact; but the fact itself has also exercised the wits of more than a few ingenious poets of that communion. Witness the following epigrammatic verse:

Papa pater patrum peperit papissa papellum.

Not to mention those lines of Mantuan, who was himself a Carmelite friar, and who represents pope Joan and her lover hanging in the ante-chamber of hell:

Hic pendebat adhuc sexum mentita virilem,
Fœmina cui triplici Phrygiam diademate mitram
Suspendebat apex; et pontificalis adulter.

3. The statue of this she-pope remained in the cathedral church of Sienna so low down as until about the year 1677: when it was demolished, in order to stifle all memory of an incident so disastrous and dishonourable to the holy see.

The reader should be apprized, that a wooden print representing the said lady and her child was inserted originally and still remains in the Nuremburgh Chronicle abovementioned.

Was not at least this pope the whore of Babylon?

CONTEMPLATION ON SNOW.

"Hast thou entered into the treasures of the snow?" JOB xxxviii. 22.

THE whole world of nature, no less than those of grace and of glory, is under the absolute dominion and the never ceasing direction of God. Every wind that blows is of his breathing; and every drop, whether fluid or condensed, that falls from the sky, is of his sending. At this very time must the adoring nations confess that he giveth snow like wool; and he scattereth the hoar frost like ashes; he casteth forth his ice like morsels: who can stand against his cold? Psalm cxlvii. 16. 17.—He saith to the snow, Be thou on the earth; likewise to the small rain, and to the great rain of his strength. Job xxxvii. 6.

Let the same question be put to my readers which speaking Omnipotence once put to Job (chap. xxxviii. 22). "Hast thou entered into the treasures of the snow?" Hast thou considered its nature, its properties, and its uses?

Dew, mist, rain, snow, hail, and clouds are no more than coalitions of watery vapours which have been partly forced towards the surface of our terraqueous globe by the latent fires with which its bowels are fraught; and partly drawn up from it by the insinuating, attractive agency of the sun. The humid particles thus exhaled naturally ascend; as being in their uncombined state lighter than the surrounding air: and persist to soar, until they arrive at a region of the atmosphere where their flight is stopped by other preceding vapours already exhaled and condensed into clouds. Thus arrested

and detained, they unite (like coalescing spherules of quicksilver, or like the contacting globules of water in a containing vessel) into floating masses; and remain in a state of literal suspense and fluctuation until, by accumulated compression, and by their own collected weight, they become specifically heavier than the sustaining air, and fall in larger or smaller drops to the earth and ocean whence they sprung.—Striking representation of man in his best estate of moral excellence! Are you rich, or exalted, or prosperous, or gay? remember, that you are under as absolute obligation to Providence for these glittering distinctions, as a rising vapour is indebted for its transitory elevation to the action of the solar beams. And, vapour-like, you too must fall, after having hovered your few destined moments: for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return. An inspired pen has both started and resolved the question: What is your life? It is even a vapour that appeareth for a little time, and then vanisheth away. James iv. 14. If so,

"Why all this toil for triumphs of an hour?
What though we wade in wealth or soar in fame?
Earth's highest glory ends in, 'Here he lies!'
And 'dust to dust,' concludes her noblest song."

Be wise, therefore, to slip the cable of your affections from the world's evanid shore. Supplicate the Holy Spirit to make you rich towards God. And under the sweet breezes of his gracious influence, set sail in good earnest for the kingdom of heaven.

When the watery treasures of the sky descend to their native earth, more like respectful visitants than like rude invaders, *i. e.* in moderate quantities, and with not too impetuous force, we call them showers. When they greatly exceed in those two particulars we give them the hostile name of storms.—Thus the human passions, if rectified and regulated by supernatural grace, are instruments of happiness, and productive of the most beneficial effects. But if unrestrained by Providence, and unrefined by the Holy Ghost, they operate like the deadly Egyptian tempest, which smote both man and beast, and destroyed every herb, and brake all the trees of the field. Exod. ix. 25.

While the middle regions of the air are impregnated with frost, the falling drops catch cold (if the expression may be allowed), and are congealed in the course of their descent. Hail and snow are but other names for different modifications of frozen rain. Hail is rain consolidated into a hard and heavy mass. Snow is a multitude of small hooked icicles which, interfering with each other in their fall, become mutually entangled and interlinked: and cohere in delicate, but irregular, flakes of very light, because of very expansive and superficial, texture.—If snow is no more than particles of water, congealed in their passage to the earth, it affords but too just an emblem of our affections when, instead of aspiring to God in Christ, they subside and gravitate towards a perishable world. Under such spiritual declension, our comforts are chilled, and our graces benumbed: until a fresh rising of the sun of righteousness upon our souls dissolves the moral frost, and again warms us into the meltings of penitential love. His beams strike upon the rock, and then the waters flow.

REFLECTIONS
ON A
THUNDER STORM.

When the lightning flashes, and when the thunder rolls, do we as it were hear the Almighty speak in the one and see a glimpse of his tremendous glory in the other! If when the clouds pour out water, when the air thunders, and the arrows of his lightning are sent abroad, it is natural for the guilty to tremble, for the just to pray, and for all to look up to him whose voice is thus mighty in operation; where will the ungodly, where will the unbeliever, where will the habitual sinner appear, when the Lord himself descends from heaven with a shout, a shout that shall unbar the gates of death, recal the scattered dust of all mankind, and wake that dust to life?

May we ever listen to the Almighty when he speaks in thunder, or looks in lightning, and call to mind that awful period when the final trump shall summon us to the bar! may every such season be improved to this beneficial purpose! And though thunder and other effects are under God, owing to natural causes and may be accounted for on natural principles; yet let us remember that natural causes are caused by the God of nature, and that the effects which they produce are in truth the effects of his all-active, all-governing providence. And this is the glorious God that maketh the thunder. Such a view of things will render the most obvious events lessons of the highest instruction, and means of spiritual improvement. Thus considered, thunder teaches, and lightning holds the lamp to knowledge: nature becomes subservient to grace, and the laws of the material system direct to heaven. And should we not aspire to the friendship of that Being whose voice shakes the earth, and whose eyes are as a flame of fire? Should we not approach his footstool, humbled in the dust of repentance, and trusting in the propitiation of him who hushed the infinitely more dreadful thunder of divine resentment, and, in his own blood, quenched the lightning of vindictive wrath? Possessed of interest in his availing merit, and conformed, as far as human infirmity will permit, to his blessed example, we need fear

nothing. Though the earth was removed, and the hills carried into the midst of the sea; though the waters thereof should rage and swell, and the mountains shake at the tempest of the same; yet safely anchored on the rock of redeeming merit, and lodged in the arms of God's everlasting love, we should be equally free both from danger and from dread. Let the inferior thunders grate upon the ear; let sublunary lightnings flash terror on the eye, so we are enabled to take shelter beneath the hiding place of a Redeemer's righteousness, and his spirit, in gentlest accents, whispers comfort to the heart. Happy they who thus dwell beneath the defence of the Most High, who abide under the shadow of the Almighty, and to whom his faithfulness and truth are a shield and buckler!

THOUGHTS
ON
PERSEVERANCE.

MANY of God's dear people are frequently afraid that, on account of their own weakness and the power of their spiritual enemies, they shall at length make shipwreck of faith, and totally fall away. Yet perhaps none stand more sure and safe than those who think they cannot stand at all: for "Happy is the man who feareth always," Prov. xxviii. 14. Happy the soul that is possessed of that holy fear which drives him to the Lord, keeps him vile in his own eyes, and causeth him to be ever dependent upon the word and promise of a faithful God, and makes him rejoice with trembling, and tremble with hope.

But we are assured from the oracles of unerring truth, "that the righteous should hold on his way; and he that hath clean hands," he (whose actions are pure in consequence of his heart being purified by faith) "shall be stronger and stronger," Job xvii. 9. As this doctrine is a source of comfort and support to the children of God, I shall humbly offer some arguments to prove it, which have been matter of serious meditation, and, I trust, of consolation to my own mind.

I. The economy of the covenant of grace.—The covenant is said to be "ordered in all things, and sure," 2 Sam. xxiii. 5. This the holy Psalmist triumphed in, even in the prospect of death; this enabled him to look the king of terrors in the face with composure and serenity; this emboldened him to play on the hole of the asp, and to put his hand on the cockatrice den, Isa. xi. 8. Feeling his mortal powers decay, he rejoiced in the approaching prospect of that glory to which by virtue of this well ordered covenant he possessed a valid and unalienable right.

All believers have one and the same title to glory; all are equally interested in the blessings of the covenant; and it being sure, it follows that none of those whom God deals with, in a covenant way, can finally perish, or it could not be termed well-ordered, or sure. The apostle calls it "a better covenant," Heb. viii. 6. better than that made with Adam. Our first parents were capacitated to stand and continue in obedience to their Sovereign; but, being mutable, they fell, no grace being promised to secure their standing. But believers stand and are upheld by the veracity and immutability of God that cannot lie. The covenant of grace, then, is a better covenant, and established upon better promises, which assure the people of God of grace to help in every time of need. It will, methinks, be hard to prove how it can be called a better covenant, if those that are in it may (as some suppose) fall away.

II. The death of Christ is another argument to prove this point. Christ is the head of his church under the covenant of grace, as Adam was of all mankind under the covenant of works; as such he graciously undertook for all his people, and by his active and passive obedience, he fully satisfied the law and justice of God on their behalf, and opened a new and living way for their return to God here by faith, hereafter by sweet and blessed fruition. Nor did he die for all; for there were some when he died suffering in their own persons the vengeance of eternal fire, Jude, ver. 7. It would be blasphemy to say he died for those who were then in torment: this is the natural product of Arminianism. We allow the Scripture says, "he tasted death for every man." Hebrews ii. 9. υπερ παντος cannot signify for all, but for every one. If we attend to the apostle's strain of meaning, it is evident he speaks of many sons being brought unto glory. Christ is not ashamed to call them his brethren. "Forasmuch, then, as the children were partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same, that by death he might destroy death," &c. Those he represented in his obedience unto death, are his brethren, the members of his body mystical, and he tasted death for every one of them. Hence we are warranted to conclude every one of his brethren or people shall be saved. To say, all may be saved, is in effect to affirm that none shall: a thing that only may be, may surely not be; and if there is but a peradventure for our salvation, it is easy to prove no soul ever can be saved. Our Saviour says, "All that the Father hath given me, shall come to me; and him that cometh, I will in no wise cast out, but will raise him up at the last day." John vi. 37—44. In which words is contained, 1. the doctrine of election; 2. of faith: 3. of glori-

fication, in order to which, perseverance is absolutely necessary, and must be implied.

When we consider Christ to be God, he must know for whom he suffered; and if we also consider the greatness, merits and efficacy of his sufferings, he could not undergo all in vain: but it would (with reverence I speak it) be in vain, if those he died for were finally to miscarry.

III. The work of the Spirit.—When the Spirit begins, he carries on his work in the hearts of his people till they are made meet for the inheritance prepared for them above; for he has engaged in covenant to bow the wills, to regulate the powers, and sanctify the affections of all the elect; to lead, guide, strengthen, and direct them through this wilderness; and he never leaves the subjects of his grace till he puts them into the arms of the Redeemer in glory. To this purpose Christ speaks, John iv. 14. "Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him, shall never thirst. But the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up (αλλομενε, bubbling, and still ascending with energy and constancy, till it bubble up) into everlasting life." Pertinent to this point also, is what the apostle says, "He that establishes us with you, and hath anointed us, is God, who hath sealed us, and given us the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts, 2 Cor. i. 21, 22. Those that are established and anointed, and have the sealing and earnest of the Spirit, cannot fall away. This is again mentioned in Ephes. i. 13, 14.

IV. We may argue from God's faithfulness and immutability. That immutability is an essential attribute of God, the Scriptures abundantly assert. Mal. iii. 6. Worthy our attention is what an excellent author says upon the unchangeableness of God: "Could he ever be changed, it must be by others, or himself; by others it cannot be, not being in the power of any; how can the thing made have power over him that made it? Nor by himself: if so, it must be for the better or the worse: for the worse it cannot be, for then he must cease to be the most perfect being, or cease to be God: nor for the better; for how can he be better who is already absolutely the best?" Jenks's Medit. vol. ii. 2nd edit., p. 29.

God having bestowed his grace upon his people, he never takes it from them: his unchangeableness will not admit of it: "The gifts and callings of God are without repentance." Rom. xi. 19. "If when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life." Rom. v. 10. If when we were strangers and enemies to God, and the way of salvation revealed in the gospel, his grace reached us and proved victorious in subjecting us to his will; much more, being made willing to love, follow, and obey him, we shall be saved and preserved to his kingdom of glory. Saving grace is the free gift of God; and he gave it to remain and abide for ever, Eccl. iii. 14. This is his gracious promise in Isaiah liv. 8—10. "With everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer. The mountains shall depart, and the hills be removed; but my kindness shall not depart from thee," &c. So says Christ, John x. 28, speaking of his sheep, "they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hands." And the apostle speaks of some who are kept by the power of God (kept as in a garrison), through faith unto salvation, 1 Pet. i. 5. Whence is that of an ancient father: *Horum (videl. electorum) si quispiam perit humano vitio vincitur Deus: sed nemo eorum perit quia nullâ re vincitur Deus*: "If any of the elect perish, God is overcome by man's perverseness; but none of them perish, because God, who is omnipotent, can by no means be overcome." *August. de Corrupt. et Grat.* cap. vii. The saints therefore shall be brought off more than conquerors; for God hath said, "I will never, never leave thee: no, no, I will never forsake thee," (for thus that precious promise should be rendered) Heb. xiii. 5. Add to this,

V. The testimony of God's people in all ages of the Church. Look at the generations of old, and see, did any ever trust in God and was confounded? or "when were the righteous cast off?" "The Lord will not cast off his people." Ps. xciv. 14. Lam. iii. 31. To this truth they are now enabled at times to bear their joint testimony. Bucer, a little before his death, spoke thus to Bradford: *Castiget fortiter adjiciet autem nunquam, nunquam abjiciet*: which exactly corresponds with the Psalmist, Ps. lxxiii. 26. "My heart and my flesh faileth; but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever!" How triumphant is the apostle's strain, Rom. viii. 38, 39. We read of Baxter (who, though heterodox in many things, was a partaker of the one thing needful), that when asked by a friend when he lay on his death-bed how he was, he replied, "almost well," which a person in the view of opening eternity could never say, unless he found God very precious and found him faithful. Whatever dross this holy man carried about him in his life, it was consumed in his death, and he received into glory. The testimony of glorified spirits above, as it bears weight in it, so it corroborates this truth. Their song is, "Faithful and true," Rev. xix. 11. This is proved likewise,

VI. And lastly, from the intercession of Christ. "I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not," says our Saviour to Peter, Luke xxii. 32, and we know his prayer was heard; though his faith failed as to the ex-

ercise of it, yet the root and habit of it remained, and accordingly sprung forth, revived, and grew so strong, that Peter afterwards was emboldened to suffer and to die for his Lord.

Our Lord began the prayer upon earth which he now offers in heaven for his people: "Keep through thy own name those whom thou hast given me," John xvii. 11. 24. he prays (or rather demands, as the purchase of his death) saying, "Father, I will that they also whom thou hast given me, be with me where I am;" on which ground we may conclude that all Christ died for shall possess that crown of glory that fadeth not away, it being impossible that Jesus should intercede in vain. This is the foundation of the apostle's challenge, "Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea, rather that is risen again, who also maketh intercession for us," Rom. viii. 34. May all God's people, who have their faces Zion-ward, take encouragement from these things to go forward in the name and strength of the God of their salvation, till they arrive in the mansions of bliss and endless felicity.

A

COURSE OF FAMILY PRAYER,

FOR EACH DAY IN THE WEEK.

Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I, in the midst of them. Matt. xviii. 20.
Praying in the Holy Ghost. Jude 20.
And the smoke of the incense, which came up with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God, out of the angel's hand. Rev. viii. 4.

SUNDAY MORNING.

[*Collect, before reading the appointed portion of Scripture.*]

Through the riches of thy mercy, and by the power of thy sustaining goodness, we are brought in safety to see the light of another day, even the light of a new Lord's day, the best of days, the type of that glorious rest which remaineth for the people of God. Lord send forth and send down thy Holy Spirit into our hearts; and make thy sabbath a sabbath-day indeed to each of our souls; a day of spiritual improvement, heavenly consolation and near communion with thee: O satisfy us with thy mercy, and that right soon; so shall we rejoice and be glad all the days of our lives. Lift up the light of thy countenance upon us at this time; bless to us all the means of grace, whether public or private, in the use of which we wait for thy salvation: O let them not be as wells without water; but make them channels of divine influence, and effectual to the end for which thou hast appointed them. We desire to begin the Lord's day with the Lord, and to hallow it by the word of God and by prayer. Enable us, O thou Father of mercies, to keep it holy unto thee, and to enjoy saving communion with thee, for the sake of Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

(Here let the family rise from their supplicating posture, and, all being seated, let a select portion of Holy Scripture be read; which ended, a hymn or psalm may be sung; after which the master of the family may conclude as follows, either standing or kneeling.) Let us pray.

Our Father, which art in heaven: hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil: for thine is the kingdom, and the power and the glory, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

We thank thee, gracious God, for the return of the morning light, and for causing the day-spring to know its time and place. O may the day-star from on high visit our benighted souls; and may that Saviour who is the bright and morning star, arise and shine within us with healing in his wings: glory be to thy goodness, that the light we see is the Lord's; that this is the day which thou hast made for thyself, and set apart for thy name. May this sabbath-day be a high day to our souls; a day of spiritual feasting and heavenly joy; bring us, O blessed Spirit, into thy banqueting house, and let thy banner over us be love. Blessed be thy name, that we see so many of the days of the son of man; that we enjoy so many precious opportunities of worshipping thee in the beauty of holiness, and of paying our vows unto thee publicly, in the presence of thy people. May we be in the Spirit on the Lord's day; and call the sabbath a delight, holy of the Lord, and honourable. May we cease from our own works, as God on the seventh day ceased from his; and abound only in the work of the Lord. Especially make it to us a sabbath of rest from sin, and a sabbath of rest in God. We are indeed utterly unworthy of the honour, and unable for the work of a fellowship, with the Father, and with his Son, Jesus Christ; but we come unto

thee, O blessed Lamb of God, in thy own adorable name, who alone art worthy; and depend on the strength and supply of thy good Spirit, to work all our works in us, and to ordain peace for us. Bless all thy ministring servants throughout the whole world; may they obtain mercy of the Lord to be faithful; faithful to thee, faithful to truth, and faithful to the souls entrusted to their care. Particularly vouchsafe to be with all those who are this day to stand up in thy name, and preach the gospel of thy grace. May they be mighty through thee to convince the unconvinced, to convert the unconverted, to heal them that are of a contrite heart, and to build up believers on their most holy faith. Enable them to preach thy truths with power, and with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven; thou thyself graciously working with them, and confirming the work with signs following. Be in the midst of all thy worshipping people, who shall assemble in thy name to-day. Have mercy on those who shall be unwillingly detained from thy house, by sickness or any other providential impediment; comfort them in secret, sanctify their absence by granting them much of thy inward presence. Let them that tarry at home divide the spoil; and as they are excluded from the stream, give them to drink the deeper at the fountain head. Lord assist us, thy unworthy servants, in the religious services of this day. Make us joyful in the house of prayer; when we wait upon thee for a renewal of our strength, may we find our strength indeed renewed; may we inwardly experience the grace of the means, while we attend on the means of grace; and enjoy a saving intercourse with the God of ordinance, in frequenting the ordinances of God. Vouchsafe to take us and ours into thy gracious protection. Bless and preserve us in our going out and coming in. Support and strengthen, direct and guard us; pardon our innumerable sins, the depravity of our nature, and the offences of our lives; and sanctify us to thyself a peculiar people, zealous of good works, and seal us thine in body, soul and spirit, to the day of the Lord Jesus. This day, gracious Lord, keep us in thy fear: let us not find our own pleasure, nor do our own ways, nor speak our own words; but live entirely to thee, converse with thee, know more of thee, and grow up into a greater fitness for thy kingdom and glory. All we beg, O gracious Father, is for thy mercy's sake in Jesus Christ our Saviour: for whom we bless thee, and to whom, with thyself and the Holy Ghost, we desire to ascribe all might, majesty and praise, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

The Lord bless us and keep us; the Lord make his face to shine upon us, and be gracious to us, and give us peace, this day and evermore. *Amen.*

SUNDAY EVENING.

[*Collect before reading the Scripture.*]

Receive us graciously, O thou God of all mercy, though we be not cleansed according to the purification of the sanctuary: we trust we can say, that our whole dependence is fixed on him, on that ever blessed Mediator, between God and men, in whom thou hast declared thyself well pleased. Vouchsafe to clothe us with his righteousness, and to sprinkle both our hearts and our performances with his precious blood, which speaketh better things than that of Abel. Smile upon us, and be gracious to us, in this our private audience; may our petitions be received with favour at the throne of grace, and may an answer of peace be sealed in our hearts. In this, and all other doings may we be enabled to look unto thee for a blessing, and to receive the blessing at thy hand, through Jesus Christ our Saviour.

[After reading and singing, add]

Our Father, &c.

O thou that hearest prayer, unto thee shall all flesh come. Thou art the Lord, by whom we escape death, and enjoy all things pertaining to life and godliness. Thine we are, and thee we ought to serve. Thou hast holden us up ever since we were born: may our praise be always of thee. We thank thee for thy care over us, and thy favour toward us this day, both in a way of providence and in a way of grace. Less than the least of all thy mercies, we are continually favoured with the greatest: we who deserve justly to be forsaken of thee, and to be cast out of the sight of thine eyes, are yet spared hitherto to be monuments of thy goodness, and of the love that passeth knowledge. Dearest Father, impress our hearts with a lively and lasting sense of what thou hast done for us; and do thou crown all, by working in us that which is well-pleasing in thy sight. Give us unfeignedly repentance toward God, and saving faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. Sprinkle us with his precious blood, from all the guilt of our sins, both original and actual; clothe us with his righteousness unto justification; and grant us that sanctification of thy spirit, without which no man can see the Lord.——We desire to be humbled in thy glorious presence for the sins of this day; for the iniquity of our holy things; for our short-comings, and our mis-doings. Surely all our personal righteousness are as filthy rags, in the eyes of thine infinite holiness; and our best performances, if brought to the test of thy perfect law, would but add to our condemnation, and enhance our punishment. But thou art a God gracious and merciful, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin, through the ransom thou hast found and the Lamb which thou hast provided for a burnt-offering. Give

us to see, that our guilt was transferred to him; that his obedience is imputed to us, and that we are through grace interested in all the blessings of the everlasting covenant. To the care and protection of thy almighty providence would we humbly commend ourselves this night. Take charge of us and our's, O thou Keeper of Israel, who never slumberest nor sleepest, watch over us for good. When we sleep, let our hearts wake and our souls lie open to the influence of thy blessed Spirit: keep us without sin, by the power of thy grace. If we have received any spiritual improvement to-day, Lord grant that it may abide with us, and increase with us ever more and more. Let it not be as the morning-dew, that quickly passes away; but fasten thy word upon our hearts, as a nail in a sure place. Cherish every motion of thy good spirit; begin the work of grace where it is not yet begun; and carry it on with power where it is. May our penitence be deep and lasting; may our faith be strong, lively and fervent; and build us up into living habitations of thee the living God. Sanctify and seal us thine, in body, soul and spirit. Sprinkle, according to thy own most gracious promise, clean water upon us, that we may be clean; from all our filthiness, and from all our idols, do thou cleanse us: a new heart also do thou give unto us, and a new spirit do thou put within us: take, O take away the stony heart out of our flesh, and give us hearts of flesh: put thy spirit within us, and cause us to walk in thy statutes, and to keep thy judgments and do them. May we, from principles of faith in thee and love to thee, be careful to maintain good works; and go on from strength to strength, until we are called to appear before the God of gods in Zion: there to celebrate that never-ending Sabbath, which angels and archangels, with the spirits of just men made perfect, are now enjoying before the throne. With them may we see thee as thou art; with them may we cast our crowns before thee; and sing the praises of the great Three-one, of the Father who loved us, of the Son who washed us from our sins in his own blood, and of the eternal Spirit who sanctified us by his grace, and preserved us to the day of Christ. Whatever we ask, we ask it at thy hand, for the merit's sake of thy dear Son, our only Lord and Saviour. *Amen.*

The Lord bless us and keep us, &c.

MONDAY MORNING.

[*Collect, before reading the Scripture.*]

Open our eyes, O Lord, that we may discern the wonders of thy law; and rejoice our hearts with the knowledge of thy love. Take away our iniquities, and receive us graciously. Be light to our darkness, wisdom to our folly, and manifest thy strength in our weakness. Remember us according to the favour which thou bearest to thy own people; stir us up to seek thy face, and to lay hold on thy covenant: and make us find that it is indeed good for us to draw nigh unto thee, and to wait upon thee in and through the name and merits of Jesus Christ our only Mediator and Advocate.

[The Scripture being read and a Psalm sung, add as follows]

Our Father, &c.

Gracious and glorious Lord, the eyes of all wait upon thee; thou art the hope of all the ends of the earth. In thee we live and move and have our being: thou givest us life and breath and all things. Still thou takest care of us, and watchest over us; even in the hours of sleep, when we are unable to care for ourselves. And thy mercies are daily renewed; thy goodness is repeated every morning: yea, every moment dost thou give us fresh occasion of praise and thanksgiving. Blessed be thy name, for the peace, rest, and safety of the night past. Enable us, in the strength of thy grace and of thy gifts, to love thee truly, to serve thee faithfully, and to depend on thee without wavering. In all our ways, may we acknowledge thee; and be thou graciously pleased to establish our goings, and to direct our path. We desire to put ourselves under thy gracious conduct and thy fatherly protection. We beg the heavenly guidance, blessing and assistance of thy good spirit, to choose our inheritance for us, and to dispose of us, and all that concerns us, to the glory of thy great name. O Lord, withdraw not thy tender mercies from us, neither shut up thy loving kindness in displeasure. Though we deserve to lose thy favour and thy presence, yet grant us the comfort of thy help, and the joy of thy salvation, and uphold us with thy free spirit. Punish not our past offences, by leaving us to ourselves, and giving us up to the dominion of our sins; but give us penitent hearts for all the evil committed by us, and thy merciful discharge from all the guilt that lies upon us. And grant us, O good Lord, the comfortable sense and apprehension of thy free acceptance of us, and of thy gracious intentions toward us, in the Son of thy love, the lover of our souls; that our hearts may bless thee, and all that is within us may praise thy holy name.—Lord, keep us from sin this day. Subdue as well as pardon our iniquities: and herein may we exercise ourselves, to have always a conscience void of offence, both towards God and towards man.—Whilst upon earth, grant us a due supply of all things needful for us in the house of our pilgrimage. Sanctify to us our enjoyments and our employ-

ments, our comforts and our crosses, every condition we are to be in, and every event that shall befal us. Enable us to live to thy honour and glory: and make us to pass through things temporal, as neither to lose nor forget the things eternal. If thou enlighten us not, we shall run into error; if thou prevent not, we shall relapse into sin; if thou preserve us not, we shall fall into dangers. O let thy good providence be our defence and security; and thy Holy Spirit be our comforter, guide and counsellor, in all our ways: until, through the merits of thy Son, and the multitude of thy mercies, we are called away, to be for ever with the Lord. *Amen.*

MONDAY EVENING.

[*Collect, before reading the Scripture.*]

Teach us, O Lord, the way of thy statutes, and make us keep it unto the end. Incline our hearts to thy testimonies, and cause us to go in the path of thy commandments, for therein is our desire. May the law of thy mouth be dearer unto us than thousands of gold and silver; and let thy Holy Spirit accompany thy word with saving power to our souls, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

[After reading and singing, add as follows]

Our Father, &c.

Infinitely great and infinitely gracious God, thy glory exceeds our utmost thoughts, and thy mercies are over all thy works. We thy sinful creatures have particular reason to admire and adore not only thy patience which bears with us, notwithstanding all that we have done against thee; but likewise thy never ceasing bounty, by which our comforts are continued and our wants supplied. We desire to approach thee, as our kind and merciful Father in Jesus Christ: humbly beseeching thee to wash away our sins in his most precious blood; and to give us a sufficient measure of thy grace and Holy Spirit to enable us against them. Thou didst create man, O Lord, after thy own blessed image; but we have destroyed ourselves, and come short of thy glory: the crown is fallen from our heads, and woe unto us, for we are sinners both by nature and by practice: justly mightest thou swear in thy wrath that we shall not enter into thy rest. Yet suffer us, and enable us to plead in faith thy gracious promise, that whosoever trusteth in the Saviour thou hast provided, and cometh unto thee by him, shall never perish, nor fall into condemnation, but have everlasting life for his sake. Lord, we would believe; O help our unbelief! and work in us that unfeigned repentance towards God, and that right faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, that we may be of the number of them that do indeed repent and believe to the saving of the soul. Save us, O good Lord, from our sinful selves, and from the love of the present evil world, and from every thing that opposes thy grace and tends to hurt our souls. Stablish us in thy love; strengthen us to perform thy will; and settle our faith on Christ the rock of ages.—To thy mercy in him we would humbly commit ourselves this night. Be our sun to enlighten us; be our shield to defend us. Grant us, if it please thee, rest of body and peace of mind. Let the voice of joy, health, and safety, be heard in our dwelling: make our walls salvation; and our gates praise. — Comfort all who want the comforts we enjoy: and grant suitable supplies of mercy, both spiritual and temporal, to all the afflicted, wheresoever they are, and howsoever tried.—Remember, with the favour that thou bearest to thy people, all our absent friends and relations: be thou a friend to them, and may they stand in a covenant relation to thee. Make them and us such as thou wouldest have us, and such as thou wilt accept of in Christ Jesus, here to thy gracious favour, and hereafter to thy glorious kingdom. Hear us, O God of the spirits of all flesh! Hear us in behalf of ourselves and others; hear others, in behalf of themselves and us: and convert those who pray neither for others nor themselves. Above all, hear the Son of thy love, the lover of our souls, who intercedes, we trust, for us at thy right hand. For him and to him, with thyself and the blessed Spirit, enable us to ascribe everlasting praise and glory. *Amen.*

TUESDAY MORNING.

[*Collect, before reading the Scripture.*]

Almighty God, unto whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid; vouchsafe at this time to cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit: that we may perfectly love thee, worthily magnify thy holy name, and offer thee a sacrifice in righteousness, acceptable to thy glorious Majesty, in and through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

[After reading and singing, add as follows]

Our Father, &c.

Blessed Lord, thine we are, and thee we ought to serve. The obligations of thy law, and the endearments of thy love, render it our indispensable duty to be faithful in the covenant, and to abound in the work of the Lord. But alas! we are unprofitable servants, and worse than unprofitable; for we have drunk in iniquity like water; our provocations against thee are increased, and our trespasses are grown up unto the heavens. We have lived to ourselves, instead of living unto him who died for us and rose again; we have not, as we should, glorified

thee in our bodies and in our spirits, which are thine.—And since it is not in man to recover and save himself, O enable us to look unto thee, in whom alone our help lies. We thank thee for laying help upon one that is mighty; for committing thy people and the work of their salvation to the hands of him who hath finished transgression, made reconciliation for the iniquity of them that believe, and wrought out and brought in an everlasting righteousness, for their justification. In his name we come to thy throne of grace, hoping to obtain mercy, and find grace to help in every time of need: for his sake we humbly intreat thy favour and the light of thy countenance; begging thee to be reconciled to us, and to be at peace with us, as a Father of mercies and a God of consolation. And, Lord, enable us to walk as becomes those upon whom thy name is called. May we be followers of Christ, as dear children, and adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things. O circumcise our hearts, to love the Lord our God: and may thy Almighty Spirit so write the law of holiness upon our minds, that it may be our meat and our drink to do thy will; that we may hate all iniquity, and every false way; and resemble the blessed Jesus, as our pattern, while we trust in his merits as our propitiation. Lord, make our service acceptable to thee while we live, and our souls ready for thee when we die. As long as we are in the world, keep us from the evil of it, and from the snares and dangers to which we are continually exposed in our passage through it. O make our pilgrimage safe and sure through all the troubles, changes, and temptations of this mortal life, to the unchangeable glories and felicities of the life everlasting. Be merciful to us this day. Keep us in all our ways, bless all our lawful undertakings, and grant that we may take nothing in hand but what is warranted by thy word, and agreeable to thy will concerning us. Set thy fear before our eyes all the day long; and put thy love into our hearts, that we may not depart from thee. Bless and preserve us in our going out and coming in. May the angel of thy presence save us from all sin and danger. Hear and answer us, O Lord, for the sake of him who hath loved and redeemed us, even the Lord our righteousness, to whom be ascribed the kingdom and power and glory. *Amen.*

The blessing of God Almighty, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, be with us, and all that belong to us, this day, and evermore. *Amen.*

TUESDAY EVENING.

[*Collect, before reading the Scripture.*]

O Lord, thou art good unto them that wait for thee, and to the soul that seeketh thee. We desire at this time to wait for thee, and to wait upon thee; and to seek thee in the way of thy appointment. Give us a token for good, and an answer of peace, while we draw near unto thee in the name of Jesus Christ our only Mediator and Redeemer. *Amen.*

[After reading and singing, add as follows]

Our Father, &c.

How excellent is thy mercy, O God! and what encouragement dost thou give us to put our trust under the shadow of thy wings! thou art the bountiful giver of the good that our souls desire, and the merciful withholder of the evil that our sins deserve. From thee comes all our help; and in thee make us repose all our hope. We acknowledge thy great and daily goodness to us; and our own absolute unworthiness of the least of all thy mercies. We desire to take shame and confusion to ourselves that we have so little improved, and so greatly abused thy patience with us, and the various instances of thy bounty toward us. Thy very mercies help to aggravate the heavy reckoning of our offences; because we have done so much against thee, after all the great things thou hast done and art continually doing for us. We would, O Lord, be penitent and humbled for our sins; and intreat thy gracious favour in Jesus Christ for the pardon of them. Forgive us, we pray thee, for his blood and righteousness sake; absolve us from all the evil of which we stand guilty before thee, and, being justified by faith, grant us peace with God, through Jesus Christ our Lord. And as we pray that thou wilt be to us a Father of mercies and a God of consolation, so also that thou wouldest make us followers of thee as dear children. Work in us, by thy Holy Spirit, that which is well pleasing in thy sight. Lord, thou knowest our weakness, and the temptations to which we are exposed: our dangers from the enemy of souls, and from the present world, which is full of snares; and, above all, from the enemy within, our vile flesh and deceitful hearts, so apt to betray us into sin. We pray therefore that thou wilt arm us with the whole armour of God, and uphold us with thy free Spirit; and watch over us for good evermore. O make us experience the strongest aids of thy heavenly grace; that we may never fall a prey to the spiritual adversary that seeks to devour us. And seeing thou art yet pleased to hold our souls in life, and to make us find and feel by every day's experience, how gracious and merciful thou art; give us hearts more sensible of thy love to us, more enflamed with love to thee, and more thankful for the blessings which thou art pleased to multiply upon us. And cause us to shew forth thy praise, not only by speaking good of thy name, but by ordering our

conversations as becomes the gospel of Christ. To thy mercy in him do we humbly commend ourselves and ours this night: beseeching thee to visit us with thy salvation, and to preserve us, in soul and body, from all evils and dangers to which the weakness of our frame and the greatness of our sins expose us. May our repose be holy, safe, and refreshing; that we may rise again better fitted and enabled to serve thee according to thy will in the duties of the following day, if it should be thy pleasure to make addition of another day to our lives. And as thou addest days and mercies add repentance and amendment to our days; that in proportion as we draw nearer to the grave our souls may grow fitter for heaven. And for all the good things that we have had, and still have, and yet hope for at thy hands, to thy adorable name be all the praise, O Father, Son, and Spirit, world without end. *Amen.*

WEDNESDAY MORNING.

[*Collect, before reading the Scripture.*]

Unto thee do we lift up our eyes, O thou that dwellest in the heavens. Have respect, we humbly beseech thee, both to us and to our offerings, for the sake of him who offered up himself for our offences, and rose again for our justification. Meet us with a blessing who desire to meet thee in prayer, and make thy throne a throne of grace to us through Jesus Christ our Saviour. *Amen.*

[After reading and singing, add]

Our Father, &c.

Lord God, bountiful and gracious, long suffering and abundant in goodness and truth; thou keepest mercy for thousands, thou pardonest iniquity, transgression, and sin; neither dost thou retain thy anger for ever, because thou delightest in mercy. Look down, O Lord, upon us, who would now be looking up to thee; and be favourable to us as thou usest to be unto those that fear thy name. Look not upon the sin of our nature, nor the sins of our hearts and lives; which are more than we can number, and greater than we can express. O sprinkle us from an evil conscience, by the application of the blessed Redeemer's blood which cleanseth from all sin. And, seeing there is in him an infinite fulness of all that ever we can want, or wish, to render us holy and to make us happy; grant us to receive out of his fulness grace sufficient for us: grace to pardon our sins and subdue our iniquities; to justify our persons and to sanctify our souls. Begin or carry on the new creation within; advance in us that saving change of heart, which may be the power of thy Spirit; more and more transform us into thy blessed image, and make us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light. And now that we are entered upon another day, we beseech thee to carry us through it in thy fear and favour. Order all our steps in thy word, and let no wickedness have dominion over us. Teach us to use the world without abusing it; and may that portion of it which thou hast and shall assign us be sanctified to us, by the word of God, and by prayer; and by the right employment and improvement of it to thy glory. Whatever we are without, O leave us not destitute of the things that accompany salvation; but satisfy us with the sense of thy favour, and adorn us with the graces of thy Holy Spirit. Blessed be thy rich goodness which has renewed our lives and thy mercies to us this morning. Lord grant that all our comforts may flow to us in the channel of covenant love, and revert to the praise and glory of the gracious giver. Be with, protect and bless us in our going out and coming in. May the angel of thy presence save us, and the God of angels be our shield and exceeding great reward. Make us desire, resolve, and endeavour to live in the obedience of thy holy will and to the honour of thy blessed name. O restrain us from the evils and follies into which we are prone to fall, and quicken us to the offices and duties we ought to perform. Grant that we may think and speak, will and do the things that are well-pleasing in thy sight; and have the strong consolation of acceptance with thee. So visit us with thy salvation, sanctify us by thy grace, and so carry us through life that thy name may have the praise, and our souls the comfort, in the hour of death, and in the great day of our Lord Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

The Lord bless us and keep us, &c.

WEDNESDAY EVENING.

[*Collect, before reading the Scripture.*]

Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings, with thy most gracious favour, and further us with thy continual help; that in this, and all other our works begun, continued, and ended in thee, we may glorify thy holy name, offer thee acceptable service, and finally, by thy mercy, obtain everlasting life; through Jesus Christ our Saviour. *Amen.*

[After reading and singing, add]

Our Father, &c.

Enable us, gracious God, to desire thee, as our chiefest good; and to come to thee as our merciful Father in the Son of thy love. In his great name and prevailing mediation alone it is that we, who have multiplied our offences against thee, are encouraged still to present our persons and our prayers before thee. We are utterly unworthy to approach thy footstool, and to enjoy the privilege of intercourse with thee. We durst not appear in the presence of thy holy, glorious Majesty, in our own names, or trusting

in our own sinful righteousness; our guilt is so great, and our iniquities so grievous, that we might justly be ashamed to come before thy face, and to tremble for fear of thy judgments. We would therefore fly for refuge to the merits of him who, we trust, has fully satisfied thy justice for our sins, and is now interceding at thy right hand for our souls; whom thou delightest to honour, in sparing, accepting, and saving poor unworthy sinners, upon his account. Deliver us, most gracious Lord, for his sake, from all those transgressions for which our hearts condemn us; and from all of which thou that art greater than our hearts knowest us to be guilty; and seal to us a full pardon in his most precious blood, which speaketh better things, on our behalf, than we are able to do for ourselves in all our prayers. And may the time past of our lives suffice to have lived to ourselves, and to have served our own corrupt wills. O put an end to all our presumptuous and treacherous dealings with thy heavenly all-seeing Majesty; and create in us new and clean, humble and contrite hearts, to tremble at thy word and presence, and to hate and abandon all our foolish and sinful misdoings. Command thy blessing, and thy saving grace, to descend and rest upon the souls here before thee. Cause us to know the joyful sound of thy gospel, not only by the hearing of the ear, but in the channel of heavenly experience. O take possession of our hearts, and by the power of thy Spirit draw up our affections to thy blessed self. Grant us union and communion with thee; such a sight and sense of sin, and of our lost estate by nature, as may render Christ and his righteousness precious to us; and such comfortable views of our justification through him as may enlarge our hearts with joy, fill our lips with praise, and influence us to live unto him that died for us and rose again.—Lord, guide and keep us: make us wise and faithful in our several duties, and blessed and prosperous in the event. Sanctify our respective conditions to us, and fit us for whatever thou shalt please to call us to.—And now, O Lord, we beseech thee to accept our evening sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving for the mercies of the day past, and for thy unwearied goodness which has followed us all the days of our lives. Go on to abound toward us in loving kindness and tender mercies; passing by our innumerable sins, and supplying our every want. Take charge of us to-night. Hide us in thy pavilion, and compass us about with songs of deliverance. Whether we sleep or wake, keep us safe under thy wings, and may our hearts be occupied in thy statutes. Bring us, at the appointed season, to the heavenly city, where there is no darkness, but the glory of God doth lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof. And for all thy patience with us, thy care over us, and thy continual mercy to us, blessed be thy name, O Lord, Father, Son, and Spirit. *Amen.*

THURSDAY MORNING.

[*Collect before reading the Scripture.*]

Thou, O God, art praised in Sion. Angels and archangels, saints below and saints above, the whole family of thy elect, both in heaven and earth, worship thee, the fountain of all blessedness, and the giver of all good. We likewise, the chief, but not the least favoured, of sinners, desire to join the company of thy redeemed, and to offer up our spiritual sacrifices. Accept, great God, the mite we bring; pardon the iniquity that cleaves to our duties; meet us with a blessing: and receive us graciously, for the sake of Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

[After reading and singing, add]

Our Father, &c.

O thou, who hast borne so long with us, and done so much for us; of whom alone cometh our salvation, and by whom we escape death! moved by the sense of our own necessities, and encouraged by the daily experience of thy mercies, we desire still to shelter ourselves under the shadow of thy wings, and to continue our supplications at the throne of thy grace; most humbly intreating thee, who fashionest the hearts of the sons of men, that thou wouldest prepare our hearts to come into thy sacred presence, and to call upon thy blessed name. O pour down upon us the Spirit of grace and of supplications; yea, let thy good Spirit help our infirmities, and teach us how to pray. We, who are but poor worms, and sinful dust and ashes, have taken upon us to speak to thee, the Sovereign Majesty of heaven and earth: we, who have too much cause to fear, lest our great and manifold sins might provoke thee to hide thy face from us, and to shut up thy loving kindness in displeasure against us. Lord be merciful to us sinners; for the sake of him whom thou hast exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance unto his people, and forgiveness of sins. Heal our souls, which have greatly sinned against thee: heal our backslidings, and love us freely: take away our ungodliness, and thou shalt find none. Renew us daily unto repentance; establish our hearts in thy faith and fear; and hold up our goings in thy paths that our footsteps slip not. Make us in the strength of grace go on from conquering to conquer all the enemies of our souls, and all the hindrances of our salvation, until thou hast bruised Satan under our feet.

We bless thee for the mercies of the night. We laid us down to sleep, and have risen again, for thou hast sustained us, and made

us to dwell in safety. May we ever experience the comfort of thy protection, and the help of thy salvation! may we find thee to be indeed a God of pardon, a God of sanctification, and a God of preservation!—Dispose of us, we beseech thee, and of all that concerns us, this day, to the glory of thy name. Keep us, at all times, in all places, and in all companies, from the evil of sin and from all other evils to which the greatness of our sins makes us liable. And take thou, O heavenly Father, the charge, guidance, and government of us; lead us by thy counsel, until thou hast brought us to thy kingdom and glory: and in the meanwhile sanctify to us all thy dealings with us, and seal us thine to the day of redemption; for the sake of thy tender mercies, and the abundant merits of Jesus Christ, our blessed Mediator and Redeemer.

The Lord bless us, &c.

THURSDAY EVENING.

[*Collect before reading the Scripture.*]

Almighty God, unto whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid; vouchsafe, at this time, to cleanse the thoughts of our hearts, by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit; that we may perfectly love thee, and worthily magnify thy holy name, through Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

[Reading and singing being ended, add]

Our Father, &c.

O Lord, the infinite incomprehensible God; thou hast heaven for thy throne, and earth for thy footstool; and all things are in thy sight and at thy disposal. Thou art the searcher of our hearts, and the overseer of our lives, here and every where present. Thou compassest our path, and our lying down, and art acquainted with all our ways. Lord, put our hearts into a holy frame, fit to attend upon thy glorious, all-seeing Majesty. Work in us, by the power of thy grace, that change which we cannot work in ourselves: for, of ourselves, we are equally vile and helpless. We were born sinners, and sinners we have lived and continued, and, by continually adding sin to sin, we have made ourselves still more the children of wrath than we even were by nature. Justly mightest thou withdraw thy tender mercies from us, and pour out thy wrath and indignation upon us to the uttermost; making us to find and feel, by woful experience, what an evil and bitter thing it is to depart from thee the living God: but thy patience is wonderful, thy goodness is infinite, and, as is thy Majesty, so is thy mercy. We therefore humbly beseech thee to stretch forth the hand of thy power and grace, which alone is able to set us at liberty, who are tied and bound with the chain of our sins. Call us effectually, and we shall come unto thee; draw us, and we shall run after thee. Cause us to feel, to abhor, and to forsake our iniquities: and O! give us a well grounded apprehension, and a comfortable persuasion, of our being justified freely by thy grace through the redemption that is in Jesus.—And, for his sake, vouchsafe us the sanctification of thy Spirit, to transform us into thy image, by the renewing of our minds, and to enable us for all the duties of thy service. Perfect, O Lord, that which concerneth us: and make us such, both in our hearts and lives, that we may enjoy thy peace below, and be meet for the inheritance of thy heavenly glory above. Satisfy us with thy favour; and grant us the reviving sense of thy gracious acceptance of us, and of thy merciful intentions toward us. Speak peace to our consciences; say to each of our souls, "I am thy salvation:" that we may rejoice in thee as our God, and rest upon thee as our reconciled Father in Jesus Christ. And as thou hast been good and kind to us through the day past (for which, and for the mercies of all our days, we would thankfully admire thy love and bless thy name), so we beg that we may experience the continuance of thy gracious goodness to us, and of thy fatherly care over us, this present night. Preserve and defend, bless and keep us, that no evil may happen to us, nor any plague come nigh our dwelling. Do thou, who givest unto thy beloved sleep, vouchsafe to favour us with such needful repose as may refresh and strengthen us for thy service and our respective duties. Prepare us, great God, for the final sleep of death, and for the account we must shortly give at the judgment seat of Christ. When our souls shall be required of us, and we are unclothed of the body, grant that we may not be found spiritually naked; unsprinkled with the blood of thy Son, unclothed with the robe of his justifying righteousness, nor unadorned with the graces of thy sanctifying Spirit. O cause us, in this our day (the day of life, the only season of preparation), to know, and to follow after, the things pertaining to our everlasting peace, before they are hid from our eyes, and ere death make us wise too late. Accomplish the work of thy grace upon our hearts, and cause us to finish the work thou hast given us to do: that whenever thou shalt be pleased to send us away, we may have nothing to do but to depart in peace, according to thy word, to fly at thy signal—to quit the body with cheerfulness—and with faith and without dread, resign our spirits into thy gracious hands; trusting in the riches of thy grace, and the saving merits of thy blessed Son; and for all that he has so wonderfully effected to recover us, and to obtain eternal redemption for us; for whatever thou hast wrought in

us, and for the hope of glory thou hast given us: to thy name, O blessed God of our salvation, be the praise and honour, now and for ever. *Amen.*

FRIDAY MORNING.

[*Collect before reading the Scripture.*]

By thee, O Lord, alone it is that we laid us down in peace, and are risen again in safety. May the lives, which thy goodness renews every morning, and thy providence preserves every moment, be devoted to thee; and, as a father spareth his own son that serveth him, so may the Lord our God continue to have mercy upon us, through Jesus Christ, our blessed Mediator and Redeemer.

[Reading and singing ended, add]

O Lord, we desire to adore thy name, which is excellent in all the earth, and whose glory is above the heavens. Thou art the maker and disposer of all things; and for thy sovereign pleasure it is that they still exist, and were at first created. Thy hands have made and fashioned us; and all that we enjoy comes from thee. As we are the workmanship of thy power, O make us likewise thy spiritual workmanship, created anew in Christ Jesus, unto holiness and true righteousness. Give proof that thou hast formed us for thyself, by causing us to shew forth thy praise; and by making us live to glory, as we do every day live upon thy bounty. But, Lord, we have not yielded thee that glory which thou hast made us capable of, and so many mercies obliged us to. We are prone to forget thee, who art never unmindful of us; and to disobey thee, whose goodness to us is unwearied. For these things, O Lord, for the sinfulness of our nature and of our lives, we desire to pour out our hearts, and to humble our guilty selves before thee: entreating thee, for the sake of thy dear Son, and of thy mercies in him, to work in us true repentance, and to grant us full and free forgiveness. Strengthen us, O Lord, with might, by thy Spirit, in the inner man, to make us watchful against and victorious over the corruption of our hearts, the temptations of Satan, and the sinful cares and allurements of the world. O destroy in us every root of bitterness, every plant which thy grace hath not planted; exterminate every vicious habit and rebellious motion which exalts itself against the knowledge of God, against the obedience of our Lord Jesus Christ. Increase and confirm in us, more and more, thy faith and fear and love. Let not one grace of thy Holy Spirit be wanting; let not one be weak: but grant us such manifestations of thyself, and so conform us to the image of thy holiness, that our lives may be comfortable to ourselves, profitable to others, and bring glory to thy great name. May we still be found in the way of duty, fearing God and working righteousness; making it evident unto all that we have indeed been with Jesus, that we have learned of him, that we are influenced by his Spirit, guided by his example, and are pressing forward to his kingdom. Day by day would we magnify thee, O Lord, and worship thy name for ever, world without end; who crownest every day with thy tender mercies. We bless thee for the rest, protection, and preservation of the last night. O cause us to hear thy loving kindness in the morning, for in thee do we trust: make us to know the way wherein we should go, for we lift up our souls unto thee. Cast us not away from thy presence; take not thy Holy Spirit from us; but direct our hearts into thy love, and our feet into the way of thy testimonies. Whether we eat, or drink, or whatsoever we do, we may do all to the glory of God, and walk, as seeing him that is invisible.—Command thy angels to encamp around us, and to bear us in their hands; and may their God and ours be the strength of our hearts, the guide of our goings, and our portion for ever and ever. *Amen.*

FRIDAY EVENING.

[*Collect before reading the Scripture.*]

Blessed are they, O Lord, who dwell in thy house, and blessed is the house where thou dwellest: blessed is the man whose strength is in thee, and in whose heart are thy ways. May that blessedness be ours, and may the Lord, whom we seek, visit us with his presence, and rejoice us with the tokens of his love, in and through his adorable Son, and our adorable Saviour, Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

[Reading and singing ended, add]

Our Father, &c.

O Lord, we desire to seek thy face, and to wait upon thee in the duties of thy worship. To whom should we make our applications, but unto thee, the father of mercies, and the fountain of all goodness, who art able to do exceeding abundantly for us, even above all that we are able to ask or think: O let our prayer be set forth in thy sight as incense; and may the lifting up of our hands and hearts be a spiritual evening sacrifice, acceptable to thee, in the Son of thy love. It is in his blessed name alone that we dare to request of thee all thou knowest to be needful and expedient for us: seeing that there is in us no good thing to recommend us to thy favour and acceptance; but, on the contrary, a proneness and inclination to what is displeasing unto thee and destructive to our souls. For besides that we are, by nature, children of wrath and a seed of

evil doers; we have been daily adding to the heavy score of our offences against thee. There is nothing in us, O Lord, but what may provoke thee to reject us; for all our righteousnesses themselves are filthy rags: but there is enough, in thy beloved Son, of all grace and goodness, to make thee well-pleased with us for his sake. He, who knew no sin, bore our sins, and was made a sin offering, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us near unto thee. For his sake, blot out our manifold transgressions, apply the benefits of thy salvation to our conscience, that we may be enabled to walk, O Lord, in the light of thy countenance: hasten thy coming and kingdom, that we, with all thy redeemed, may join in ascribing songs of praise to a Triune God, for ever and ever. To the care and protection of thy Almighty providence we would humbly commend ourselves this night. Take charge of us and ours, O thou Keeper of Israel, who never slumbereth nor sleepeth, watch over us for good. When we sleep, let our hearts wake; and our souls lie open to the influence of thy blessed Spirit; keep us without sin by the power of thy grace: gracious Lord, shower down thy blessings upon us, the unworthy family now before thee: let the voice of joy and health be heard in this dwelling: let thy peace be within these walls, and the plenteousness of thy salvation within these gates: make this an house of prayer, and every soul within it a living temple of thee, the living God, through Jesus Christ, our only Mediator and Advocate. *Amen.*

SATURDAY MORNING.

[*Collect before reading the Scripture.*]

Blessed Lord, who hast caused all thy holy Scriptures to be written for our learning, grant that we may in such wise hear them, read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest them, that by patience and comfort of thy holy word, we may embrace, and ever hold fast the blessed hope of everlasting life, which thou hast given us in our Saviour Jesus Christ.

[Reading and singing ended, add]

Our Father, &c.

Unto thee, O God, do we give thanks: yea, unto thee will we give thanks, because thy name also is so high, and that do thy wondrous works declare. We beseech thee, gracious God, to hear us mercifully at this time; pardon our manifold sinfulness, and supply our manifold wants. Write the law of thankfulness upon our hearts for the experience we have already had of thy goodness, and kindly go on to be nigh unto us, in all that we call upon thee for. Wash away the sins of the last night, and those of this day hitherto: who can tell how oft we offend? none but thou that knowest all things. O cleanse thou us from our secret faults, and from our original depravity, the source of all; may we be justified fully, freely, and finally, by thy grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus, and sanctified by the renewing efficacy of thy blessed Spirit. Bless us in this our private waiting upon thee, we are gathered together, in thy name, at the footstool of thy grace; Lord Jesus, be in the midst of us, and give unto us a comfortable view of our interest in thy precious merits. Thy righteousness, blood-shedding, and intercession, are the altar which sanctifies every sacrifice of prayer and praise which we offer up. Thou makest both the persons and the performances of thy people acceptable to the Father, mingle our addresses with the incense of thy intercession, and then they will go up as a memorial before God. O thou risen and ascended Saviour, may our hearts and affections tend upwards to thy throne in heaven, that by faith in thy adorable person and infinite merits, and by the exercise of continual obedience and deadness to the world, we may safely hope to be with thee, where thou art, there to behold thy glory. O thou uncreated majesty, we acknowledge that all the blessings of a spiritual and temporal cast, that we have received, from our existence to this day, are of thy free and unmerited goodness; were the distributions of thy favours to be regulated by our deservings, they would soon be withdrawn. Therefore not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name be the praise and the glory ascribed. Hear us, O God of salvation, and do more for us than we are able to ask or think, for the sake of thy Son, our Redeemer; to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, three coequal persons, in the unity of one Godhead, be ascribed all glory and adoration, by the Church above and the Church below, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

SATURDAY EVENING.

[*Collect before reading the Scripture.*]

Almighty and everlasting God, who art always more ready to hear than we to pray, and art wont to give more than either we desire or deserve; pour down upon us the abundance of thy mercy: forgiving us those things whereof our consciences are afraid, and giving us those good things which we are not worthy to ask, much less to receive, but through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ our Lord, in whom we desire to be found, and in his name do we now approach the throne of thy grace, and make mention of his righteousness only as

the ground of our justification in the sight of our heavenly Father: to whom, with the blessed Spirit, be ascribed all honour and dominion, world without end. *Amen.*

[After reading and singing, add as follows]

Our Father, &c.

Wherewith shall we come before thee, O Lord? or bow ourselves in thy presence, O thou most high God? Cause us to come unto thee in faith: mentioning no other name, pleading no other righteousness, and trusting in no other atonement than the name, righteousness, and atonement of thy blessed Son, and our adorable Mediator Jesus Christ. In him we desire to be found; through him we hope for favour with thee, and acceptance in thy sight. Blessed be thy goodness for the mercies of the day, for the blessings of thy providence, the comforts of thy Spirit, and the privileges we enjoy.—— We thank thee that we have been protected from danger, and, above all, if we have been in any measure withheld by grace from sinning against thee. Sinners we are, and sinned against thee we have even at the best of times, and in the best of frames; but, Lord, make us thankful for the desire which thou hast given us, of living unto thee, and oh! make our desires effectual through the mighty working of thy Spirit, who is able to subdue even our rebellious hearts to himself: Lord, wash out the transgressions of this day, and of this week now nearly closing. Look upon the covenant of thy grace, and, through the blood of the covenant, forgive us all our sins, and cancel the hand-writing that is against us, and nail it to the cross. Purge us with hysop, and we shall be clean; wash us, and we shall be whiter than snow. Shouldest thou lay judgment to the line, and righteousness to the plummet, shouldest thou deal with us after our sins, or reward us according to our deserts, or if thou wast to enter into judgment with us, upon the footing of our best performances, alas! we could not stand in thy presence, nor be justified in thy sight. Our prayers, our praises, our almsdeeds, and all we are and do, if weighed in the balance of the sanctuary, and brought to the test of thy perfect law, would be found not only deplorably deficient, but altogether lighter than vanity itself—yet, though we are vile, thou art gracious. We bless thee for that rich provision of grace and glory which thou hast made for thy penitent people, in the righteousness, sacrifice, and intercession of him who is their advocate with the Father, and the propitiation for their sins. Thou hast delivered thy redeemed from going down into the pit, by contriving, finding, and accepting a ransom for them. O certify us, by thy blessed Spirit, and by the tokens of grace, that we are of the happy number: that we are loved by thee with an everlasting love, interested in the sure mercies of David. Continue thy goodness towards us to-night; may we, as the beloved of the Lord, dwell in safety by him. Make us rest under thy defence, O thou Most High, and abide under the shadow of the Almighty. Thy mercies to us have been equally great, numerous, and unmerited; may we ever experience thee to be a God of love. Perfect, O Lord, that which concerneth us, and forsake not the work of thy own hands. Bless us with thy presence, thy grace, and thy protection. Suffer not the enemy to have any advantage over us; neither let the son of wickedness approach to hurt us.

Be with all thine every where. Visit them, in particular, with thy salvation, whom we desire to bear upon our hearts before thee. May those who are near and dear to us be near and dear to God: and, whatever separation thy good providence may make upon earth, O grant that we and they may meet with joy at thy right hand in the hour of death and in the day of judgment.——Bless the sinful nations of which we are a sinful part. Maintain the cause of thy truth, and enlarge the kingdom of thy Son, amongst us. Remember for good thy faithful people of every denomination; more especially regard with thychoicest favour and defend with thy mighty power the Church to which we belong; the gospel vine which thy own right hand hath planted; and which, by thy gracious providence, hath taken root and filled the land. May she extend her boughs from sea to sea, until they have filled the whole earth! may we abide by her doctrines, and walk worthy of the holy vocation with which we are called.—Bless thy servant the king: the queen: and every branch of his illustrious house. May the crown sit easy, and sit very long, upon his royal head. Direct his counsels to the advancement of thy glory, the good of thy Church, and the safety, honour, and welfare of himself and his dominions.—May all orders and degrees of men, from the highest to the lowest, be fearers of God, lovers of truth, and workers of righteousness; strengthen and relieve those who labour under any affliction in mind, body, or estate, and make all work together for their good.—Preserved by thy gracious mercy, we are coming near to the end of another week; many of our fellow creatures, since the commencement thereof, have left this scene, and have entered upon an eternal state. O God most holy, O God most mighty, grant that, before our eyes close in death, we may be enabled to embrace the Lord's Christ in the arms of our faith, and under the shinings of thy countenance, and in the unclouded prospect of thy celestial abode, saying, Now, Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation. Carry us holy,

peaceably and safely, through the ensuing Sabbath. Lift up the light of thy countenance upon us, and may our comforts be neither few nor small. In all the duties that are before us may we look to the Spirit of grace, for willingness and power to serve thee faithfully, and may our entire dependance be upon the merits of Jesus Christ the righteous, to render our defective, polluted service such as thou wilt mercifully accept in him. Be thou on to-morrow present in the worshipping assemblies of thy saints; meet them that desire to meet with thee, and visit them with thy salvation who mean to visit and wait on thee in the ordinances of thy appointment; may such as seek thee be joyful and glad in thee; and may they find, by happy experience, that one day in thy courts is better than a thousand elsewhere, and that thy house is indeed the house of God, and the gate of heaven. Be with all thy faithful stewards of thy mysteries in every place, who shall administer in thy name. Enable them rightly to divide the word of truth, giving both to saints and sinners their portion. Pardon the unworthiness of ministers and people, and vouchsafe to own thy glorious gospel, by making it effectual to the salvation of them that hear; every spiritual and temporal mercy we request for the alone sake of Jesus Christ the righteous. *Amen.*

ADVERTISEMENT.

It is presumed this little manual of devotion, taken from the manuscript papers of our author, will not be unacceptable to the public, because it is set forth as a form of prayer. Amongst the many unnecessary disputes in the Christian department, a question has been often propounded, whether a person can present himself at the footstool of the divine Majesty, using the words of another, and be a sincere worshipper; certainly, in our private or recluse devotions, it is proper to come before God, and pour out in simplicity and sincerity the immediate mental solicitations that we are in need of, expecting our imperfect aspirations to be accepted only through the mediation of the Lord Jesus. But some indiscreet, captious individuals, have prematurely censured those who have adopted a premeditated course of prayer in their families, or in public assemblies, as the quintessence of hypocrisy, and the apathy of formality. By this criterion, may not the same suggestions be urged against the universality of singing psalms or hymns? If such poetic compositions, which consist of prayer and thanksgiving, are used as a form, wherein can be the impropriety or inconsistency of a devout supplicant offering the same in prose? How assuming must it be in any person to take upon himself the inquisitorial part of prejudging the uprightness of another, and bearing down the honest efforts of a humble mind, before that period arrives when the secrets of all hearts will be made known. Let us in the interval anticipate that eventful crisis, when we shall enter upon that state where there will be nothing to pray for, but every thing to be thankful for, where mental imperfections will be absorbed in the lustre of uncreated perfection, and every thing give place to unmingled and unalloyed adorations to God and the Lamb for ever.

EDITOR.

SKETCH OF A SERMON

ON

JOHN VII. 38, 39.

"He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly (heart) shall flow rivers of living water.

"This spake he of the Spirit; which they that believe on him should receive."

ONE would imagine that Christ, who is the prince of peace; that his gospel, which is the message of peace; and that his ministers, who are the ambassadors of peace; should meet with general acceptance, and be received with joy by all to whom the message comes. But our Lord, who knew what was in man, and to whose eye the whole of futurity lies open at one view, has taught us to expect a very different effect from the faithful publication of his word. It is true that, by his mediatorial obedience unto death, he has made peace with God, and procured remission of sins, for as many as shall believe in his name: and it is the office of the Holy Spirit to enlighten believers into the knowledge of the peace and salvation obtained for them by Christ. Yet, with regard to those who are consigned to hardness of heart and to the blindness of unbelief, the proclamation of peace, sounded by the gospel-trumpet, seldom fails to fill their minds with enmity, and to enflame them with rage and embitterment against both the message and its messenger.

What is the reason of this? Why are the hearts of unconverted people prone to swell with opposition against the saving truths of God's word? Because those truths run directly counter to the natural prejudices and the corrupt reasonings of self-righteous pride. It stings a Pharisee, who looks for salvation from his own doings, to be told that all who get to heaven must be brought thither, not by works of righteousness which they have done, but by the free, unmingled grace of God in Christ. It quite affronts the free-willer to be informed that it is God himself who, by the power of his Spirit, must work in us both to will and to do those things that are pleasing in his sight. Hence it is that the gospel of Christ so often meets with hatred and repulse: and hence that remarkable saying, Luke xii. 51, 52: "Suppose ye, that I am come to give peace on earth? I tell you, Nay: but rather, division. For, from henceforth," &c. The truth is, they who receive the gospel must ever expect to be nibbled at by those who do not receive it: and the apostle's observation, Gal. iv. 29, holds as good, at this present day, as it did when he first committed it to paper.

Only review the foregoing part of this chapter, and see whether Christ himself was exempt from hatred, persecution, and abuse.

Ver. 1. *After these things*, i. e. after he had miraculously fed five thousand persons in the wilderness, Jesus walked in Galilee: "walked," literally, he generally travelled on foot: we read but once of his having rode, and that was on an ass, and merely to fulfil the prophecy. "Walked," figuratively: his life was not a life of idleness, but of zeal, activity, and labour.—*Because the Jews sought*, &c. He could have preserved himself, but uses retirement as a means: to teach us not lightly to presume on providence, but to trust God in the ways of his appointment. Besides, his hour was not come, and he had more work to do.

Ver. 2. *Feast of tabernacles*: annually celebrated (*a*) in commemoration of their having dwelt in tents for forty years, in their journey from Egypt to Canaan. An emblem of Christ's incarnation; and of the passage of the elect through the world to heaven.

Ver. 3. *His brethren*; i. e. some of the Virgin Mary's relations: for the Jews called all near kinsmen, especially first cousins, brethren. Literally, Christ had no brethren: as God, he is the only Son of the Father: as man, he was the first and the last, and the only son of his mother. *Depart hence*: put thyself into danger's way, by going among thy most virulent foes, in order to work a miracle (if thou be the Messiah) for thy own rescue.

Ver. 4. As much as to say, "thou art ostentatious: therefore go and work thy miracles at Jerusalem, among the great men of the law, the Scribes and Pharisees."

Ver. 5. Of so little spiritual benefit are merely outward advantages, without the saving grace of God.

Ver. 6. How meekly Christ answers! i. e. "Every step I take is regulated by the immediate interposition of Providence; and, when the time appointed arrives for my being at Jerusalem, I shall go. It matters not when you go; but every moment of my time is charged with some important commission for the glory of God!"

Ver. 7. Men of the world do not hate one another as such. Their hatred turns chiefly towards the excellent of the earth; and, above all, on faithful ministers.

Ver. 12. *Much murmuring*: They were divided in their opinion of him.

Ver. 13. *Spake openly*, what they thought in his favour.

Ver. 14. *Midst of the feast*: when the number of worshippers was largest. Christ knew not what the fear of man was. *To the Temple*: to pray, and preach. Christ's own example sanctifies and enforces the duties of public worship. I fear, if Christ was to live again on earth, he would not have the privilege of preaching in some of our churches: many a pulpit door would be shut against him.

Ver. 17. Εαν τις θελη, *if any man be willing*, or *have a desire*. A spiritual will and desire to heavenly things is the gift of God, and a token for good.——This whole verse shows that the grand reason why any disrelish the pure gospel is, because they are unrenewed by grace.

Ver. 18. *Of himself*: Plausible doctrines of his own dressing up.—— *Is true*: he preaches the truth, simply as he finds it in the word. *No unrighteousness*; no dishonesty, no sophistication, nor artful glossing of God's word.

Ver. 25. *Whom they seek to kill*: But they were restrained by invisible power which they knew nothing of.

Ver. 26. *He speaketh boldly*: The more they threatened, the more boldly Christ preached.

Ver. 28. *Whom ye know not*: Sad to profess God, and yet not know him savingly!

Ver. 37. *If any man thirst* Alluding to the Jewish custom, at their feast, of pouring water on the sacrifice as it lay on the altar. Christ shews the spiritual meaning of this. Himself was the one sacrifice; and the Holy Ghost, compared in Scripture to water, anointed him as Mediator for the discharge of his offices, and gives us faith by which his merits are applied to the soul. *Come*: i. e. believe.—*Drink*: be satisfied, comfortable, and happy.

(*a*) See Jenning's Jewish Antiq. Vol. ii.

Ver. 38. *Believers as the Scripture*, &c. : i. e. as the scriptural faith of God's elect.

Out of his heart : The heart is the seat of vital religion.

Rivers, &c. His heart shall overflow with, 1. The *comforts* of the Spirit ; 2. With *good works*, which, like elegant streams in a garden, shall enrich and adorn his life and conversation.

Compared to *rivers*, because, 1. As all rivers derive their origin from the sea, so all grace and holiness flow from the ocean of God's gratuitous love to us in Christ ;—2. A river widens, the farther it flows ; and a converted believer increases in the knowledge of God, and in obedience, more and more, to the perfect day.—3. A river tends to the sea whence it took its rise : and all true grace leads to God, and at last perfectly unites the soul to him in glory.

Living waters : i. e. 1. Operative ; 2. Perpetual.

Ver. 39. *Of the Spirit* : See Isa. xli. 17, 18, and xliv. 3. Ezek. xxxvi. 25, 27.

Broad Hembury, March 20, 1770

THE SCHEME

OF

CHRISTIAN AND PHILOSOPHICAL NECESSITY ASSERTED ;

IN OPPOSITION TO MR. JOHN WESLEY'S TRACT ON THAT SUBJECT.

"Adeò stat et permanet invicta sententia, omnia necessitate fieri. Nec est hic ulla obscuritas, aut ambiguitas. In Esaiâ dicit [Deus] consilium meum stabit, et voluntas mea fiet. Quis enim puer non intelligit quid velint hæc vocabula, consilium, voluntas, fiet, stabit?" *Luther, de servo Arbitrio, sect.* 19.

"Quæ nobis videtur contingentia, secretum Dei impulsum fuisse agnoscet fides." *Calvin, Institut.* 1. *i.c.* 19.

"Quid igitur, inquies, nullane est in rebus, ut istorum vocabulo utar, contingentia? Nihil casus? Nihil fortuna?—Omnia necessario evenire Scripturæ docent." *Melancthon, Loc. Com. P.* 10. *Edit. Argentor.* 1523.

"There is not a fly but has had infinite wisdom concerned, not only in its structure, but in its destination." *Dr. Young's Cent. not fab. Letter II.*

PREFACE.

Yesterday's post brought me a packet from London, including, among other papers, a small tract, recently published by Mr. John Wesley, entitled, "Thoughts upon Necessity." I had no sooner perused those "Thoughts," than I resolved to bring them to the test : and am now setting about it.

During some years past, I have, for the most part, stood patiently on the defensive against this gentleman. It is high time that I take my turn to invade and carry the arms of truth into the enemy's own territory.

Mr. Wesley's tract above mentioned was sent to me by a well-known, and very deserving, London clergyman ; so much of whose letter as relates to the said tract shall, for the amusement of my readers, be submitted to their view.

"I went last night to the (*a*) Foundery, expecting to hear Pope John ; but was disappointed. After hearing a Welshman for an hour and twenty minutes, on Psalm lxxxiv. 11, preach up all the heresies of the place, a man who sat in the pulpit told him to 'give over ;' for he seemed to bid fair for another half hour, at least. But he came to a conclusion as desired. Then this man, who seemed a local preacher, stood up, with a pamphlet in his hand, and addressed the auditory in the following manner :

"I am desired to publish a pamphlet upon Necessity and Free-will ; the best extant that I know of, in the English tongue (*b*) ; by Mr. John Wesley, price three pence. I had purposed to have said a good deal upon it, but the time is elapsed. But in this three-penny pamphlet, you have all the disputes that have been bandied about so lately. And you will get your minds more established by this three-penny pamphlet, than by reading all the books that have been written for and against. It is to be had at both doors as you go out.

"I beg leave" (adds my reverend friend) "to transmit you this here said three-penny wonder."

Upon the whole, this must have been a droll sort of mountebank scene. Attended, however, with one most melancholy and deplorable circumstance, arising from the unreasonable and unseasonable prolixity of the long-winded holderforth ; which cruelly, injudiciously, and despitefully, prevented poor Zany from puffing off, with the amplitude he fully intended, the multiplex virtues of the doctor's three-penny free-will powder.

Never do that by delegation, says an old

(*a*) Mr. Wesley's principal meeting-house in London.

(*b*) Query. Does the said lay preacher, whoever he may be, know aught of any other tongue?

proverb, which you can as well do *in propriâ persona*. Had Dr. John himself got upon the stage, and sung,

"Come, buy my fine powders, come buy dem of me,
Hare be de best powders dat ever you see;"

Who knows but the three-penny doses might have gone off, "at both doors," as rapidly as peas from a pop-gun?

My business for a few spare hours shall be to amuse myself by analizing this redoubtable powder. The chemical resolution of so inestimable a specific into its component parts (a specific,

"The like whereto was never seen,
Nor will again, while grass is green,")

may, moreover, be of very great and signal use. It were pity that the *materia medica* of which it is made up, should remain a secret, especially as the good doctor designed it for general benefit. To make which benefit as universal as I can, I do hereby give notice unto all philosophers, divines, and others, who have poisoned their entrails by unwarily taking too deep a draught of Necessity: that they may at any time, by help of the following decomposition, have it in their power to mix up, for their own immediate recovery, a competent *quantum* of the famous Moorfields powder: whose chief ingredients are,

An equal portion of gross Heathenism, Pelagianism, Mahometism, Popery, Manicæism, Ranterism, and Antinomianism; culled, dried, and pulverized, *secundem artem*: and, above all, mingled with as much palpable Atheism as you can possibly scrape together from every quarter.

Hæ tibi erunt artes. Follow the above prescription to your life's end, and you will find it a most pleasant, speedy, and infallible antidote against every species and effect of the baneful necessitarian night-shade. It is the *felix malum*,

Quo non presentius ullum
(Pocula si quando sævæ infecere novercæ,
Miscueruntque herbas, et non innoxia verba)
Auxilium venet, ac membris agit atra Venena. (*c*)

But though Mr. John Wesley is the vender and the ostensible proprietor of this efficacious three-penny medicine; the original discovery of the nostrum is by no means his own. He appears to have pilfered the substance, both of his *arcana medendi*, and of his cavils against the true philosophy of colours, from the refuted lucubrations with which a certain North-British professor hath edified and enriched the literary public. Let the simple, however, be on their guard lest Mr. Wesley's spiritual medicines have as pernicious influence on their minds as the quack remedy which he (*d*) recommends for the gout, had on the life of Dr. T——d, the late worthy dean of N——ch.

By way of direct introduction to the following sheets, allow me to premise an extract from the commentary of a very great man, on those celebrated lines of Juvenal:

"Nullum numen habes si sit pudentia; sed te nos facimus, fortuna, deam, cœloque locamus.

"Dicit autem hoc poeta, ob fortunam: quæ non solum nullum numen est, sed nusquam et nihil est. Nam cum sciamus omnia in mundo, maxima et minima, providentia, Dei gubernari; quid restat de fortuna, nisi vanum et inane nomen?—Unde recté dici ur tolle ignorantiam e personis, fortunam de rebus sustuleris. Quia enim homines rerum omnium causas non perspicimus, ut est mortalium cæcitas; fortunam nescio quam vagam, irritam, instabilem, nobis fingimus. Quod si causas rerum latentes et abditas nobis inspicere daretur; non modo nullam esse talem fortunam videremus, verum etiam omnium minima, singulari Dei providentia, regi. Et sic fortuna nihil aliud est, quam Dei providentia, sed nobis non perspecta. Et recte divinus ille Seneca: fortuna, fatum natura, omnia ejusdem Dei nomina, varie sua potestate utentis." (*e*) *i. e.* "The poet, in this place, levels his arrows at fortune or chance: which is not only no goodness, but a mere nothing, and has no existence any where. For since it is certain that all things in the world, both little and great, are conducted by the providence of God; what is chance, but an empty and unmeaning name? Hence it has been rightly observed, Take away man's ignorance, and chance vanishes in a moment. The true reason why any of us are for set-

(*c*) Georgic 1. 2. 127.

(*d*) In Mr. Wesley's book of Receipts, entitled "Primitive Physic," he advises persons who have the gout in their feet or hands to apply raw lean beef steaks to the part affected, fresh and fresh every twelve hours. Somebody recommended this dangerous repellant to Dr. T. in the year 1764, or early in 1765. He tried the experiment. The gout was in consequence driven up to his stomach and head, and he died, a few days after, at Bath; where I happened to spend a considerable part of those years; and where, at the very time of the Dean's death, I became acquainted with the particulars of that catastrophe.

I am far from meaning to insinuate, because I do not know that the person who persuaded Dr. T. to this fatal resource, derived the recipe immediately from Mr. Wesley's medical compilation. All I aver is, that the recipe itself is to be found there. Which demonstrates the unskilful temerity wherewith the compiler sets himself up as a physician of the body. Should his quack pamphlet come to another edition, it is to be hoped that the beef steak remedy will, after so authentic and so melancholy a probatum est, be expunged from the list of specifics for the gout. It is, I acknowledge, an effectual cure. Cut off a man's head, and he will no more be annoyed by the tooth ache. Alas, for the ingenium velox, and for the audacia perdita, with which a rash empiric, like Juvenal's Græculus esuriens, lays claim to universal science!

Grammaticus, Rhetor, Geometres, Pictor, Aleptes, Augur, Schænobates, Medicus, Magus! Omnia novit!

(*e*) Lubini Comment. in Juvenal, Sat 9 p 454. Edit. Hanoviæ, 1610.

ting up chance and fortune is our not being always able to discern and to trace the genuine causes of events: in consequence of which we blindly and absurdly feign to ourselves a supposed random, unreal, unsteady cause, called luck or contingency, whereas, were we endued with sufficient penetration to look into the hidden sources of things, we should not only see that there is no such power as contingency of fortune, but so far from it, that even the smallest and most trivial incidents are guided and governed by God's own express and special providence. If, therefore, the word chance have any determinate signification at all, it can mean neither more nor less than the unseen management of God. In which sense, the admirable Seneca makes use of the term: Fortune (says that philosopher), and Fate, and Nature, are but so many different names of the one true God, considered as exerting his power in various ways and manners." But, with Seneca's good leave, as the words *fortune, chance, contingency*, &c., have gradually opened a door to the grossest Atheism; and as they require much subtilty and prolixity of explanation, in order to their being understood in any other than an atheistical sense, it is more than expedient that the words themselves should be totally and finally cashiered and thrown aside.

I have only to add that if, in the succeeding Essay, any reader should imagine I express my meaning with too much plainness, it may suffice to observe, that there is no end to the capricious refinements of affected and excessive delicacy.

Quod verum, atque decens, curo, et rogo, et omnis in hoc sum.

Language, like animal bodies, may be physicked until it has no strength left. We may whet its edge, as the fool sharpened his knife, and as some are now for reforming the Church, until we have whetted the whole blade away.

Broad Hembury, Jan. 22, 1775.

CHAP. I.

NECESSITY DEFINED: AND ITS CONSISTENCY WITH VOLUNTARY FREEDOM PROVED.

Aliquis in omnibus, nullus in singulis. The man who concerns himself in every thing bids fair not to make a figure in any thing.

Mr. John Wesley is precisely this *aliquis in omnibus*. For is there a single subject in which he has not endeavoured to shine? —He is also as precisely a *nullus in singulis*. For has he shone in any one subject which he ever attempted to handle?

Upon what principle can these two circumstances be accounted for? Only upon that very principle at which he so dolefully shakes his head: viz., the principle of necessity. The poor gentleman is necessarily an universal meddler: and as necessarily an universal miscarrier. Can he avoid being either the one or the other? No. "Why, then, do you animadvert upon him?"

1. Because I myself am as necessary an agent as he:—2. Because I love to "shoot folly as it flies:"—3. Because as, on one hand, it is necessary that there should be heresies among men, 1 Cor. xi. 19; it is no less necessary, on the other, that those heresies should be dissected and exposed. Mr. Wesley imagines that, upon my own principles, I can be no more than "a clock." And if so, how can I help striking? He himself has several times smarted for coming too near the pendulum.

Mr. Wesley's incompetence to argument is never more glaringly conspicuous than when he paddles in metaphysics. And yet I suppose that the man who has modestly termed himself, and in print too, "The greatest minister in the world;" does, with equal certainty consider himself as the ablest metaphysician in the world. But his examinations are far too hasty and superficial to enter into the real merits of subjects so extremely abstruse, and whose concatenations are (though invincibly strong, yet) so exquisitely nice and delicate. One result of his thus exercising himself in matters which are too high for him is, that, in many cases, he decides peremptorily, without having discerned so much as the true state of the question; and then sets himself to speak evil of things which, it is very plain, he does not understand. Or (to borrow the language of Mr. Locke), he "knows a little, presumes a great deal, and so jumps to conclusions."

I appeal, at present, to his "Thoughts upon Necessity," thoughts which, though crude and dark as chaos, are announced, according to custom, with more than oracular positiveness: as though his own *glandula pinealis* was the single focus wherein all the rays of divine and human wisdom are concentrated.

His thoughts open thus:

1. "Is man a free-agent, or is he not?"—Without all manner of doubt, he is, in a vast number and variety of cases. Nor did I ever, in conversation, or in reading, meet with a person, or an author, who denied it.

But let us, by defining as we go, ascertain what free-agency is. All needless refinements apart, free-agency, in plain English, is neither more nor less than voluntary agency. Whatever the soul does, with the full bent of preference and desire, in that the soul acts freely. For *ubi consensus, ibi voluntas, et ubi voluntas, ibi libertas.*

I own myself very fond of definitions. I therefore premise what the Necessity is whose cause I have undertaken to plead.

It is exactly and diametrically opposite to that which Cicero delivers concerning *fortuna*, or chance, luck, hap, accidentality, and contingency; invented by the poets of second antiquity, and during many ages revered as a Deity, by both Greeks and Romans. "*Quid est aliud sors, quid fortuna, quid casus, quid eventus; nisi quum sic aliquid cecidit, sic evenit, ut vel non cadere atque evenire vel aliter cadere atque evenire, potuerit (f)?*" i. e. Chance, fortune, accident, and uncertain event, are then said to take place, when a thing so comes to pass as that it either might not have come to pass at all, or might have come to pass otherwise than it does.

On the contrary, I would define necessity to be that by which whatever comes to pass cannot but come pass (all circumstances taken into the account); and can come to pass in no other way or manner than it does. Which coincides with Aristotle's definition of necessity (though, by the way, he was a free-willer himself): Το μη ενδεχομενον ΑΛΛΩΣ εχειν, αναγκαιον φαμεν (*g*): We call that necessary which cannot be otherwise than it is.

Hence the Greeks term necessity Αναγκη: because *ανασσει* it reigns, without exception, over all the works of God; and because *αναχει*, it retains and comprises all things within the limits of its own dominion. The Romans called it *necesse et necessitas; quasi ne cassitas*, because it cannot fail, or be made void, *et quasi ne quassitas*, because it cannot be moved, or shaken, by all the power of men (*h*).

I acquiesce in the old distinction of necessity (a distinction adopted by Luther (*i*), and by most of, not to say by all, the sound reformed divines), into a necessity of compulsion, and a necessity of infallible certainty.—The necessity of compulsion is predicated of inanimate bodies; as we say of the earth (for instance) that it circuits the sun, by compulsory necessity: and, in some cases, of reasonable beings themselves; viz. when they are forced to do or suffer any thing, contrary to their will and choice.—The necessity of infallibly certainty is of a very different kind; and only renders the event inevitably future, without any compulsory force on the will of the agent. Thus, it was infallibly certain that Judas would betray Christ: he was therefore a necessary, though a voluntary, actor in that tremendous business.

2. "Are a man's actions free, or necessary?"—They may be, at one and the same time, free and necessary too. When Mr. Wesley is very hungry, or very tired, he is necessarily, and yet freely, disposed to food or rest. He can no more help being so disposed than a falling stone can help tending to the earth. But here lies the grand difference. The stone is a simple being, consisting of matter only: and consequently can have no will either to rise or fall.—Mr. Wesley is a compounded being, made up of matter and spirit. Consequently, his spirit, soul, or will (for I can conceive no real difference between the will and the soul itself) is concerned in sitting down to dinner, or in courting repose, when necessity impels to either. And I will venture to affirm, what he himself cannot deny, that, necessarily biassed as he is to those mediums of recruit, he has recourse to them as freely (i. e. as voluntarily, and with as much appetite choice, desire, and relish) as if necessity was quite out of the case; nay, and with abundantly greater freedom and choice, than if he was not so necessitated and impelled.

It would be easy to instance this obvious truth in a thousand particulars; and in particulars of infinitely greater moment than relate to common life. Let me just, *en passant*, illustrate the point, from the most grand important topic which the whole compass of reasoning affords.

It was necessary (*i. e.* absolutely and intrinsically inevitable), 1. That the Messiah should be invariably (*k*) holy in all his ways, and righteous in all his works:——2. That he should die for the sins of men.

Yet Christ, though, 1. necessarily good (so necessarily, that it was impossible for him to be otherwise), was freely and voluntarily

(*f*) Cic. De Divinat. L. 2.

(*g*) Apud Frommentum, Lib. 2. cap. 9.

(*h*) The immediate parent, or causa proxima, of necessity, is fate; called by the Greeks, *ειμαρμενη*: because it invincibly distributes to every man his lot. They termed it απο τ. ειρω, because it bounds, limits, marks out, adjusts, determines, and precisely ascertains, to each individual of the human race, his assigned portion both of active and passive life. Fate was likewise sometimes metonymically stiled *μοιρα* or the lot, *i. e.* the res ipsissimas, or very actions and felicities and sufferings themselves, which fall to every man's share.

The Latins called fate, fatum: either from fiat, i. e. from God's saying, Let such and such a thing come to pass: or simply, a fando; from God's pronouncing the existence, the continuance, the circumstances, the times, and whatever else relates to men and things.

If we distinguish accurately, this seems to have been the order in which the most judicious of the ancients considered the whole matter. First, God:—then, his will:—then, fate; or the solemn ratification of his will, by passing and establishing it into an unchangeable decree:—then creation:—then, necessity; *i.e.* such an indissoluble concatenation of secondary causes and effects as has a native tendency to secure the certainty of all events, *secut unda impellitur undâ*.—then, Providence; *i. e.* the omnipresent, omni-vigilant, all directing superintendency of divine wisdom and power, carrying the whole preconcerted scheme into actual execution, by the subservient mediation of second causes, which were created for that end.

(*i*) vide Luther De Servo Arbitrio, Sect. 43.—Edit. Noremb. 1526.

(*k*) I never knew more than one Arminian who was so tremendously consistent as to maintain, explicitly and in words, that it was possible for Christ himself to have fallen from grace by sin, and to have perished everlastingly. I must, however, do this gentleman the justice to add that he has, for some years past, been of a better judgment.—But the shocking principle itself is necessarily involved in, and inviolably follows upon the Arminian scheme of contingency; whether the asserters of that scheme openly avow the consequence or no.

good: else he could not have declared with truth, My meat and drink [*i. e.* my choice, my appetite, my desire] is to do the will of him that sent me, and to finish his work(*l*)—2. Though he (*m*) could not avoid being put to death as a sacrifice for sin, yet he died voluntarily, and therefore freely. Else he would not have affirmed that he was even straightened until it was accomplished (*n*): *i. e.* he wished and longed for the consummation of his obedience unto death.

Need I add any thing more to prove that freedom and necessity are not only compatible, but may even coalesce into absolute unisons with each other?

But "How do they thus coalesce?"—By the wise appointment of God, who is great in counsel and mighty in working. (*o*) A Christian will be satisfied with this answer, and philosophy itself cannot rise to an higher.

CHAP. II.

THE NECESSITY OF HUMAN VOLITIONS PROVED FROM THE NATURE OF THE CONNECTION SUBSISTING BETWEEN SOUL AND BODY.

MR. WESLEY asks, 3. "Is man self-determined in acting; or is he determined by some other being?"—I scruple not to declare, as my steadfast judgment, that no man ever was, or ever will, or ever can be, strictly and philosophically speaking, self-determined to any one action, be that action what it may.

Let us examine this point. It is neither unimportant, nor unentertaining.

There is (*p*) no medium between matter and spirit. These two divide the whole universe between them. Even in man's present complex state, though body and soul constitute one compositum; yet are the two component principles not only distinct, but essentially different, from each other. Their connection, though astonishingly intimate, occasions no mixture nor confusion of this with that.

Notwithstanding which the nature (or, if you please, the law) of their junction is such that they reciprocally act upon each other. A man breaks a limb, or is wounded in a duel. The body, and the body alone receives the injury: but the injury is no sooner received than it operates upon the soul. For it is the soul only which feels pleasure or pain, through the medium of the bodily organs. Matter can no more feel, or perceive, than it can read, or pray. To suppose otherwise were to suppose that a violin can hear, and a telescope see.

If, therefore, the soul is the feeling principle, or sole seat of perception; it follows, as clear as day, that the soul is no less dependent on the body for a very considerable portion of its [*i. e.* of the soul's own] physical happiness or misery than the body is dependent on the soul, for its [*i. e.* for the body's] instrumental subserviency to the will. Consequently, the soul is (not self-determined, but) necessarily determined, to take as much care of the body as it [the soul] in its present views deems requisite: because the soul is conscious of its dependence on that machine, as the inlet and channel of pleasing or of disagreeable sensations. So that, in this very extensive instance, man's volitions are swayed, this way or that, to the right hand or to the left; by considerations drawn from the circumstance of that necessary dependance on the body which the soul cannot possibly raise itself superior to, while the mutual connection subsists.

An idea is that image, form, or conception of any thing, which the soul is impressed with from without. (*q*) How come we by these ideas? I believe them to be all, originally, let in through the bodily senses only. I cannot consider reflection as, properly, the source of any new ideas: but rather as a sort of mental chemistry, by which the understanding contemplatively analyses and sublimates, into abstract and refined knowledge, some of those ideas which result either from experience, or from information, and which were primarily admitted through the avenues of sense. Without the sense of hearing, we could have had no just idea of sound: nor of odours, without the sense of smelling, any more than the foot can taste, or the hand can hear.

The senses themselves, which are thus the only doors by which ideas, *i. e.* the rudiments of all (*r*) knowledge, find their way to the soul; are literally, and in the fullest

(*l*) John iv. 34.

(*m*) To deny the necessity of Christ's sufferings, i. e., to consider them as unpredestinated, and as things which might, or might not, have happened, is to annihilate, at one stroke, the whole dignity and importance of the Christian religion. Scripture is therefore extremely careful to inculcate, again and again, in the strongest and most explicit terms which language can supply, that the whole of Christ's humiliation, even his death itself, was infallibly and inevitably decreed. See, among many other passages, those which occur in the 5th chapter of this Essay.

(*n*) Luke xii. 50.

(*o*) Jer. xxii. 19.

(*p*) I am obliged here to take these two particulars for granted: as the exhibition of the abundant proofs by which they are supported and evinced would lead me too far from the object immediately in view.

(*q*) Are not the powers of fancy an exception to this doctrine which maintains that all ideas originally accede, de extra, to the mind?—Not in the least. Though I may form, for instance an uncertain, or a best an incomplete, idea of a person I never saw; yet that idea is either drawn from description, or, if purely imaginary, is a combination of conceptions, every one of which came at first into the mind through the senses, and which it associates on principles of real or supposed similitude.

(*r*) The reader will observe, that I am here speaking of no other than of natural and artificial knowledge. Spiritual knowledge, divinely impressed on the soul in its regeneration by the Holy Ghost, comes not, hitherto, within the compass of the present dis-

import of the word, corporeal. Hence the soul cannot see, if the eyes are destroyed; nor feel, if the nervous functions are suspended; nor hear, if the organs of that sense are totally impaired. What learn we from this? That the soul, or mind, is primarily and immediately indebted to the body, for all the ideas (and consequently for all the knowledge) with which it is furnished. By these ideas, when compared, combined, or separated, the soul, on every occasion, necessarily regulates its conduct: and is afterwards as dependant on the body for carrying its conceptions into outward act, as it was for its simple reception of them at first.

Thus the soul is, in a very extensive degree, passive as matter itself.

Whether the fibres of the brain do no more than simply vibrate, or whether they be also the canals of a vital fluid agitated and set in circulation, by the percussions which it receives from the senses, the argument comes to just the same point. The senses are necessarily impressed by every object from without, and as necessarily commove the fibres of the brain: from which nervous commotion ideas are necessarily communicated to, or excited in, the soul, and by the judgment which the soul necessarily frames of those ideas, the will is necessarily inclined to approve or disapprove, to act or not to act. If so, where is the boasted power of self-determination?

Having taken a momentary survey of the soul's dependance on the body, and of the vast command which the body has over the soul (so great, that a disease may quickly degrade a philosopher into an idiot; and even an alteration of (*s*) weather diffuse a temporary stupor through all the powers of

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quisition. Though to me it seems extremely probable that this most adorable agent often condescends to make the senses themselves (and especially the sense of feeling; to which single sense, by the way, all the other four may, sub diverso modo, be reduced) the inlets of his blessed influence. There is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding. Job xxxii. 8.

(*s*) Lord Chesterfield's remark is not ill founded. "I am convinced that a light supper, a good night's sleep, and a fine morning, have sometimes made a hero of the same man who, by an indigestion, a restless night, and a rainy morning, would have been a coward." Letter 117.—Again: "Those who see and observe kings, heroes, and statesmen, discover that they have head aches, indigestions, humours, and passions, just like other people: every one of which, in their turns, determine their wills in defiance of their reason." Letter 173. Human excellence truly has much to be proud of! and man is a sovereign, self-determining animal! an animal whom too rarified or vicious a texture, too rapid or too languid a circulation of blood; an imperfect secretion of spirits from the blood, through the cortical strainers of the brain; or an irregular distribution of the spirituous fluid, from the secreting fibres to the nervous canals which diffuse themselves through the body:—these and a thousand other involuntary causes can at any time, in less than a moment, if God please, suspend every one of our sensations; stagnate us into stupidity; agitate us into a fever; or deprive us of life itself!

Yet let it be observed that thought and reason are, at all times and amidst all circumstances whatever, essentially inseparable from the soul: whether it dwell in a well organized and duly tempered body, or in a body whose construction is ever so unfavourable, and whose mechanic balance is ever so broken and impaired. But in the latter case (especially in swoons epilepsies, &c.) the soul cannot unfold and exercise its faculties, as when the material machine is in right order. Thus we cannot say, with metaphysical propriety, that a person in a fainting fit, or that even the most absolute idiot on earth, is an irrational being: but only that he has not the service of his reason. Nor can we say of a madman that he has lost his understanding: but only that the proper use or direction of it is perverted.

It is true, indeed, that, as idiotcy seems to be rather a quid defectivum, than a quid positivum, it may therefore be immediately occasioned by the bad mechanism (*i. e.* by a vitiated arrangement and motion) of the corporeal particles, whether fluid or solid:—So, on the other hand, madness seems to have more in it of the *to positivum*; and, consequently, to be the effect of an higher and more absolute cause. What can that cause be? I am strongly and clearly of opinion, with Mr. Baxter (not Baxter the puritan, but Baxter the great modern philosopher), that all madness whatever proceeds from the powerful and continued agency of some separate spirit, or spirits, obtruding phantastic visions on the soul of the insane person. If the majority of dreams are but the madness of sleep, what is madness, properly so called, but a waking dream? For, as that most accomplished metaphysician very justly reasons, "The soul in itself is an uncompounded, simple substance, and hath no part, and therefore properly no constitution: neither is it liable to any change, or alteration, in its own nature. The inert matter of the body cannot of itself affect it thus (*i. e.* could never so affect the soul as to occasion madness). That could only limit the faculties of the soul, farther and farther, or deaden its activity: but not animate it after such a terrible manner. Hence there is no other way for its being affected in this manner, but the cause I have already assigned.——— There is indeed a great difference and variety in the phenomena of reason disturbed. But universally the disease could not be lodged in the soul itself: nor could the matter of the body affect it any other way than by deadening (*i. e.* by impeding) its activity; which, I think, is never the case in these appearances. In short, the disorder of matter might make a man a stupid idiot; subject him to sleep, apoplexy, or any thing approaching to its own nature: but could never be the cause of rage, distraction, phrensy, unless it were employed as an instrument by some other cause: that is, it cannot of itself be the cause of these disorders of reason. If the inertia of matter infers any thing, it infers thus much." Baxter's Enquiry into the Nature of the Human Soul. vol. ii. p. 141, 142.——I no more doubt that mad persons, at this very day, are demoniacs, or influenced and agitated by incorporeal and invisible beings, than I can doubt that some people were so possessed, at the time of our Lord's abode on earth. Such an assertion will, probably, sound romantically strange to a prejudiced and to a superficial ear. But (let the fact itself really stand how it may) I think I can venture to pronounce that the philosophy of opinion, as stated and argued by Mr. Baxter, is irrefragable.—Examine first, and then judge.

Unembodied spirits, both friendly and hostile (ἀγαθοεργοὶ et κακοεργοὶ), holy and unholy, have more to do with us in a way both of good and evil than the generality of us seem to imagine. But they themselves are all no more than parts of that great chain which depends on the first cause, or uncreated link; and can only act as ministers of his will.

Luther relates several uncommon things concerning his own converse with some of the spiritual world: which, however fanciful they may, prima facie, appear, are by no means philosophically inadmissible. For so saying, I am sure to incur a smile of contempt from pertlings and materialists; the former of whom sneer when they cannot reason;

the mind), let us next enquire, on what the body itself depends, for the sources of those innumerable ideas, which it is the vehicle of transmitting to the intellects; and without which transmission, the intellect, implunged in a mass of clay, could have no more idea of outward things than an oyster has of a tinder-box. An unactive consciousness of mere torpid existence would have been the whole amount of its riches, during its inclosure in a prison without door, window, or crevice.

The human body is necessarily encompassed by a multitude of other bodies; which other surrounding bodies (animal, vegetable, &c.) so far as we come within their perceivable sphere, necessarily impress our nerves with sensations correspondent to the objects themselves. These sensations are necessarily (and, for the most part, instantaneously), propagated to the soul; which can no more help receiving them, and being affected by them, than a tree can resist a stroke of lightning.

Now, (1) if all the ideas in the soul derive their existence from sensation; and (2) if the soul depend absolutely on the body, for all those sensations; and (3) if the body be both primarily and continually dependent on other extrinsic beings, for the very sensations which it [the body] communicates to the soul;—the consequence seems, to me, undeniable: that neither the immanent nor the transient acts of man (*i. e.* neither his mental nor his outward operations) are self-determined; but, on the contrary, determined by the views with which an infinity of surrounding objects necessarily, and almost incessantly, impress his intellect.

And on what do those surrounding objects themselves, which are mostly material (*i. e.* on what does matter, in all its forms, positions, and relations), depend? Certainly not on itself. It could neither be its own creator, nor can it be its own conserver. In my idea, every particle of matter would immediately revert into non-existence, if not retained in being, from moment to moment, by the will of Him who upholds all things by the word of his power, (*t*) and through whom all things consist. (*u*)

Much less does matter depend on the human mind. Man can neither create nor exterminate (*x*) a single atom. There are cases wherein he can alter the modes of matter: so as to form (for instance) certain vegetable fibres into linen, linen into paper, and paper into books. He can also throw that linen, or paper, or books, into a fire; and thereby dissolve the present connection of their particles, and annihilate their modal relations. But notwithstanding he has all this in his power (though, by the way, he will never do either one or the other, except his will be necessarily determined by some effectual motive), still the seeming destruction amounts to no more than a variation. Not an individual particle of the burnt matter is extermined; nor even its essential relation to the universe superseded. There would be precisely the same quantity of solid substance which there now is, without the loss of a corpuscular unit, were all the men and things upon the face of the earth, and the very globe itself, reduced to ashes. Consequently, matter is absolutely and solely dependent on God himself.

Thus have we briefly traced the winding current to its source. The soul, or intellect, depends on its ideas for the determinations of its volitions: else it would will, as a blind man walks, at a venture and in the dark. Those ideas are the daughters of sensation; and can deduce their pedigree from no other quarter. The embodied soul could have had no idea of so much as a tree, or a blade of grass, if our distance from those bodies had been such as to have precluded their respective forms from occurring to the eye. The senses, therefore, are the channels of all our natural perceptions. Which senses are entirely corporeal: as is the brain

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and wisely consider a grin, and a syllogism, as two names for the same thing. When it can be solidly proved that the gums are the seat of intellect, I will then allow that a laugher shews his understanding and his wit every time he shews his teeth. Was ridicule the legitimate test of truth, there could be no such thing as truth in the world; and consequently there would be nothing for ridicule to be the test of: as every truth may be, and in its turn actually has been, ridiculed, by some insipid witling or other. So that, to borrow a lively remark from Mr. Hervey, "The whim of making ridicule the test of truth seems as suitable to the fitness of things as to place harlequin in the seat of lord chief justice." Moreover ridicule itself, viewed as ridiculously usurping the office of a philosophical touchstone, has been ridiculed, with much poignancy, and strength of sense, by the ingenious pen of the late Dr. Brown, in his Essay on Satire:

"Come, let us join awhile this titt'ring crew,
And own, the idiot guide for once is true:
Deride our weak forefathers' musty rule,
Who therefore smiled, because they saw a fool.
Sublimer logic now adorns our isle:
We therefore see a fool, because we smile!
Truth in her gloomy cave why fondly seek?
Lo, gay she sits in laughter's dimple cheek:
Contemns each surly academic foe,
And courts the spruce free-thinker and the beau.
No more shall reason boast her pow'r divine:
Her base eternal shook by folly's mine.
Truth's sacred fort th' exploded laugh shall win;
And coxcombs vanquish Berkley by a grin!"

(*t*) Heb. i. 3. (*u*) Col. i. 17.

(*x*) To all her other anti-philosophical absurdities, Arminianism adds the supposed defectibility of saving grace: by giving as her opinion that the holy principle in a renewed soul is not only a corruptible and perishable seed, but that it frequently and actually does suffer a total extinction and a final annihilation. Or, as Mr. Wesley and his fraternity vulgarly express it, "He who is, to-day, a child of God, may be, to-morrow, a child of the devil." As if the principle of grace were less privileged than a particle of matter! And as if man, who cannot annihilate a single atom, were able to annihilate the most illustrious effect of the Holy Spirit's operation! Credat Judæus, &c.

also, that grand centre to which all their impressions are forwarded, and whence they immediately act upon the immaterial principle. These corporeal senses receive their impressions from the presence, or impulse, of exterior beings (for all our sensations are but modes of motion).—And every one of those exterior beings is dependant for existence and for operation on God Most High.

Such is the progression of one argument (and it is but one among many) for the great doctrine of philosophical necessity: a chain concerning which (and, especially, concerning the determination to action, by motives arising from ideas) Mr. Wesley modestly affirms, that "It has not one good link belonging to it." Seriously, I pity the size of his understanding. And I pity it, because I verily believe it to be a fault which he cannot help; any more than a dwarf can help not being six feet high. Lame indeed are all his commentations:

"But better he'd give us, if better he had."

I shall close this chapter with submitting a few plain and reasonable queries to the reader.

1. How is that supposition which ascribes a self-determining will to a created spirit, less absurd than that supposition which ascribes self-existence to matter?

2. In what respect, or respects, is the Arminian supposition of a fortuitous train of events less atheistical than the epicurean supposition of a fortuitous concourse of atoms?

3. If man be a self-determining agent, will it not necessarily follow there are as many first causes (*i. e.* in other words, as many gods) as there are men in the world?

4. Is not independence essentially prerequisite to self-determination?

5. But is it true in fact, and would it be sound philosophy to admit, that man is an independent being?

6. Moreover, is the supposition, of human independence and self-determination sound theology? At least does it comport with the Scriptural account of man? For a specimen of which account only cast your eye on the passage or two that follow.—The way of man is not in himself: it is not in man that walketh to direct his own steps. Jer. x. 23. —Without me [*i. e.* without Christ] ye can do nothing; John xv. 5.—In him [*i. e.* in God] we live, and are moved (κινουμεθα), and have our existence; Acts xvii. 28.—It is he who worketh all in all; 1 Cor. xii. 6. —It is God who worketh in you both to will and to do; Phil. ii. 13.—Of him, and to him, and through him are all things; Rom. xi. 36.

7. May we not, on the whole, soberly affirm that the scheme of necessity is philosophy in her right mind? And that the scheme of contingency is philosophy run mad?

CHAP. III.

SEVERAL OBJECTIONS TO THE SCHEME OF NECESSITY ANSWERED

It seems most agreeable to the radical simplicity which God has observed in his works to suppose that, in themselves, all human souls are equal. I can easily believe that the soul of an oysterwoman has naturally the (unexpanded) powers of Grotius, or of Sir Isaac Newton: and that which conduces to raise the philosopher, the poet, the politician, or the linguist so much above the ignorant and stupid of mankind, is not only the circumstance of intellectual cultivation, but (still more than that) his having the happiness to occupy a better house, *i. e.* a body more commodiously organized, than they.

The soul of a monthly reviewer, if imprisoned within the same mud walls which are tenanted by the soul of Mr. John Wesley, would, similarly circumstanced, reason and act (I verily think) exactly like the bishop of Moorfields. And I know some very sensible people who even go so far as to suppose that, was a human spirit shut up in the skull of a cat, puss would notwithstanding move prone on all four, pur when stroked, spit when pinched, and birds and mice be her darling objects of pursuit.

Now though I can, by no means, for my own part, carry matters to so extreme a length as this, yet I repeat my opinion, that much, very much, depends on corporeal organization. Whence the usual remark that a man is (I would rather say, appears to be) sensible and ingenious, according to his dimension and solid content of brain. That is, as I apprehend, the soul is more capable of exerting its powers, when lodged in a capacious and well-constructed vehicle. I dare believe that the brain of Dr. Thomas Nowell is, to that of Mr. John Wesley, as two to one, at the very least. And yet all this is the result of absolute necessity. For what is brain but matter peculiarly modified? And who is the modifier? Not man, but God.

I just now hinted the conjecture of some that a human spirit, incarcerated in the brain of a cat, would probably both think and behave as that animal now does. But how would the soul (*y*) of a cat acquit itself,

(*y*) Let not the reader start, at that expression, "the soul of a cat." For though the word, so applied, may seem strange to those who have not weighed both sides of the question (it would have seemed very strange to me, about fifteen years ago), yet, on giving the cause an impartial hearing, the

if inclosed in the brain of a man? We cannot resolve this question, with certainty, any more than the other. We may, however, even on this occasion, address every one of our human brethren in those words of that great philosophic necessitarian, St. Paul: and ask, who maketh thee to differ from the lowest of the brute creation? Thy Maker's free-will, not thine. And what pre-eminence hast thou, which thou didst not receive from him? Not the least, nor the shadow of any. —Now, if thou didst [not acquire, but] receive it as a distinguishing gift of his free and sovereign pleasure, why carriest thou thyself proudly (καυχασαι), as though thou hadst not received it; 1 Cor. iv. 7.

"He, who through vast immensity can pierce;
See worlds on worlds compose one universe;
Can tell how system beyond system runs;
What other planets circle other suns;
What vary'd being peoples ev'ry star;
May tell, why Heav'n has made us as we are."

What the poet could not tell, the Bible does: —— "Why are we made as we are?" Even so, Father: for so it seemed good in thy sight. Which is answer enough to satisfy me.

I take the truth of the matter to be this: All the intellectual distinctions which obtain throughout the whole scale of animated existence, from the brightest angel down to man, and which give advantage to one man above another; which intellectual distinctions descend, likewise, in just gradations, from man to the minutest animalcule; are distributed, to each individual, in number, in measure, and in weight. Wisdom xi. 20, by the sovereign will and the unerring hand of God the only wise. The uses to which those intellectual powers shall subserve; the term of their duration; and, in short, every circumstance relative both to them and their possessors; I consider as falling under the regulation of God's determining and permissive decree before time, and of his ever-present and ever-acting providence in time.

According to this scheme of things (a scheme which, when fairly weighed, will be found the most cheerful to men, and the most worthy of God, which was ever proposed to the human mind), that melancholy, that absurd, that atheistical fiction, whose name is Chance, has nothing to do with God or with his works. On the contrary, the golden chain of necessity, providence, or fate (it is no matter which you term it), is let down, from the throne of the supreme through all the ranks of animated and of unanimated creation: guiding and governing every individual spirit, and every individual atom, by such means, and in such a manner, as best comport with the dignity, the efficacy, the wisdom, and the love, of him who holds the chain, and who has implicated every link.

Thus, he doth according to his will, in the armies of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth; and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What doest thou (*z*)? Hence it is, that the (*a*) very hairs of our heads are all numbered in his book; and not one of them can fall from its pore, without the leave of Heaven. He is the guardian of sparrows; and will not let what we account the meanest insect expire, until the point of time, divinely destined, is come. He not only tells the number of the (*b*) stars, and calls them each by name; but notices and directs the very particles of (*c*) dust, which float in the atmosphere. The (*d*) sun shines not, but at his command; nor can a (*e*) wind blow but by authority from him. May we not say of necessity, what the Psalmist says of the central luminary round which our globe is wheeled; that there is nothing hid from the heat thereof?

And yet there are those who think that necessity makes no part of the Christian system!

Mr. Wesley is, or pretends to be, of that number. Let us give a concise hearing to the difficulties which, in his estimation, clog the scheme of evangelical and philosophical fate: though they are such as have been refuted again and again.

1. "There can be no moral good, or evil; no virtue, and no vice."

So thought (*f*) Aristole; and his disciples, the Peripatetics. Hence they defined moral virtue to be an elective habit, flowing originally from free-will, and rendered easy by repeated acts.

It is no wonder that proud heathens should thus err, seeing they know not the Scriptures, nor the power of God. But Mr. Wesley should remember that he has read, and professes to believe, a book which tells him that a man can receive nothing except

scale of evidence will, in my judgment, strongly decide for an immaterial principle in brutes.

I mean not here to discuss the argument. But let me hint, that one principle hinge on which the enquiry turns, is: Do those inferior beings reason, or do they not? If they do (be it in ever so small a degree) they must consist of something more than body; *i. e.* they must be compounded of matter and spirit.——— If they do not reason at all (and we may as well doubt whether they can feel at all), we may set them down for mere material machines.

——— He, however, who seriously thinks, that even birds, or insects, are watches; may, with equal ease, while his hand is in, advance a few steps higher, and suppose that men are clocks, *i. e.* larger watches of the three.

(*z*) Dan iv. 35.
(*a*) Matt. x. 29, 30.
(*b*) Psa. cxlvii. 4.
(*c*) Isa. xl. 12.
(*d*) Job ix. 7.
(*e*) Psa. cxxx. 7.
(*f*) And yet Aristotle, though a vehement, was not (any more than his disciple at the Foundery) a consistent, free-will man. Hence Aristotle being asked, "Who can keep a secret?" made this odd answer: He that can hold red hot coals in his mouth. —Surely, Free-will must be very feeble, and Necessity irresistibly potent, upon this principle! Not to ask: If Free-will cannot, on a proper occasion, shut the mouth of the man that has it, how can it bring him virtue, and save his soul?

it be given him from heaven; (*g*) that we cannot even think a good thought (*h*) unless God breathe it into our hearts; and that it is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ who must work in us that which is well-pleasing in his sight. (*i*)

Nor should his lordship of Moorfields forget that he has solemnly subscribed (to omit all present mention of articles and homilies) a certain liturgy; in which liturgy, among a thousand other passages equally excellent, God himself is addressed as the sole being from whom all holy desires, all good counsels [or sincerely devout intentions], and all just works, do proceed. The supreme is, likewise, in the same "Calvinistical and Antinomian Prayer-book" declared to be the almighty and everlasting God, who maketh us both to will and to do those things that be good and acceptable to his divine majesty. And in absolute harmony with this necessitating principle, the said book beseeches the blessed Father and governor of men, that by his holy inspiration we may think those things that are good; and that we may, by his merciful guidance, faithfully perform the same. If this is being what Mr. Wesley terms, "a fine piece of clockwork;" I heartily wish and pray that I may, every hour of my life, be so wound up.

But still, says the objector, "moral good, or evil, cannot (*k*) consist with necessity. I, on the contrary, say that it both can and does. Mr. Wesley does not consider the tremendous consequences which unavoidably flow from his position. For, if necessary virtue be neither moral nor praiseworthy; it will follow that God himself (who, without all doubt, is necessarily and unchangeably good) is an immoral being, and not praiseworthy for his goodness! On the same horrible Arminian principle it would also follow, that Christ's most perfect obedience (which was necessary: for he could not but obey perfectly) had no morality in it, was totally void of merit, and entitled him to neither praise nor reward! The axiom, therefore, which dares to affirm that "necessity and moral agency are irreconcilable things;" lays, at once, the axe to the root both of natural and revealed religion, and ought to be hissed back again by all mankind to the hell whence it came.

The crucifiers of the Son of God perpetrated the most immoral act that ever was, or ever will be, committed. And yet, I am expressly assured, by the written testimony of the Holy Ghost, entered on a record which will continue to the end of time, that Herod, and Pontius Pilate, and the people of the Jews, were gathered together against Jesus, for to do whatsoever God's hand and God's counsel had fore-determined to be done. (*l*) So that, upon Christian principles at least, necessity and moral evil (by the same rule, also, necessity and moral good) may walk (*m*) hand in hand together. If Mr. Wesley prefers Aristotle and the other gentlemen of the Lycæum to the inspired writers, and chooses the peripatetic scheme of free-will rather than the Bible scheme of necessity; he must, for me, go on to hug an idol that cannot save.

The whole cavil amounts to precisely this. If God is the alone author and worker of all good, virtue ceases to be virtue; and, if God is the permitter of evil, vice ceases to be vice. Can any thing be, at once, more impious and more irrational, than the letter and the spirit of those two propositions?

In one word: those modes o actions called virtue and vice do not cease to be moral, *i.e.* to affect our manners, as creatures of God and as members of society, be those modes occasioned by what they may. Acts of devotion, candour, justice, and beneficence, together with their opposites, are, to all intents and purposes, as morally good or evil if they flow from one source as from another; though no works can be evangelically good and pleasing to God which do not spring from his own grace in the heart. But this latter circumstance is entirely of spiritual consideration. It has nothing to do, off or on, with the mere (*n*) morality of actions. Good is morally, *i. e.* religiously excellent, or socially beneficial, and evil is morally, *i. e.* religiously bad, or socially injurious, whether men be self-determining agents or not. Light is light, and darkness is darkness, flow they from the right hand or from the left.

2. We are told that, on the hypothesis of necessity, man is "neither rewardable nor punishable; neither praise nor blameworthy."

No objection can be more unphilosophical than this, because it quite loses sight of the very point in debate; viz. of necessity

(*g*) John iii. 27. (*h*) 2 Cor. iii. 5. (*i*) Heb. xiii. 21.

(*k*) "The hacknied objection to the doctrine of necessity, from its being [pretendedly] inconsistent with the idea of virtue and vice, as implying praise and blame, may be fully retorted upon its opponents. For, as to their boasted self-determining power (were the thing possible in itself, and did not imply an absurdity) by which they pretended to have a power of acting independently of every thing that comes under the description of motive; I scruple not to say, that it is as foreign to every idea of virtue or vice, praise or blame, as the grossest kind of mechanism, that the most blundering writer in defence of liberty ever ascribed to the advocates for moral necessity."

Dr. Priestly's Exam. of Beattie, &c. p. 178.

(*l*) Acts ii. 23. and iv. 28.

(*m*) I have largely canvassed this point in a former tract, entitled, "More Work for Mr. John Wesley."

(*n*) Morality is, I think, usually, and very justly, defined to be that relation, or proportion, which actions bear to a given rule.—Consequently, neither necessity, nor non-necessit has any thing to do with the morality of action.

itself · by which certain causes inevitably produce certain effects, and certain antecedents are inevitably concatenated with certain consequences. It is sufficient, therefore, to answer: that the will of God has established a natural connection between virtue and (*o*) happiness, vice and misery. This divine established connection is so indissoluble that, even in the present state of things, happiness never fails to enter at the same door with virtue; nor does misery ever fail to tread upon the heels of vice.

Some sensualists, however, profess otherwise; and affirm that their own deviations from the moral path are neither attended, nor followed, by any pungent briar, or grieving thorn. Their draughts are all balmy and nectarious, without a drop of wormwood or of gall, to allay the sweetness, or to embitter the remembrance.

Those gentlemen must, however, excuse me from taking their word for this. I do not believe one syllable of it to be true. Both Scripture, and the nature of the case, and the observations I have made, unite to render me quite positive that the way of transgressors is hard, Prov. xiii. 15.: that even in the midst of laughter they have a tinge of sorrow in their hearts, as well as that the end of their mirth is heaviness, Prov. xiv. 13. They may, for a time, like the Lacedæmonian boy, conceal the wolf that is eating out their very entrails; and set the gloss of an outward Sardonian smile, on the inward pangs they endure; but the great law of necessity, from which neither the virtuous nor the licentious are exempt, assures me that this pretended ease is mere dissimulation and grimace.

One of the most sensible men I ever knew, but whose life, as well as creed, had been rather eccentric, returned me the following answer not many months before his death, when I asked him, "Whether his former irregularities were not both accompanied at the time, and succeeded afterwards by some sense of mental pain?" Yes, said he; but I have scarce ever owned it until now. We [meaning, we infidels, and men of fashionable morals] do not tell you all that passes in our hearts.

The fact, then, plainly is, that rectitude of manners saves people from much uneasiness of mind; and that the perpetration of moral evil involves in it a Trojan horse, whose hidden force puts their comforts to the sword. I have seen instances of this in very high, as well as in more humble, life: notwithstanding all the labour and art which have been obtained to vail it from the eye of man. They who plough iniquity, and sow wickedness, reap the same, Job iv. 8: the crop is always, more or less, similar to the seed. The wicked man travelleth with pain all his days; and a dreadful sound is in his ears, Job xv. 20, 21; let him say what he will to the contrary. So that we may almost assert, with (*p*) Seneca, "*prima et maxima peccantium pœna est, peccasse*:" i. e. the very commission of sin is its own primary and capital punishment.

God himself has joined the chain together: no wonder, therefore, that its links cannot be put asunder. Hence I conclude that, let what seeming consequences soever flow from the position of necessity, God would have tied moral and natural evil together into one knot, if moral evil were not justly punishable. And while facts, indisputable facts, say, Aye: facts I will still believe, though ten thousand imaginary inferences were to say, No.

I must likewise add that, if we shut out the doctrine of necessity, which asserts the inseparable connection of moral evil with intellectual (and, often, with external) infelicity; men will want one of the most rational motives (*q*) which can possibly induce them to a hatred of vice. And so great is the depravation of human nature that, were it not for the thing necessity, virtue neither would nor could have any sort of existence in the world.

As for that mixture (or rather intersper-

(*o*) I here speak of intellectual happiness or misery.

(*p*) Epist. Lib. 16. Ep. 2.—When St. Paul speaks (Eph. iv. 19.) of some who were απηλγηκοτες, which we render, past feeling (though it may better be rendered, quite sunk in indolence and idleness; totally enervated, and dissipated, enemies to all honest, manly, and laborious employ), there is no necessity for supposing even the English phrase to import, that those wretched people were void of inward horror and tormenting anguish; but that they were quite void of outward decency, and had no feelings of delicacy (for there is a sort of refinement (though bad is the best) which even vice itself is capable of.

When the same apostle speaks, elsewhere (1 Tim. iv. 2.) of the κεκαυτηριασμενων, or persons whose consciences have been seared as with a hot iron: the word (not to canvass here the several critical senses which it will admit of) may be fairly considered as importing neither more nor less than this, that they carry a fearful brand, or mark of condemnation, in their own minds; though they may endeavour to toss off matters, outwardly, with an air of seeming unconcern.

(*q*) Should any be so pitiably undiscerning as to ask, "What can necessity have to do with rational motives?"—I answer, That there are numberless cases wherein certain motives appear so very rational to the mind as to be absolutely cogent, and incline the will effectually. For the finally predominant motive constantly and infallibly determines the will, and the will thus necessarily determined as constantly and infallibly (all extrinsic impediments removed) determines the actions of the willer. Non est intelligentis causse, sine fine sibi proposito agere.

If motives did not so operate on the mind, and if the mind, so operated upon, did not give the law to the will, and if the will, so biassed and conciliated, did not (positis omnibus ponendis) necessarily influence the conduct, actions and volitions would be uncaused effects: than which ideas it is impossible for any thing to be more absurd and self-contradictory.

sion) of good and evil which obtains throughout our sublunary planet; this likewise I acknowledge to be the consequence of actual and reigning necessity. But this, in a philosophic eye, reflects no more blame on necessity itself, than the two contrary powers of attraction and repulsion can reflect dishonour on the wisdom of him who, for good reasons, endued matter with those opposite properties.

Cousin german to the second, is Mr. Wesley's

3rd Objection: namely, that if universal necessity determine all the thoughts and actions of man, "there can be no judgment to come;" *i. e.* God cannot, in the last day, judge and sentence mankind according to their works. I have (*r*) elsewhere amply refuted this empty cavil. But, as it is now hashed and served up again in a different dish, I will give it another examination, before we dismiss it from the table.

The objector forgets one main circumstance of no small importance to the argument; viz. that the judgment-day itself, and the whole process of the grand transaction, together with every thing that relates to it, directly or indirectly; are, upon the Christian scheme, no less necessary and inevitable, than any intermediate event can be. An oak is not more the daughter of an acorn, than absolute necessity will be the mother of that universal audit wherewith she is already pregnant.

But observe: the scriptural is not a blind necessity, or a necessity resulting (as some of the grosser Stoics believed) either from the planetary positions, or from the "stubbornness of matter." I no where contend for these kinds of necessity; which, even admitting them to have their respective degrees of physical influence, in subordination to providence; still can never by any Christian (nor, I should think, by any man of refined understanding) be considered as exercising the least dominion over God himself, by inferring any sort of casualty on his interior purposes, or extrinsic operations.

On the contrary, necessity in general, with all its extensive series of adamantine links in particular, is in reality what the poets feigned of Minerva, the issue of divine wisdom; deriving its whole existence from the free-will of God, and its whole effectuosity from his never-ceasing providence.

Thus I affirm the day of judgment to be necessary; to wit, because God has absolutely appointed it, Acts xvii. 31. For his counsel shall stand, and he will do all his pleasure, Isa. xlvi. 10. It is also necessary that there should be conscious beings on whom to pass sentence; and there should be both good and evil actions, on which the sentence of the judge should turn. We must, I think, admit this; or at one stroke deny the certain futurition of a judgment-day. And for my own part I would much rather believe and maintain so important an article of revealed religion, though upon the principle of necessity, than I would virtually deny it, as an Arminian, by imagining either the great day itself, or the decisions of the day, to be things of unfixed chance, lying at sixes and sevens, and which, consequently, may or may not take effect at all.

It is the doctrine of uncertain self-determination which, by representing events to lie at hap-hazard, stamps absurdity on the sure expectation of a judgment to come. It is the doctrine of absolute necessity alone which, by refusing to hang any one circumstance on a peradventure, affixes the seal of infallible futurity to the day itself, to the business of the day, and to all the antecedents, concomitants, and consequences of the whole.

That side-face of Arminian free-will which we have hitherto surveyed, carries no more than a squinting aspect on the day of ultimate retribution, by only leaving the day and its retributions at the uncertain mercy of a may-be. Look at the other profile (*i. e.* view the blind side) of the Arminian goddess, and you will immediately perceive that, according to her scheme of metaphysics, it is utterly impossible there should be any day of judgment at all. For,

He alone can be called "a self-determining agent" who is quite independent on any other agent or agency whatever. If I may depend, for my being, for my ideas, and for my operations on another; my being, and ideas, and operations are and must be influenced and affected by that dependance. Consequently, I am neither self-existent (*s*) nor self-determined. But, if I am an independent animal, I am also, necessarily, (*t*) self-existent: and I not only may be, but absolutely must be (view what side of the argument we will, necessity stares us in the

(*r*) More Work for Mr. John Wesley.

(*s*) See p. 173, of a performance already quoted, namely, Dr. Priestley's masterly "Examination of Dr. Reid's Inquiry into the human mind, Dr. Beattie's Essay on Truth, and Dr. Oswald's Appeal to Common Sense."—I cannot help observing, what, by this time, almost every person knows, and every impartial judge must acknowledge; viz. the energy and success with which Dr. Priestley has battered the free-will lanthorns (the Inquiry, the Appeal, and the Essay,) in which the three northern lights had respectively stuck themselves and hung themselves out to public view. It lay peculiarly in Dr. Priestley's department to examine the theory of those new lights and colours. And he has done it to purpose. Though I am apt to think that the luminous triumvirate, like Æsop's one-eyed stag, received the mortal shot from a quarter whence they least expected it.

(*t*) An independent creature is a contradiction in terms. To ask, "Whether the Deity might not endue created beings with philosophical independence?" is to ask whether one God might not make millions of others. I answer, No. And yet I do not,

face!) I absolutely must be a self-determinant. Thus self-existence and independence necessarily enter into the basis of self-determination, *i. e.* of Arminian or Methodistical free-will.

Let us for a moment imagine ourselves to be what Mr. Wesley supposes us.

Lord of myself is essentially connected with accountable to none. Farewell then to the very possibility of a judgment-day. Shall an independent being, who can have no superior, hold up his hand as a felon at the bar? Shall a potent self-exister deign to be punished for the evanid crimes of an hour? Shall a sovereign self-determiner submit to receive sentence from the lips of another? Impossible. Paul was a knave for asserting it. And Felix was a fool for trembling at the empty sound.

What a truly Christian tenet therefore is that of free-will! How patly it squares with the Bible! and with how good a grace does orthodox Mr. John introduce his

4th Objection, that "the Scriptures cannot be of divine original," if the doctrine of necessity be true.

I, *è contra*, scruple not to declare that no man can consistently acknowledge the "divine authority of the Scriptures" without believing their contents: *i. e.* without being an absolute necessitarian. I will even add, all the intentional defenders of Christianity in the world, who encounter Deism, or Atheism itself, or any but necessitarian principles; such defenders ever will, and inevitably must have the worst end of the staff: for the Bible will stand on no ground but its own; nor can the cavillings of its doctrinal gainsayers (flimsy as their cavillings are) be hewn effectually in pieces, by any weapons but those which the Bible itself supplies. Among others, it supplies us with the invincible two-edged sword of predestination and necessity (which two edges, by the way, terminate, sword-like, in one common (*u*) point), a weapon, peculiarly formed and tempered to penetrate the best mail of modern unbelieving Philistines; most of whom have sense enough to laugh (and laugh they may in perfect safety) at

"The pointless arrow and the broken bow,

equipped with which Arminianism comes limping into the field of battle.

The *caput vivum* of a dexterous infidel is absolutely invulnerable by the *caput mortuum* of free-will nonsense, though the asinine jaw-bone were wielded by the arm of Samson.

CHAP. IV.

SPECIMENS OF SCRIPTURE ATTESTATIONS TO THE DOCTRINE OF NECESSITY.

REFERENCES have already been made, in the course of the present essay, to several Scripture passages, wherein necessity is invincibly and decisively asserted. I will add a few others: and then leave the reader to judge whether necessitarians or chance-mongers give most credit to the "Divine original of the Scriptures."

I withheld thee from sinning against me. Gen. xx. 6.

It was not you that sent me hither, but God. Gen. i. 5, 7, 8.

I will harden his heart, that he shall not let the people go. Exod. iv. 21.

It was of the Lord to harden their hearts, that they should come against Israel to battle; that he might destroy them utterly. Josh. xi. 20.

The stars, in their courses, fought against Sisera. Judg. v. 20.

The Lord maketh poor, and maketh rich; he bringeth low, and lifteth up. 1 Sam. ii. 7.

They hearkened not to the voice of their Father; because the Lord would slay them. 1 Sam. ii. 25.

Thus saith the Lord: Behold, I will raise up evil against thee, out of thy own house; and I will take thy wives, before thine eyes, and give them to thy neighbour, and he shall lie with thy wives in the sight of this sun.—What was the consequence?—So they spread Absalom a tent upon the top of the house; and Absalom went in unto his father's concubines, in the sight of all Israel. 2 Sam. xii. 11. with 2 Sam. xvi. 22.

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by so saying, "limit the Holy One of Israel." His power is still infinite. For, as some have well expressed it, an essential contradiction is no object of power.

(*u*) People do not see all things at once. The rising of truth upon the mind is commonly gradual; like the rising of the sun on the world. Hence, some philosophers, who are rooted necessitarians, either do not yet perceive, or forbear to acknowledge the coincidence of Scripture predestination with physical and metaphysical necessity.

But all in good time. The more these doctrines are examined and compared together, the more clearly and strongly will they be found to suppose and support each other. The Arminians are aware of this, and pelt both predestination and necessity with equal rage, and with the self-same cavils.

Not without reason. For what is predestination, but necessitas imperata; or the free and everlasting determination of God, that such and such a train of causes and effects should infallibly take place in time?—And what is philosophical necessity, but predestinatio elicita; or, God's determination drawn out into act, by successive accomplishment, according to the plan pre-conceived in the divine mind?—Necessity (*i. e.* fate or providence, to whose ceaseless agency all the laws and modes, and the very being of matter and spirit incessantly subserve) this necessity is, as a valuable person phrases it, "a strait line," however crooked it may sometimes appear to us; "a strait line, drawn from the point of God's decree." And as predestination is the point itself from which the strait line is drawn, so it is also the point into which the line progressively, but infallibly, reverts.

The Lord hath said unto him [to Shimei] Curse David. 2 Sam. xvi. 10.

And he [*i. e.* the evil spirit] said, I will go forth, and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his [Ahab's] prophets. And he [God] said, Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also: go forth, and do so.—Now, therefore the Lord hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these, &c. 1 Kings xxii. 22, 23.

Both riches and honour come of Thee, and Thou reignest over all. 1 Chron. xxix. 12.

Then rose up the chief of the Fathers of Judah and Benjamin, &c.; whose spirit God had raised to go up, to build the house of the Lord. Ezra i. 5.

The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away. Job i. 21.

Man is born unto trouble, as the sparks fly upwards. Job v. 7. And I am apt to think sparks ascend by necessity!

He disappointeth the devices of the crafty, so that their hands cannot perform their enterprise. Job v. 12. Be men ever so shrewd, their utmost dexterity will not avail, unless the Great Superintending Creator stamp it with efficiency.

Behold he taketh away. Who can hinder him? Who will say unto him [*i. e.* who has a right to say unto God], What doest thou? Job ix. 12.—For he is not a man, as I am, that I should answer him, and that we should come together in judgment. Ver. 32.

Vain man would be wise [and the puny prisoner of a clod would be an independent, self-determining freewiller!] though man be born as a wild ass's colt. Job xi. 12. What a thunderbolt to human pride! To the *το αυτεξεσιον*. To *αυτοδεσποτεια*. To the *τα εφ' ημιν*. To *αυτοκρατορια*. To *liberum arbitrium*. To *ipseitas*. To the Arminian herb called self-heal. To independency, self-authority, self-determination, self-salvation, innate ideas, and other pompous nothings, with which man's ignorance and conceit seek to plat a wreath for the enrichment of his brows. Vain man, born as a wild ass's (*x*) colt! "How keenly," says a fine writer, "is this comparison pointed!—Like the ass's: an animal remarkable for its stupidity, even to a proverb. Like the ass's colt: which must be still more egregiously stupid than the dam. Like the wild ass's colt: which is not only blockish, but stubborn and intractable; neither possesses valuable qualities by nature, nor will easily receive them by discipline. The image, in the original, is yet more strongly touched. The comparative particle like is not in the Hebrew. Born a wild ass's colt. Or, as we should say in English, a mere wild, &c." (Hervey's Theron and Aspasio, dial. 13.)

He [*i. e.* God] is in one mind, and who can turn him? and what his soul desireth, even that he doth. He performeth the thing that is appointed for me. And many such things are with him. Job xxiii. 13, 14. Query: Who is self-determiner? Man or God? Surely, God. Nor is he only the self-determiner, but the all-determiner likewise; throughout the whole universe both of spirits and of matter.

For he looketh to the ends of the earth,

(*x*) And we should remain, to our dying day, nearly on a level with the animal to which we are compared, were it not for the care of those about us, and did we not necessarily become parts of a society antecedent y formed to our hands. In what a state would the present generation be, had they not dropt (if I may use the expression) into a house ready built! *i. e.* if we had been cut off from all means of profiting by the wisdom, the experience, the discoveries, the inventions, and the regulations, of those who lived before us.—It is a circumstance of unspeakable convenience, to be the children of Time's old age.

Our mental powers, like a chicken in the shell, or a plant in its semen, are no more than virtual and dormant, unless elicited by cultivation, and ripened by experience, attention, and reflection. Civil society, dress, articulate language, with all other useful and ornamental polishings which result from domestic and political connection, are, in themselves, things purely artificial and adventitious. If so, will it not follow that (ever since the fall) man is, naturally, a wild animal? Some very able reasoners have gone so far as peremptorily to pronounce him such. The late Dr. Young, in his "Centaur not fabulous," appears to have thought that the greater part of the human species profit so little by their accessory opportunities of improvement, as to go off the stage semi-savages, at last; no withstanding the inexhaustible and omnipotent deluge of free will, which that ingenious writer imagined every man to bring into the world with him. Strange that so immense a reservoir, inherent in the soul, should yet leave the soul so dry!

With regard to the natural wildness of man, supposed and asserted by some philosophers; thus much I think must be fairly admitted; that the hypothesis derives much subsidiary force from various pertinent and well authenticated facts. For if any credit be due to human testimony, there have been instances of exposed infants, who were nursed by forest animals; and, when grown up, went prone on all four, with a swiftness greatly superior to that of the nimblest running footman; but totally unable (and no wonder) to form the least articulate sound. It is added that, like any other wild creature, they would fly from the human sight (*i. e.* from the sight of their own species refined), with a roar of fear and hatred, into the thickest recesses of the woods.

Civilization, though a very poor succedaneum for that divine image originally impressed on our immortal part, and lost by Adam's transgression, is, however, of very great secular importance. Nay, its importance is, with regard to millions of us, more than secular; for it is often a providential means of qualifying us to receive and understand that blessed gospel which, when made the vehicle of divine power to the heart, issues in our recovery of God's image, and in the salvation of the soul.

After all, let the instruments of our refinement, and of our knowledge (whether in things temporal, or in things sacred) be who or what they may; and let us profit ever so deeply by our intercourse with the living, by converse with the recorded wisdom of the dead, by the perceptions we receive from external objects, and by reflecting on the ideas of which those perceptions are the source; still, no advantages are any thing more to us than divine Providence makes them to be. Let him, therefore, that glories, glory in the Lord—For it is God who teacheth us more than the beasts of the earth, and maketh us wiser than the fowls of heaven. 1 Cor. i. 31. Jo xxxv. 11.

and seeth under the whole heaven: to make a weight for the winds; and he weigheth the waters by measure. He made a decree for the rain, and a way for the lightning of the thunder. Job xxviii. 25, 26.

When he giveth quietness, who then can make trouble? and, when he hideth his face, who then can behold him? whether it be done against a nation, or against a man only. Job xxxiv. 29. Absolute necessity still.

By the breath of God frost is given; and the breadth of the water is straitened. Also, by watering, he wearieth the thick cloud: he scattereth his bright cloud. He causeth it to come; whether for correction, or for his land, or for mercy. Job xxxviii. 10, 13. We see from this, as well as from a preceding and from two or three subsequent quotations, that the air cannot be compressed into a current of wind; nor rain find its way to the earth; nor exhalations kindle into thunder and lightning; nor a river overflow its banks; nor suspended vapours condense into snow or hail; nor water freeze; or, when frozen, thaw; without the express appointment of God's will, and the hand of his particular providence. Second causes are but effects of his decree: and can operate no farther than he, from whom they derive their whole activity, condescends to make use of them as mediums of his own agency.

The kingdom is the Lord's; and he is the governor among the nations. Psalm xxii. 28.

O Lord, thou preservest man and beast. Psalm xxxvi. 6.

Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it. Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain. Psalm cxxvii. 1.

Whatsoever the Lord pleaseth, that did he; in heaven, and in earth, in the seas, and in all deep places. He causeth the vapours to ascend from the ends of the earth: he maketh lightnings for the rain; he bringeth the wind out of his treasuries. Psalm cxxxv. 6, 7.

He covereth the heaven with clouds, he prepareth rain for the earth, he maketh grass to grow upon the mountains. He giveth to the beast his food; and to the young ravens, which cry. He maketh peace in thy borders, and filleth thee with the finest wheat. He giveth snow like wool; he scattereth the hoar frost like ashes. He casteth forth his ice like morsels; who can stand before his cold? he sendeth out his word, and melteth them; he causeth his winds to blow, and the waters flow. Psalm cxlvii. 8, 9, 14, 18. What so variable and uncertain, humanly speaking, as the weather? And yet we see all its modes and changes are adjusted and determined from moment to moment, by divine impression, *i. e.* by a necessity, resulting from the will and providence of the Supreme First Cause. Fire and hail; snow and vapour; stormy wind fulfilling his word! Psalm cxlviii. 8.

Neither is material nature alone thus (*y*) "bound fast in fate." All other things, the "human will" itself not excepted, are no less tightly bound, *i. e.* effectually influenced and determined. For,

The preparations of the heart in man, and the answer of the tongue, are from the Lord. Prov. xvi. 1. That is, men can neither think nor speak; they can neither resolve, nor act, independently of Providence.

The Lord hath made all things for himself; for the manifestation of his own glory, and for the accomplishment of his own designs: even the wicked, for the day of evil. Prov. xvi. 4. If so, he has endued none of his creatures with a self-determining power, which might issue in counteracting and defeating the purposes of his infinite wisdom.

A man's heart deviseth his way: but the Lord directeth his steps. Prov. xvi. 9. Yea there are many devices in a man's heart, nevertheless, the counsel of the Lord, that shall stand. Prov. xix. 21.

The lot is cast into the lap: but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord. Prov. xvi. 33.

Even the king's heart is in the hand of the Lord, as the rivers of water: and he turneth it whithersoever he will. Prov. xxi. 1. Odd sort of self-determination, this!

Enemies and evil-minded-men are under the absolute control of God; nor can their enmity or their wickedness do a jot more hurt than he gives leave. O Assyrian, the rod of my anger. Isa. x. 5. Thou art my battle-axe and weapons of war: for with thee will I break in pieces the nations, and with thee will I destroy kingdoms. Jer. li. 20. Very extraordinary declarations these, if men are self-determining agents! a self-determining rod, for instance: a self-determining battle-axe; a self-determining hammer! Arminianism does that which God, by the prophet, satirizes in the following lively terms: Shall the axe boast itself against him that heweth therewith? or shall a saw magnify itself against him that shaketh it? As if the rod should shake itself against them that lifted it up! or as if a staff should lift up itself as though it were no wood! Isa. x. 15.—What! is that noble freewiller, man, comparable to an axe, to a saw, to a rod, and to a stick; not one of which can operate, or so much as move, but in proportion as it is acted upon? This is worse than being likened to Mr. Wesley's clock-work! But who can help it?

(*y*) See Pope's Universal Prayer

The prophet goes on, elsewhere. The Lord of hosts hath sworn [*i. e.* hath solemnly and immutably decreed], saying, Surely, as I have thought, so shall it come to pass: and as I have purposed, so shall it stand. This is the purpose which is purposed upon the whole earth; and this is the hand that is stretched out upon all nations. For the Lord of hosts hath purposed, and who shall disannul it? And his hand is stretched out, and who shall turn it back? Isa. xv. 24, 26, 27. Grand and conclusive questions! Questions, however, which lordly Arminianism can solve in a moment. Who shall disannul God's purpose? Why human freewill to be sure! Who shall turn back God's hand? Human self-determination can do it with as much ease as our breath can repel the down of a feather!

I form the light, and create darkness: I make peace, and create evil. I the Lord do all these things. Isa. xlv. 7.

Who is he that saith, and it cometh to pass; when the Lord commandeth it not? Lam. iii. 37. The highest angel cannot.

Wisdom and might are God's. He changeth the times and the seasons. He removeth kings, and setteth up kings. He giveth wisdom to the wise, and knowledge to them that know understanding. Dan. ii. 20, 21.

Locusts, and other ravaging insects, cannot afflict a land, without a commission under the great seal of Providence. The locust, the canker-worm, the caterpillar, and the palmer-worm; my great army, which I sent among you. Joel ii. 25.

Shall there be evil in a city [*viz.* any calamitous accident, as it is commonly called], and the Lord hath not done it? Amos iii. 6.—Impossible.

I caused it to rain upon one city, and caused it not to rain upon another city.—I have smitten you with blasting, and mildew.—I have sent among you the pestilence. —Your young men have I slain with the sword. Amos iv. 7—10.

They [Paul and Timothy] were forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia.——They essayed to go into Bithynia: but the Spirit suffered them not. Acts xvi. 6, 7. Had self-determination any thing to do here?

A certain woman, named Lydia, heard us; whose heart the Lord opened, so that she attended to the things that were spoken by Paul. Acts v. 14.

As many as were ordained unto eternal life believed. Acts xiii. 48.

I am carnal, sold under sin. For that which I do *ου γινωσκω*, I am far from approving: for what I would, that do I not; but what I hate, that do I. To will is present with me: but how to perform that which is good, I find not. For the good that I would, I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do. When I would do good, evil is present with me. I delight in the law of God, after the inner man: but I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members. O wretched man that I am! Who shall deliver me from the body of this death? I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord. So then, with the mind, I myself serve the law of God: but with my flesh, the law of sin. Rom. vii. 14, 25. According to the account which St. Paul here gives of himself, he no more dreamed of his being a self-determiner, than of his having attained to sinless perfection. No wonder that some flaming Arminians have a peculiar spite against this Apostle!

In whom [*i. e.* in Christ] we also have obtained an inheritance: being predestinated, according to the purpose of him who worketh all things according to the counsel of his own will. Eph. i. 11.

Speaking of affliction and persecution, the apostle comforted himself and his fellow-sufferers, by resolving all into necessity; that no man should be moved by these afflictions; for ye yourselves know that we are appointed thereto. 1 Thess. iii. 3.

What idea St. James entertained concerning free-will and self-determination, fully appears from the following admonition: Ye know not [much less can ye be the disposers of] what shall be on the morrow. For what is your life? it is even a vapour that appeareth for a little time, and then vanisheth away. Ye ought to say, if the Lord will, we shall live, and do this, or that. James iv. 14, 15.—Why did St. James reason in this manner? Because he was endued with grace and sense to be a necessitarian.

So was St. Peter. Hence he tells the regenerated elect, to whom he wrote, Ye also, as lively stones, are built up, a spiritual house. 1 Pet. ii. 5. This is giving free-will a stab under the fifth rib. For can stones hew themselves, and build themselves into a regular house? no more, in this apostle's judgment, can men form themselves into temples of the Holy Ghost. It is the effect of necessitating grace.

The prophecy came not, in old time, by the will of man: but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. 2 Pet. i. 21.—Necessity again.

There shall come, in the last days, scoffers, walking after their own lusts. 2 Pet. iii. 3.—But the apostle could not have been sure of this, without taking necessity into the account, or, as himself expresses it, unless they who stumble at the word were appointed to disobedience. 1 Pet. ii. 8

There are certain men crept in unawares who were before, of old, ordained to this condemnation. Jude 4. If so, were not the sin and condemnation of those men necessary and inevitable?

CHAP. V.

PROOFS THAT CHRIST HIMSELF WAS AN ABSOLUTE NECESSITARIAN.

Lest any who may not, hitherto, have considered the subject with the same attention that I have done, should be startled at the title of this chapter, I shall adduce the larger evidence, in order to make good what the title imports. The reader will not, however, expect a synopsis of the whole evidence by which this great truth is authenticated; for, were I to attempt that, I must transcribe well-nigh all the 89 chapters of the four evangelists.

It should seem that our blessed Lord began his public ministrations with his sermon on the Mount, recorded Matt. v. vi. and vii. In that discourse are the following passages.

One jot, or one tittle, shall in no wise pass from the law, until all be fulfilled.

Thou canst not make one hair white or black.

Your Father, who is in heaven, maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust. Surely, man can neither promote nor hinder the rising of the sun and the falling of the rain!

Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever.—How can a free-willer say the Lord's Prayer?

Which of you, by taking thought, can add one cubit unto his stature? The word ἡλικια signifies both stature and age. As we have no single term in English which comprises both those ideas together, the passage should be rendered periphrastically: which of you, by being anxious, can either make addition to his stature, or prolong the duration of his life?

Be not tormentingly distressed concerning futurity: for futurity shall take care of its own things. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof: *i. e.* commit yourselves, in a believing and placid use of reasonable means, to the will and providence of him who has already lain out the whole plan of events in his own immutable purpose. The appointed measure of supposed evil is infallibly connected with its day, which no corrodings of imaginary anticipation can either stave off, or diminish.

"Reasonable means! are not all means, hereby, shut out of the case?" No. Not in any respect whatever. For we know not what means God will bless, until we have tried as many as we can. But, when all tried, the result still rests with him.

I shall only quote one other passage from the sermon on the Mount.—The rain [of affliction] descended, and the floods [of temptation] came, and the winds [of persecution] blew, and beat upon that house [the house of an elect, redeemed, converted soul]: but it fell not; for it was founded upon a rock. That is, in plain English, it could not fall. It stood, necessarily: or, as the sense is yet more forcibly expressed in St. Luke, when the flood arose, the stream beat vehemently upon that house, and could not shake it, Luke vi. 48.

In other parts of the gospels, we find Christ reasoning and acting on the highest principles of necessity.

I will; be thou clean: said he, to the poor leper. What was the consequence? And immediately his leprosy was cleansed. Matt. viii. 3. The effect necessarily followed. The leper could not but be healed.

And, indeed, what were all the miracles wrought by Jesus, but effects of his irresistible and necessitating power? Let the Christian reader examine and weigh each of those miracles with this remark in his eye; and he will soon become a convert to the doctrine of necessity. Was it possible for those miracles not to have taken effect? *i. e.* was it possible for Christ's miracles not to have been miracles? Was it chance which armed his word with ability to heal and to destroy? If so, farewell to all Christianity at once. I can perceive no shadow of medium between necessity and rank infidelity.

Neither can I make any thing of the prophecies of Christ, unless those prophecies be considered as infallible: *i. e.* as inferring a certain, or necessary, accomplishment, in every part. For if a single predicted circumstance can possibly happen, otherwise than it is foretold, the entire argument for the truth of divine revelation, drawn from the topic of prophecy, moulders into dust.

Nor is the Arminian self-determining hypothesis more compatible with (what is the essential basis of prophecy) the foreknowledge of God. If, for example, it so lay at the free-will of Christ's betrayer and murderers that they might, or might not, have betrayed and crucified him; and if it so lay at the free-will of the Romans as that they might, or might not, have destroyed Jerusalem; it will follow that those events were philosophically contingent: *i. e.* there was no certainty of their taking place, till after they actually had taken place. The self-determining will of Judas might possibly have determined itself another way. So might the self-determining will of every person concerned in the crucifixion of Christ. And so might the self-determining wills of those Romans who besieged and

razed Jerusalem. Consequently (on that principle), divine fore-knowledge could not, with certainty, know any thing of the matter. For that which is not certainly future, is not certainly foreknowable. It may be emptily considered as possible: or (at the very utmost) be uncertainly guessed at as not improbable. But knowledge must be left out of the question, for knowledge will stand on none but (z) certain ground. God does not foreknow, but afterknow (*i. e.* he is never sure of a thing's coming to pass, until it does or has come to pass), if it be in the power of his creatures to determine themselves to a contrary point of the compass.

"Oh, but God foreknows to what particular point of the compass they certainly will determine themselves." Pray leave out the word certainly; and likewise the word will; for they stab poor self-determination to the heart. If you retain these words and their ideas, you give up the very essence of your cause. For what certainly will be is no longer uncertain. And what is not uncertain is necessary, or will surely come to pass, and cannot but do so: else the certainty evaporates into nothing.

When Christ sent his disciples for an ass's colt, which he foreknew and foretold they would find exactly at such a place, he added, that the owner of the animal, on their saying the Lord wants it, would immediately permit them to lead it away. They went to the village, and made up to the very spot; where every thing fell out precisely as their heavenly Master had predicted. Let me ask: Was the man's consent to part with his colt necessary, or was it uncertain? All circumstances considered, had he power to refuse, and might he actually have refused to let go his property? If (which was certainly the case) he could not possibly withhold his assent, Christ's foreknowledge was real; and the man himself what the ingenious Mr. Wesley would term, "a fine piece of clock work;" but what I should term a necessary free-agent. If, on the other hand, he might have denied complying with the disciples' request, and could have dismissed them without success; it will necessarily follow that our Lord shot his arrow at a venture, sent his messengers on a blind errand, and that his own foreknowledge was not foreknowledge, but random conjecture and surmise. "Oh, but our Lord foreknew that the man certainly would do as requested." Then the man could not help doing it. His volition was inevitable. It could not have been infallibly known that he certainly would comply, if that compliance was antecedently uncertain, and if it could so have happened that he might not have complied.

Thus does Scripture-prophecy (not one only, but every individual prophecy in God's book) demonstrate, 1. The absolute foreknowledge of the three divine persons: and, 2. The unalterable necessity, or indefeatable futurition, of things foreknown.

Either God is ignorant of future events, and his understanding, like that of men, receives gradual improvement from time and experience and observation (a supposition blacker, if possible, than atheism itself), or the whole train of incidents, even to the rise and fall of a mote in the air, ever was, now is, ever will be, and ever must be,

(z) There are four links which all the art of men can never separate: and which proceed in the following order: Decree—Foreknowledge—Prophecy—Necessity. Let us take a short Scripture view of those sacred links, and of their connection with each other.

I am God, and there is none else: I am God, and there is none like me: declaring the end from the beginning; and, from ancient times, the things that are not yet done: saying, my counsel shall stand, and I will do all my pleasure.—Yea, I have spoken: I will also bring it to pass. I have purposed: I will also do it. Isa. xlvi. 9. 10, 11. I admit that this sublime passage had immediate reference to the certainty of Babylon's capture by Cyrus. But not to that only. "The things which are not yet done," as well as that in particular, are all known to Jehovah; and many of them explicitly predicted likewise. And on what is God's absolute and all-comprising knowledge grounded? On the "counsel," or decree; and on the "pleasure," or sovereign and almighty determination, of his will.—By the same rule that God had presentinated and did foreknow the exploits of Cyrus, he must have predestinated and foreknown the exploits of every other man. Since, if any one being, or any one fact, incident, or circumstance, be unknown to God; every being, fact, incident, and circumstance, may be equally unknown by him. But, putting matters upon the best footing on which Arminianism can put them: the divine knowledge can neither be eternal, nor infinite, nor infallible, if aught is exempted from it, or if aught can happen otherwise than as it is foreknown.

How great a stress God lays on this attribute of complete and unmistaking prescience; and how he claims the honour of it, as one of those essential and incommunicable perfections by which he stands distinguished from false gods; may be seen, among other places, in Isaiah xli. 21—23, and xlii. 8, 9, and xliii. 9, 12, and xlv. 21.—Well, therefore, might St. James declare in the synod of apostles and elders held at Jerusalem, known unto God are all his works, ab initio, from eternity. Acts xv. 18.

The late excellent Mr. William Cooper, of Boston in New England (I say the late, because I suppose that good man to be, ere this time, gathered into the assembly of saints made perfect) observes, in the second of his Four Discourses on Predestination unto Life, that it was the Scripture doctrine of God's omniscience which proselyted our famous Dr. South to Calvinism. "I have it," says Mr. Cooper, "from very good authority," [appealing in the margin to Dr. Calamy's Continuation, vol. i. p. 136] "that some time after the restoration, Dr. South being in company, at Oxford, with several persons of note, and among the rest with Mr. Thomas Gilbert, who was afterwards one of the ejected ministers; they fell into a conversation about the Arminian points.—On Mr. Gilbert's asserting that the predestination of the Calvinists did necessarily follow upon the prescience of the Arminians; the doctor presently engaged, that if he [Gilbert] could make that out, he [Dr. South] would never be an Arminian as long as he lived. Mr. Gilbert immediately undertook it; and made good his assertion to the satisfaction of those present. And the doctor himself was so convinced as to continue to the last a very zealous asserter of the reformed [*i. e.* of the Calvinistic] doctrine, against its various opposers."

exactly that, and no other, which he (*a*) certainly knew it would be. Foreknowledge, undarkened by the least shadow of ignorance, and superior to all possibility of mistake, is a link which draws invincible necessity after it, whether the Scripture doctrine of predestination be taken into the account or no.

Take a few more evidences of our Lord's necessitarianism.

When they deliver you up [to be tried as religious criminals at the Jewish and Heathen tribunals], take no thought how or what you shall speak. For it shall be given you, in that same hour, what you shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father, who speaketh in you. Matt. x. 19, 20.

Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall to the ground without your Father. But the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Matt. x. 29, 30.

O Father, thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Matt. xi. 25.

It is given unto you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven; but to them it is not given. Matt. xiii. 11.

Without a parable spake he not unto them: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet. Matt. xiii. 34, 35.

Flesh and blood have not revealed unto thee, but my Father who is in heaven. Matt. xvi. 17.

Upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Ver. 18.

The Son of man must go to Jerusalem, and suffer many things, and be killed, and rise again the third day. Ver. 21.

It must needs be (Αναγκη εστι, there is a necessity) that offences come. Matt. xviii. 7. Or, as St. Luke has it, it is impossible (ανενδεκτον, it is not expectable) but that offences will come: Luke xvii. 1. Our Lord not only asserted the thing which we mean by necessity, but even made use of the word itself. And so we find him doing, in three or four other parts of the gospels. Nor is the sense in which he used the term left ambiguous; as appears from comparing the two above passages together. Necessity is that by which things cannot without the utmost folly and absurdity, be expected to come to pass any otherwise than just as they do. But Arminianism pays very slender regard to Christ's authority.

Go thou to the sea, and cast an hook, and take the fish that first cometh up, and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a piece of money. Matt. xvii. 27.

All men cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given. He that can receive it, let him receive it. Matt. xix. 11, 12.

To sit on my right hand and on my left, is not mine to give, except unto them for whom it is prepared of my Father. Matt. xx. 23.

Let no fruit grow on thee henceforward, for ever. And presently the fig-tree withered away. Matt. xxi. 19.

Whosoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken: but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder. Matt. xxi. 44.

Many are called, but few are chosen. Matt. xxii. 14.

Fill you up the measure of your fathers. How (*b*) can you escape the damnation of hell? Matt. xxiii. 32, 33.

I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes: and some of them ye shall kill

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(*a*) Properly speaking, it cannot be affirmed of God, that he either did know, or that he will know; but simply, that he knows. For in Deum non cadunt prius et posterius: there is no past, nor future, to him. All is present, and unsuccessive. The distributions of things, into those that have been, those that are, and those that shall be; is, indeed, suited to the flux condition, and to the limited faculties of beings like ourselves, whose estimates of duration are taken from the periodical journies of an opaque grain round a lucid speck termed the sun: but can have no place in him, of whom it is declared, that a thousand years are with the Lord, as one day, and one day as a thousand years. And even this declaration, magnificent as it is, falls infinitely short of the mark.

When, therefore, I speak of foreknowledge as an attribute essential to Deity; I speak, as St. Paul says, after the manner of men. The simple term, knowledge, would be more intrinsically proper; but then it would not so readily aid the conceptions of ordinary persons. Though, for my own part, I would always rather call the divine knowledge omniscience, than give it any other name.

Let me just hint, that if all things without exception and without succession are eternally present, as an invisible point, to the uncreated view; necessity comes in with a full tide. For that which is always a philosophical now, can be no other, nor otherwise, than it is.—Not to add; that the Deity, whose view of all things is thus unchangeably fixed and perpetual, and intransitory, must have within him-

self a constant and irremediable source of standing uneasiness, if any thing can happen in contrariety to his will, and so as to cross or defeat the wisdom and goodness of his designs. He must certainly interest himself, and very deeply too, in the accomplishment of a will which is all holy, and all right, and all wise. Consequently, could such a will (and his will is precisely such) be frustrated, though but in one single instance: that frustration would necessarily be a calamity on God himself, and inflict essential and never ending pain on the divine mind. Another (I think, irrefragable) proof, that nothing is left to contingency.

(*b*) Monsieur Le Clere (who would have thought it?) has a passage, so full to the sense of this observable text, that one would almost imagine he designed it for the very purpose. "Posito, hominem peccato destitui esse; nec per totam vitam id habere, quod necessario postulatur ad habitum peccati exuendum, inde colligimus, necessitate consequentiæ, hominem in peccato mansurum, nec ullâ ratione vitaturum pœnas peccatori debitas impenitenti." *Ontolog.* cap. 13.

I really wonder at the above writer's expressing himself thus. But I do not wonder to hear the excellent Luther remark as follows. "Nonne clare sequitur, dum Deus opere suo in nobis non adest, omnia esse mala quæ facimus, et nos necessario operari quæ nihil ad salutem valent? Si enim non nos, sed solus Deus operatur salutem in nobis nisi, anr. opus ejus, operamur, salvare, velimus, nolimus." (*De Servo Arbitr.* Sect. 43.) *i. e.* It is clearly

and crucify, and some of them shall ye scourge in your synagogues; and persecute them from city to city; that upon you may come all the righteous bloodshed upon the earth. Matt. xxiii. 34, 35.—Say not, "Where is the justice of this?" Justice belongs to another argument. We are not now treating of justice, but of necessity. Keep to the point.

Two men shall be in the field: one shall be taken, and the other left. Two women shall be grinding at the mill: one shall be taken, and the other left. Matt. xxiv. 40, 41.

This night, before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice. Matt. xxvi. 34. Might Peter not have denied him? and might Christ have proved mistaken?

If it be possible, let this cup pass from me. Matt. xxvi. 35.—But it was not possible.

Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, &c.? but how then shall the Scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be? Ver. 53, 54.

All this was done, that the Scriptures of the prophets might be fulfilled. Ver. 56.

And they crucified him, and parted his garments, casting lots; that it might be fulfilled which was spoken, &c. Matt. xxvii. 35. Nothing but mere necessity, from beginning to end!

My appeals to the other three evangelists shall be extremely concise.

He goeth up into a mountain, and calleth unto him whom he would, and they (*c*) came unto him. Mark iii. 13.

If any man hath ears to hear, let him hear. Mark vii. 16.

With men it is impossible: but not with God. Mark x. 7.

Except the Lord had shortened those days, no flesh should be saved. But, for the elects' sake, whom he hath chosen, he hath shortened the days.—False prophets should seduce, if it were possible, even the elect. Mark xiii. 20, 22.

One of you, that eateth with me, shall betray me. Mark xiv. 18.

All ye shall be offended, because of me this night. Ver. 27.

The hour is come: the Son of man is betrayed, &c. Ver. 41.

But the Scriptures must be fulfilled. Ver. 49.

Many widows were in Israel, but to none of them was Elias sent, save unto Sarepta, a city of Sidon, to a woman that was a widow. And many lepers were in Israel, in the time of Eliseus the prophet: but none of them were cleansed, save Naaman the Syrian. Luke iv. 26, 27.

I must preach the kingdom of God to other cities also: for therefore am I sent. Ver. 43.

Not one of them [*i. e.* not a single (*d*) sparrow] is forgotten before God. Ib. xii. 6.

All things that are written by the prophets, concerning the Son of man, shall be accomplished. For he shall be delivered to the Gentiles, and shall be mocked, &c. Luke xviii. 41.

There shall not an hair of your head perish. Luke xxi. 18.—*i. e.* before the appointed time.

Truly, the Son of man goeth [to crucifixion and death] as it was determined: but woe unto that man by whom he is betrayed. Luke xxii. 22.—What a different view did Christ entertain of predestination and necessity from that which the Arminians profess to have! The Son of God connects two ideas, which those gentlemen are for setting at an infinite distance: namely, the determining decree of his Father, by which moral evil is effectually permitted; and the penal woe, justly due to the persons who, in consequence of that effectual permission, are necessarily evil agents. I shall just touch again upon this particular, when we come to John xix. 11.

This, that is written, must yet be ac-

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evident that, until God is present in us by his own gracious influence, whatever we do is evil: and we necessarily do those things only which have no tendency to salvation. For it is God alone who worketh salvation in us, and not we in ourselves, we can do nothing salutary, will we or nill we, until he himself actually doth so work in us. Well said, honest Martin. To God's blessing upon the bold and faithful assertion of such noble truths as this, we owe our reformation from Popery. And nothing will finally preserve us from being carried captive into the Popish Egypt again, but the revival and prevalency of the same noble truths which at first led us forth from that house of bondage.

(*c*) It is precisely the same in the spiritual conversion of the soul to God. None can come until effectually called: and they who are called effectually cannot but come. For, as the profound and judicious Mr. Charnock unanswerably argues, "If there be a counsel [*i. e.* a display of godlike wisdom and design] in framing the lowest creature, and in the minutest passages of providence; there must needs be an higher wisdom in the government of creatures to a supernatural end, and in framing the soul to be a monument of his glory." [*Charnock on the Attributes*, p. 373].—I have met with many treatises on the divine perfections; but with none which any way equals that of Mr. Charnock. Perspicuity, and depth; metaphysical sublimity, and evangelical simplicity; immense learning, and plain, but irrefragable, reasoning; conspire to render that performance one of the most inestimable productions that ever did honour to the sanctified judgment and genius of a human being. If I thought myself at all adequate to the task, I would endeavour to circulate the outlines of so rich a treasure into more hands, by reducing the substance of it within the compass of an octavo volume. Was such a design properly executed, a more important service could hardly be rendered to the cause of religion, virtue, and knowledge. Many people are frightened at a folio of more than 800 pages, who might have both leisure and inclination to avail themselves of a well-digested compendium.

(*d*) "Oh blindness to the future, wisely giv'n,
That each may fill the circle mark'd by heav'n!
Who sees, with equal eye, as God of all,
A hero perish, or a sparrow fall."

complished in me, and he was reckoned among the transgressors: for the things concerning me have an end [*i. e.* they shall every one come to pass]. Luke xxii. 37.

This is your hour, and the power of darkness. Ver. 53.

Ought not Christ to have suffered these things? Ib. xxiv. 26.—*i. e.* Was there not a necessity for those very sufferings, and were they not inevitable? Certainty itself is not more certain. The entire chain of his humiliation proceeded just as it should, without one circumstance deficient, or one redundant. It all fell out precisely as it ought: and ought to have fallen out precisely as it did. Why? Because God had decreed it, and because man's salvation (which was no less decreed) required it. It was predestinated that Christ should be delivered up to death, even to the death of the cross, and there make his soul an offering for sin. But he could not have been betrayed without a betrayer: nor crucified without crucifiers. The means, therefore, no less than the end, were necessarily included (as they always are) within the circle of divine pre-appointment.

But I go on.

That which is born of the flesh is flesh: and that which is born of the Spirit, is spirit. John iii. 6.—What is this but saying, Man, in his natural state, is necessarily corrupt: man, in a regenerate state, is necessarily biassed to God.

If thou knewest the gift of God, and who it is that saith to thee, give me to drink; thou wouldst have asked of him. John iv. 11. —But she did not know him, and therefore could not so pray to him. Our Lord, however, knew her to be one of his elect, and that the time of her conversion was very near. And, that she might be converted precisely at the very time appointed, he must needs go through the territory of Samaria. John iv. 4.

The hour is coming, and now is, when the dead [elect souls, but hitherto unregenerated, and of course dead to God] shall hear the [converting] voice of the Son of God; and, hearing, they shall live. Ib. v. 25.—All true conversion is wrought by invincible power. The dead necessarily continue so, until they are necessarily raised to life. A dead soul, no more than a dead body, can neither quicken itself, nor hinder God from doing it. Whoever goes to Christ and heaven goes thither by gracious necessity: a necessity so powerful that it even makes him willing to go.

All that the Father giveth me, shall come to me. Chap. vi. 37.—They come necessarily: *i. e.* they cannot but believe with the faith which is of the operation of God.

This is the Father's will, who sent me, that of all which he hath given me I should lose nothing; but should raise it up again at the last day. Ver. 39.—God's will is necessity itself.

No man can come to me, except the Father, who hath sent me, draw him.—It is written in the prophets, and they [*i. e.* my people] shall be all taught of God. Every man, therefore, that hath heard and hath learned [*i. e.* who has been drawn] of the Father cometh unto me. John vi. 44, 45. —Necessity on both sides! until drawn, none can come: and, when drawn, none can stay away.

Therefore said I unto you, that no man can come unto me, except it be given to him of my Father. Ver. 65.

They sought to take him; but no man laid hands on him, because his hour was not yet come. Chap. vii. 30.—Until then, their hands were tied and bound with the invisible, but adamantine chain of necessity. And yet I suppose, because they did not see nor feel the chain, they looked upon themselves as self-determining free-agents!

Whosoever committeth sin is the servant [δουλος, the slave] of sin. Chap. viii. 34. But, according to the Arminian view of things, it is such a slavery as was never heard of before; the slave is at perfect liberty all the while! I cannot believe this. On the contrary, I believe what follows:

If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed. Ver. 36.—Observe, until Christ make us free from the guilt and dominion of sin, we are necessarily in thraldom to both. If he deliver us, we are necessarily emancipated from each.

Why do ye not understand my speech? even because ye cannot hear my word. John viii. 43.—A plain, pertinent, decisive reason.

He that is of God heareth God's words; ye therefore hear them not, because ye are not of God. Ver. 47.—Either not chosen, or, at least, not yet drawn and taught of him.

I must work the works of him that sent me, while it is day. Chap. ix. 4. Christ was under a necessity of doing so. He could not do any other.

Jesus said, For judgment I am come into this world; that they, who see not, might see; and that they, who see, may be made blind. Ver. 39.—Can any thing be more strongly expressed than this?

A stranger will they not follow, but will flee from him; for they know not the voice of strangers. Chap. x. 5.—*i. e.* The converted elect disapprove of false teachers, as necessarily as sheep run away from a strange man they are afraid of.

Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: them also must I bring, and they shall hear my voice. Ver. 16.—I must; and

they shall. What is this but double necessity?

Ye believe not, because ye are not of my sheep, as I said unto you. Ver. 26.—Consequently, faith hangs not upon man's self-determination, but on God's own self-determined election.

I give unto my sheep eternal life, and they shall never perish. John x. 28. *i. e.* Their salvation is necessary, and cannot be hindered.

Lazarus, come forth! Chap. xi. 43.—Was it in Lazarus's power not to awake and rise up?

Though he had done so many miracles before them, yet they believed not on him; that the saying of Esaias the prophet might be fulfilled, which he spake: Lord, who hath believed our report? and to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed? Therefore they could not believe, because Esaias said again, he hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their heart; that they should not see with their eyes, nor understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them. Chap. xi. 37, 40. If an Arminian can extract free-will and self-determination from these flowers, he possesses a very different alembic from any which I am master of.

One of you shall betray me:—he it is to whom I shall give a sop when I have dipped it. And, when he had dipped the sop, he gave it Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon. And after the sop, Satan entered into him. Then said Jesus unto him, That thou doest, do quickly. Chap. xiii. 21, 26, 27.—Awful process!

I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another comforter,—whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him. John xiv. 16, 17.

Because I live, ye shall live also. Ver. 19.—Christ lives and reigns in glory, necessarily: and so must his people.

Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you, and ordained you; that ye should go and bring forth fruit, and that your fruit should remain. Chap. xv. 16.

They have both seen and hated both me and my Father: but this cometh to pass, that the word might be fulfilled which is written in their law; they hated me without a cause. Ver. 24, 25.

Father, the hour is come. Chap. xvii. 1. The predestinated season of my crucifixion and death.

None of them [none of my apostles] is lost, but the Son of Perdition, that the Scripture might be fulfilled. Ver. 12.

The cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it? Chap. xviii. 11.—A cup, all whose ingredients were mixed in the Father's decree, and administered by Providence, though wicked men were the instruments of accomplishing God's counsel. *Qui vult finem, vult etiam media ad finem.*

Pilate said unto them, Take ye him, and judge him according to your law. The Jews therefore said unto him, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death. That the saying of Jesus might be fulfilled, which he spake, signifying by what death he should die. John xviii. 31, 32.—God had decreed, and Christ himself had foretold, that he should die by crucifixion. But had the Jews accepted of Pilate's overture, Christ could not have been crucified, for that was no Jewish punishment: he must have been stoned. To fulfil both decree and prophecy, they were divinely overruled, to let the Romans be his executioners: in consequence of which, he was affixed to the cross.—Necessitation throughout!

Pontius Pilate was a free-will man. He did not believe necessity. He was a sturdy (not self-determiner, for no man can be really and truly that; but a) self-determinationist: *i. e.* he thought himself a self-determining agent. Hence his speech to Christ: Speakest thou not unto me? knowest thou not that I have power to crucify thee, and have power to release thee? To which the Lamb of God replied, Thou couldst have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above: therefore he that delivered me unto thee, hath the greater sin. John xix. 10.—Here, I presume, Mr. Wesley will step in with his favourite universal demonstration, "Not so. — If the power both of the betrayer and of the crucifier was given them, and from above too, *i. e.* from God himself; Judas and Pilate could have no sin at all in acting as they did, so far from having the greater sin by that means." The methodist must excuse me if I believe the testimony of Christ in preference to any cavil that can originate in Moorfields.

Again. I assert, that the Roman soldiers had it not in their power to break the Messiah's legs. For that Scripture was necessarily to be fulfilled which had said, A bone of him shall not be broken. Chap. xix. 33, 36.

On the other hand, I assert that the soldier who penetrated the Messiah's side, did it necessarily. Because another Scripture had said, They shall look upon him whom they pierced; ver. 37. So sure is that axiom, *nihil est in effectu, quod non fuit in causâ.*

It was my intention to have produced, at much greater length than I have done in the close of the foregoing chapter, the suffrages of the Apostles, also, on behalf of this doctrine who offer their evidence from every part of the inspired epistles. But, at present, I waive this advantage: and, for brevity's sake, refer the reader, indiscrimi-

nately, to any portion whatever of those writings which he may first open, or on which he may first cast his eye. Dip where you will, your own reason (abstracted from all consideration of grace) must instantly perceive that the illuminated penmen were as radicated necessitarians as their divine Master.

And now, what can a fair and capable examinant think of the Arminian self-determination doctrine? A doctrine which would impiously graft such a monster as contingency on the religion of Jesus Christ—a religion which, from its Alpha to its Omega, presents us with one grand, unbroken, and indissoluble system of necessity!

Is it any wonder that men who consider the incarnation, miracles, prophecies, perseverance, sufferings, death, and salvation of the Messiah himself, as things of chance, should likewise maintain all other events to be equally fortuitous?

Hence, the alertness and rapidity with which many of our modern Arminians (more consistent, but at the same time more atheistical, than the generality of their predecessors), not content with trampling on God's decrees, are now verging towards a flat denial even of God's absolute and unlimited knowledge. Justly sensible that their whole fairy scheme of chance, uncertainty, and contingency, is quite untenable, on the position of infallible prescience; they make no scruple to rob (if they were able) the Deity himself of a perfection essential to his very being, rather than not stick the feather of free-will in the cap of man.

CHAP. VI.

AN ARGUMENT FOR NECESSITY, DEDUCED FROM THE BALANCE OF HUMAN LIFE AND DEATH.

Was it not for that universal necessitation which results from the effective and permissive will of God, all things would be, in a moment, unhinged, disjointed, and reversed. Endless confusion, wild irregularity, and the most horrible disorder (to which the *materia prima*, chaos, was harmony itself), would prevail throughout the natural and the moral world.

The property of attraction, by which the earth, and every other mass of matter, cohere respectively into one body, and become capable of the most rapid motion, without dissipation of their constituent particles, is one happy effect of physical necessity. Analogous to which, but of incomparably greater importance, is that *ineluctabilis ordo rerum*, or unalterable contexture of antecedents and consequents, wisely pre-established in the uncreated mind: through the concealed energy of whose unerring appointment every finite intelligent being both is and does, precisely, neither more nor less, than the said unerring wisdom of the Creator designed, or resolved to permit. And this is what I should choose to call moral necessity.

Supposing that calculation to be just which estimates the adult inhabitants of our own globe at about one hundred and fifty millions; or let their real amount be what it may, who can possibly conceive the boundless distractions and desolations which must everywhere ensue were so great a number of fallen beings (like ramping horses turned loose into a field) endued with a liberty of self-determination, and left at large to the exercise of it! For we must take the exercise, and the outward operations consequent upon it, into the account: else mere self-determination would answer no other end than that of tantalizing and tormenting its respective possessors.—It is well for us that, notwithstanding our wild and licentious arrogations of sovereignty, the same Almighty Parent who, without asking our consent, whirls our planet and our persons round the sun, does, with equal certainty, and with as little ceremony, roll us and the inhabitants of all the worlds he has created on the central axis of his own decree.

We have been gravely told that this representation of things is heathenism. You should rather call it Bibleism. For that fate, or necessity, which the ancient vulgar thought proper to worship as a goddess, was, in their idea, the daughter of a blind, fickle princess, called Fortune, or Chance: who was, herself, the fabled daughter of a no less fickle old gentleman, named Oceanus. To which blind lady and her unsteady father the scheme of Christian necessity is not in the least related, either by consanguinity or alliance.

I must, however, acquit the wiser of the heathens from the absurdity of looking upon chance, or fortune, as a reality. Sensible men knew better, and laughed at the unphilosophical chimera. Nor is the antiquity of the word itself extremely high. It is acknowledged, on all hands, that Τυχη (whence the Romans took their *fortuna*) was a term invented long after the times of Hesiod and of Homer (in whose writings it no where occurs); and was spawned by the atheistical imagination of subsequent poets, from whom (I think) Ancus Martius adopted it, and, by building a temple to its honour, introduced it, as a deity, among the Romans.

It ill becomes the Arminians to talk of heathenism. Let them draw a solid line, if they can, between fortune and contingency. Let them shew us how the result of self-determination differs from chance. Let them reconcile their imaginary *αυτεξουσιον* with

the necessary dependency of created beings, and with the never-ceasing agency of an universally (*e*) particular Providence. When they have wrought these and a few other similar impossibilities, I will then absolve their scheme from heathenism. I will even acquit it of atheism.

Birth and death are the æra and the period whose interval constitutes the thread of man's visible existence on earth. Let us examine whether those important extremes be, or be not, unalterably fixed by the necessitating providence of God. If it appear that they are, we may the more easily believe that all the intercurrent events are under the control and direction of the same infallible hand.

I have heard it affirmed that Descartes, the French philosopher, was so consistent a free-willer as to have believed that death itself is absolutely subject to human self-determination: that he consequently imagined he had it in his power to protract his own age to any extent he pleased, or to cut it precisely as short as he himself chose: and would very liberally call any of his departed friends, who died with reluctance, fools, for consenting to a change they did not wish to experience. The ancient Romans, notwithstanding the adulterations with which the doctrine of free-will (and its natural attendant, scepticism) debased and corrupted their theology, were yet, in general, so decent as to acknowledge that death lay at the disposal of a Deity, less capricious than fortune, and more powerful than any created will. Hence, their occasional reciprocation of *mors* and *fatum*. To intimate that men cannot die, until God pronounces their doom; and that when he *fatus est*, or issues the word of summons, the earthly vehicle can detain its guest no longer.———Poor Descartes, with all his dreams of free-will, found himself obliged to die at the age of fifty-four!

I take the *ratio formalis*, or precise nature of death, to be neither more nor less than the effect of separation. The separation of Spirit from matter is the immediate cause, and seems to exhaust the idea of animal death. Now only the same power which at first joined, can afterwards sever, the two principles. Let the permitted means of dissolving the union be what they may, the dissolution itself is an act of God.

Whoever considers the relative alterations, the domestic revolutions, the circulation of property, and a multitude of other negative and positive consequences which, either directly or remotely, follow on the decease of the meanest human individual, must soon perceive that was not the sceptre of death swayed by the determinations of Infinite Wisdom, such partial inconveniences must ensue as would, in their complicated amount, materially affect, if not entirely reverse, the whole system of sublunary events. Some people (for instance) would live too long. Others would die too soon. Some would leave their assigned work unfinished: whence the Deity would be disappointed of his views, and surprised with a chasm in his administration of government. Others would survive to do more than their allotted business. Whence the Divine plan would be disconcerted; the well-compacted web become loose, broken, and entangled; and the administration of providence degenerate into a jumble of confusion, perplexity, and absolute anarchy. In one word: God could not say to any of his creatures, what he really does say to all and each of them, Hitherto shalt thou come, and no farther.

Our entrance into life is determined and adjusted by the same disposing hand which fixes and regulates our departure. Necessity brings us into the world: and necessity carries us out of it. What man upon earth could help his being born at the very time and place he was? or could hinder himself from being the son of such and such parents? or alter a thousand concurring circumstances, by which his subsequent state, and his very cast of mind were effectually and necessarily stamped? How absurd, then, must it be to imagine that the line, though spun at first by the hand of necessity, is afterwards conducted, and at last cut off by the no-fingers of contingency! For it is impossible to conceive any thing so absolutely contingent and uncertain as the operations and the exit of a self-determining actor. Especially if we suppose him (and the Arminian scheme does so suppose him) to live in a world where all about him is as precarious as himself; and where the great sheet of events, instead of being let down by the four corners from heaven, is only a fortuitous complication of flimsy threads, much of which is still liable to unravelment, and the whole of which might never have been woven at all.

Might Charles the First have been the son of Cromwell's parents? And might Cromwell have been born legal heir to the English crown? Was it possible for Sir Robert Walpole to have been prime minister to queen Elizabeth; and Sir Francis Wal-

(*e*) Mr. Pope asks:

"When the loose mountain trembles from on high,
Shall gravitation cease, 'cause you go by?"

I answer, Yes. Either gravitation shall cease, while I go by, or I shall, in some way or other, be secured from suffering by its effects; unless the will of God, to which all second causes are absolutely subordinate, commission the "loose mountain" to do me an injury. I am of the great Mr. Charnock's mind, that "There is understanding in every motion: and an eye in the very wheel that goes over us and crushes us." (*Charnock on the Attributes*, p. 419.)

singham to have been secretary of state to king George the Second? Yet all these impossibilities, and millions of others, might have happened, upon the Arminian scheme of chance. A scheme which, if admitted, turns every thing upside down, and knocks every thing out of joint:

"Diruit, ædificat, mutat quadrata rotundis."

Why was friar Bacon, and not Sir Isaac Newton, born in the thirteenth century? Why were not the living ornaments of the present generation born an hundred, or five hundred, years back? or reserved to ages as remotely future? Arminianism may tell me, that "All this is casual: and that it was a chance, not only when and where the present race of men might be born, and what departments they should fill; how they should act, and how and when they shall die; but whether they should so much as exist at first." I, on the contrary, discern such incontestible traces of wisdom, propriety, and design, in the distribution of particular men through successive periods of time, and in the whole connection of event with event; that, for my own part, I necessarily conclude so regular a chain could not possibly be hammered in the Cyclopæan den of contingency: but that every depending link is fitted and fixed into each other by the Supreme Intelligence himself; the disposals of whose providence, like the covenant of his grace, are ordered in all things, and sure.(*f*)

As lightly as some people think of the Bible, that book is the fountain of true metaphysics. A book no less weighty with the treasures of philosophic wisdom than bright with the healing beams of evangelical consolation. To this blessed oracle I now refer the question; whether human birth and death be not the effects of divine necessitation?

I shall not be very prolix. Two or three plain and pertinent testimonies will answer the same purpose as two or three hundred. Let us begin with the article of birth.

Rachel said unto Jacob, give me children, or else I die. And Jacob's anger was kindled against Rachel: and he said, am I in God's stead? Gen. xxx. 1, 2.

Joseph said unto his father, they are my sons, whom God hath given me in this place. Gen. xlviii. 9.

Thy hands have made me, and fashioned me together round about. Job x. 8.

Thou art he who took me out of the womb. Psalm xxii. 9.

Who holdeth [better rendered, who putteth] our soul in life, and suffereth not our feet to be moved. Psalm lxvi. 9. *i. e.* God gave us life at first, and keeps us alive, until it is his pleasure to untie the knot that binds us to the body.

Lo, children are an heritage of the Lord. Psalm cxxvii. 3. Or, as the liturgy translation reads, Lo, children and the fruit of the womb are an heritage and gift that cometh of the Lord.

And the case speaks for itself. The birth of every single infant is productive of no less than everlasting consequences. Every infant (even supposing him to die such) is an immortal being. But supposing he lives to bear an active part in life, society is very materially concerned in his behaviour. Each adult individual makes important movements in the grand circular scale of events. The alteration of a single birth, or of a single death, from the first period of time until now, would have occasioned such a difference, that neither the visible nor the invisible world would have been as it is: *i. e.* something would have been wrong, either in defect, or in redundancy. None of us can tell what may hang on the nativity of the meanest infant that is born of woman. But the Creator knows; for he is acquainted with his own decrees, and orders matters accordingly.

Thou hast covered me [*i. e.* clothed my soul with a material body] in my mother's womb: in thy book [of decree and providence] all my members were written. Psalm cxxxix. 13, 16.

To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven: [*i. e.* God has fixed an exact point of time for the accomplishment of all his decrees; among which fixed and exact points of time are] a time to be born, and a time to die. Eccles. iii. 1, 2.

Who (*g*) formed the spirit of man within him? Zech. xii. 1.

God, who separated me from my mother's womb. Gal. i. 15.

Does it not appear, even from these few

(*f*) 2 Sam. xxiii. 5.—Those of us who go to Church, profess ourselves to be "tied and bound with the chain of our sins." Why, then, should we deem ourselves too grand to be tied and bound, with the good, though not always perceivable, chain of providential necessity?

(*g*) This text, and many other of similar import, seem to intimate, that the body is first made, and that the soul, commanded into existence for the purpose, is united to the body thus previously provided for its reception. The direct source, however, of the soul, is an enquiry attended with great metaphysical difficulties; whether we suppose it to be of God's immediate creation, or to originate from parental transmission. Much may be said for each hypothesis: and several weighty objections lie against both. It becomes us to confess that Scripture has not clearly decided the point: and of course, that we know very little of the matter. In talibus quæstionibus, as Witsius says on another mysterious occasion, magis mihi placet humilitatis ingenui modestia, quàm inconsiderata determinandi pervicacia. (*Disert de Michaele.*) This only we are sure of, that God himself, and not chance, is (either mediately or immediately, according to the good pleasure of his own will) the formator and the governor of every spirit, and of every body, in the universe.

passages, that the doctrine of fortuitous nativity is as false and ridiculous as that of equivocal generation?

And the doctrine of fortuitous death is like unto it. Witness the following evidence.

The time drew near that Israel must die. Gen. xlvii. 29. Observe, I. A time for Jacob's death was prefixed of God; and it is therefore called, the time; meaning, that precise time, and no other. II. The time drew near; and the holy man was like a racer in view of the goal, or like a mariner in sight of the haven where he would be. III. He must die: which expression does not denote any unwillingness in Jacob; but the certainty of his departure when the destined moment should arrive.

Can any incident be more seemingly fortuitous than what we commonly call homicide, or one man's undesignedly killing another? And yet this, when it comes to pass, is according to the secret will of God: who is positively affirmed to deliver the slain party into the hand of the slayer. Exod. xxi. 13.

He [*i. e.* God] is thy life, and the length of thy days. Deut. xxx. 20. The author of that and the measurer of these.

The Lord killeth, and maketh alive: he bringeth down to the grave, and bringeth up. 1 Sam. ii. 6. Which exactly comports with what God says of himself: I, even I, am he; and there is no God with me: I kill, and I make alive; I wound, and I heal; neither is there any that can deliver out of my hand. Deut. xxxii. 39.

Is there not an appointed time to man upon earth? Are not his days also like the days of an hireling? Job vii. 1. The stipulated hours of an hireling's labour are ascertained beforehand; they consist of so many, and no more.

Thou hast granted me life and favour; and thy visitation hath preserved my spirit. Job x. 12.

In whose hand is the soul of every living thing, and the breath of all mankind. Job xii. 10.

Man's days are determined; the number of his months is with thee; thou hast appointed his bounds, which he cannot pass. All the days of my appointed time will I wait, until my change come. Job xiv. 5, 14.

Thou prevailest for ever against him [*i. e.* man cannot possibly extend his own life a single moment beyond thy decree]: thou changest his countenance [by death], and sendest him away. Job xiv. 20.—Sendest his body to the grave, and his soul to another world.

Lord, make me to know my end, and the measure of my days, what it is. Psalm xxxix. 4. But, unless God had fixed David's end, and had determined the measure of his days, the Psalmist would here have asked a question to which God himself could only have answered, "O son of Jesse, I know no more of the matter than you do. You have started a problem which I am unable to resolve; for there is no measuring in the case."

Thou turnest man to destruction. Psalm xc. 3.

There is no man that hath power over the spirit, to retain the spirit [*i. e.* to retain the soul in the body beyond the time divinely prefixed]; neither hath he power in the day of death. Eccles. viii. 8.

Behold, I will add unto thy days fifteen years. Isaiah xxxviii. 5. Hezekiah thought that his lease was just expiring, and that his soul must almost immediately turn out of its earthly cottage. No, says God, you have fifteen years to be added to those of your days which are elapsed; and the said future years are of my adding, no less than were the years that are past. "Oh, but God said to Hezekiah, I have heard thy prayer, and have seen thy tears." True. And what does this prove? Not that God's decree is a (*h*) weathercock, shifting, and changing, and veering about, just as the breath of man's free-will happens to blow; but that the Scriptural axiom is right, which says, Lord, thou hast heard the desire of the afflicted; thou preparest their heart to pray for such things as thou hast decreed to give, and thine ear hearkeneth thereto. I must farther observe; that, if there be any meaning in words, Hezekiah could not die until the remaining fifteen years had run out; and could not but die when they were.

Which of you, by taking thought, can add one cubit προς ηλικιαν αυτου to his term of life? Let us hear the reflections of that learned, pious, and truly respectable Arminian, Dr. Hammond, on this text. After observing that ηλικια sometimes denotes "the quantity or stature of the body," he adds: "so also doth it ordinarily signify age (and so doth אמה, which the Syriac here uses); and may possibly do so here: 1. Because the dehortation which this (question of Christ's) is brought to enforce was particularly that concerning solicitude for the life: and to that, this will be very proper, of our not being able to add, by all our solicitude, the least proportion to our age, and to enlarge the period of life πηχυν ενα

(*h*) "Prayer moves God, and overcomes him, not by causing any change in the divine will: for God is immutable; and what good he does in time for his people, he purposed before any time was. But prayer is said to overcome him, because he then gives what, from eternity, he purposed to give, upon their pra in to him. For when God decreed what he would do for his saints, he also purposed that they should pray for the same. Ezek. xxxvi. 37.—Prayer's midwifery should be used to deliver the mercies which God purposeth and promiseth. God's purpose to give doth not discharge us from our duty to ask." Gurnall's Christian Armour, vol. iv. p. 17

one cubit, *i. e.* one smallest measure or proportion beyond what God hath sent us. 2. It will be observable that one cubit being here set down as a very small measure, would yet be a very great proportion, being applied to the stature of the body. Nay, such as are come to their full growth (as the far greater part of Christ's auditors were) could not thus hope to add one thousandth part of a cubit to their stature. On the other side, a cubit will seem but a small part to the many years of a long life. And he that is of the fullest growth may yet hope to enlarge the period of life, and to that generally men's solicitude is applied; by diet, physic, &c., to acquire long life, not to increase their stature. 3. The word πηχυς, cubit, is ordinarily a measure of longitude of any space, and particularly of a race to which man's life is compared; Job ix. 25. 2 Tim. iv. 7.

This truth may be farther argued from another passage, cited also in a preceding chapter, viz., Matt. x. 29, 30. For, if not a sparrow can die without God's express commission, much less can a man. And if the very hairs of our heads are numbered, much more our days.

God giveth unto all life and breath and all things; and hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on the face of the earth, and hath determined the times, before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation. For in him we live and are moved, and have our being; Acts xvii. 25, 26, 28. Observe: 1. God is the giver of animal life as well as every thing else.—2. He has multiplied us all from one stock, viz. Adam.—3. The times, *i. e.* the proper seasons of our birth and death, and of all that we shall do or suffer between the starting-post and the goal, are determined, or marked out with certainty and exactness by himself.—4. This determination or adjustment of our times is not a modern act of God, arising *è re natâ*, or from any present emergency of circumstances and situation of affairs; but a determination inconceivably ancient. The time was fore appointed, even from everlasting: for no new determination can take place in God without a change, *i. e.* without the destruction of his essence. *Quævis mutatio mors est.*—5. The very places which people inhabit are here positively averred to be determined and fore-appointed of God. And it is very right it should be so. Else some places might be overstocked with inhabitants, and others totally deserted: which would necessarily draw after it the most pernicious consequences: as stagnation of agriculture, famine, pestilence, and general ruin to the human species. Whereas by virtue of God's having fore-appointed and determined the bounds of our habitations, we are properly sifted over the face of the earth, so as to answer all the social and higher purposes of providential wisdom.—6. If Deity has condescended to determine in what particular places our bodies shall dwell, why should it appear strange that he should also determine how long our souls shall dwell in their bodies? Adverbs of time are no less important than adverbs of place. Nor, indeed, could omnipotence itself determine the *ibi* without likewise determining the *quando* and the *diu*.—Especially, when we consider, 7. That in him we every moment live, and are moved, and do exist.

Moreover, if Christ's own testimony will have any weight with self-determinationists, the following text, exclusively of all others, will set the point above dispute: where our Lord roundly affirms that he himself keeps the keys of hell and of death, Rev. i. 18. Which declaration holds true, in every sense the words are capable of. He openeth, and no man can shut: and shutteth, and no man can open, Rev. iii. 7.

Nor is Divine Providence the distributor of death to man alone. The very beasts themselves, which are, by many, supposed to perish utterly, are immortal until God cut their thread. Thou hidest thy face: they are troubled: thou takest away their breath: they die and return to their dust; Psa. civ. 29. It should be remembered, that this is more directly spoken concerning those small and great beasts, and creeping things innumerable, which inhabit the sea. So that fishes themselves, from a whale to a periwinkle, have the Creator himself for the disposer of their lives and the determiner of their deaths!

From the evidence alleged, concise and superficial as my allegations have been, we may fairly (and I think unanswerably) conclude that contingency has nothing to do with births or burials; and consequently, that chance never yet added, nor ever will add, (*i*) "a single unit to the bills of mortality."

If therefore, the initial point whence we start, and the ultimate goal which terminates our race, be thus divinely and unchangeably fixed; is it reasonable to suppose that chance, or any free-will but the free-will of Deity alone, may fabricate the immediate links of a chain whose two extremes are held immovably fast in the hands of God himself?—Impossible.

(*i*) For this phrase, a single unit to the bill of mortality, see Lord Chesterfield's Letters, Letter 336.

CHAP. VII.

THE SUPPOSED GLOOMINESS OF NECESSITY CONSIDERED.—THE ORIGIN OF NECESSITY. —CONCISE VIEW OF MANICHÆISM.—THE NATURE OF EVIL ENQUIRED INTO.—CURIOUS CONVERSATION-PIECES OF THREE MODERN PHILOSOPHISERS.—SEVERAL ASSEMBLIES OF DIVINES VINDICATED. — ARMINIANS THEMSELVES ULTIMATELY FORCED TO MAKE NECESSITY THEIR REFUGE. — CONCLUSION OF THE PRESENT ESSAY.

1. GREAT declamatory pains have been taken to set the system of necessity in a very "gloomy" point of view: and to mis represent it as made up of nothing but clouds, and shades, and thick darkness. The same has been said of religion at large, and of virtue itself. But are virtue and religion therefore deformed and black because their beauty and lustre do not strike a libertine eye? No more is the scheme of necessity tinged with real gloom on account of a proud or prejudiced free-willer's being pleased to assert it.

"I have sometimes beheld," says an elegant writer, "a ship of war, several leagues off at sea. It seemed to me a dim, cloudy something, hovering on the skirts of the horizon; contemptibly mean, and not worthy of a moment's regard.—But as the floating citadel approached the mast arose. The sails swelled out. Its stately form, and curious properties struck the sight. It was no longer a shapeless mass, or a blot in the prospect: but the master-piece of human contrivance, and noblest spectacle in the world of art." Hervey's Theron and Aspasio, Dialogue 5.

Arminianism, if you please, is a region of darkness: but necessity, a land of (*k*) light. For I should be glad to be informed wherein consists the cheerfulness of believing that the greater part, if not the whole, of sublunary events, even those of endless concern not excepted, are delivered over to the management of an imaginary goddess, called Chance; the mere creature of a poetic fiction, and the most unmeaning sound that was ever admitted into language? "Oh, but we deny chance, and maintain free-will." Be so good as to shew me how you can maintain self-determining free-will, without setting up the blind daughter of Oceanus upon her pedestal? If the will of man be free, with a liberty *ad utrum libet*, and if his actions be the offspring of his will, such of his actions which are not yet wrought, must be both radically and eventually uncertain: as depending for their futurition on an uncertain cause, viz., on the uncertain volitions of an agent who may or may not incline himself to the performance of those actions. It is therefore a chance whether they shall ever be performed or no. For chance and uncertainty are only two words for the same idea. So that every assertor of self determination is, in fact, whether he mean it or no, a worshipper of the heathen lady, named Fortune, and an ideal deposer of Providence from its throne.

Could Providence be really dethroned with as much ease as its influence is denied, dreadful indeed would be the state of things. For my part, I think that all the cheerfulness lies on the side of necessity. And for this plain reason: because that infinite wisdom which made or permitted us to be what we are, and to be circumstanced as we are, knows better what to do with us than we can possibly know how to dispose of our own selves.

It is my happiness to be convinced that my times are in God's hand; Psa. xxxi. 15. and that his kingdom ruleth over all, Psa. ciii. 19. If any others can extract comfort from considering themselves as vessels sail-

(*k*) The pretended gloominess of necessity is urged, with most appearance (and it is but appearance) of plausibility, against that branch of Scripture-metaphysics which relates to the decree of reprobation. Let me for a moment weigh the pretended horror of this principle; a principle which occurs so positively and repeatedly, again and again, in almost every page of the Bible, that the existence of God does not admit of more strong and explicit proof from the inspired volume, than does the awful reality of non-election. What I here mean to observe on this subject, I shall give in the words of part of a letter which I lately sent to a very eminent Anti-Calvinian philosopher, Dr. Priestley. "Why are Calvin's doctrines represented as gloomy? Is it gloomy to believe that the far greater part of the human race are made for endless happiness? There can, I think, be no reasonable doubt entertained, concerning the salvation of very young persons. If (as some, who have versed themselves in this kind of speculation, affirm) about one-half of mankind die in infancy—And if, as indubitable observation proves, a very considerable number of the remaining half die in early childhood;—And if, as there is the strongest reason to think, many millions of those who live to mature years, in every successive generation, have their names in the Book of life: then what a very small portion, comparatively, of the human species, falls under the decree of preterition and non-redemption!

"This view of things I am persuaded, will, to an eye so philosophic as your's, at least open a very cheerful vista through the 'gloom'; if not entirely turn the imaginary darkness into sunshine. For with respect to the few reprobate, we may, and we ought to, resign the disposal of them implicitly to the will of that only king who can do no wrong: instead of summoning the Almighty to take his trial at the tribunal of our speculations, and of setting up ourselves as judges of Deity."

I might have added that the purpose of God according to election is not restrained to men either of any particular country, or age of time, or religious denomination. Undoubtedly, there are elect Jews, elect Mahometans, and elect Pagans. In a word, countless millions of persons whom Christ hath redeemed unto God, by his blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation. Rev. v. 9.

Only take a fair and dispassionate survey of the matter as it is; and the Arminian outcries will be found a vox, et præterea nihil. For who can count the dust of Jacob, or the number of the fourth part of God's elect Israel?

ing over a dangerous ocean, without pilot, without chart, without insurance, and without convoy, to a coast unknown; much good may their comfort do them. I desire none of it.

Gloomy as the doctrine of Christian necessity is ignorantly affirmed to be, it is the only principle upon which any person can truly and consistently adopt that animating apophthegm so perpetually in the mouth of St. Chrysostom, Blessed be God for every thing that comes to pass!——Whereas the genuine language of an afflicted free-willer is, Alas! alas! what an unlucky accident was this! The very exclamation which might be expected to issue from the lips of a melancholy, desponding atheist.

If unreserved resignation to the wise and fatherly disposals of God; if contentedness and complacency within our several spheres and stations; if thankfulness for the blessings we enjoy; if the exercise of candour, lenity, and compassion toward our mistaken, our offending, and our afflicted fellow-creatures; if humility, and a deep sense of our absolute dependence on the arm of omnipotent love for preservation or deliverance from evil, and for the continuance or increase of good; if the pleasing conviction that nothing can hurt us except God's own hand first sign the license; if a just confidence that he will never sign any such license but to answer the best and wisest ends; if an unshaken persuasion that whatever he does is, and must be, absolutely and directly right, and that whatever he permits to be done is, and must be, relatively, conducively, and finally right:—If these lovely virtues, and felicitating views (virtues and views which no necessitarian can consistently be without) have any thing gloomy in them; it will follow that the sun is made up of darkness, and that beauty itself is a complication of deformity and horror.

When Mr. Pope penned the following verses (in which the philosophic inferences from the doctrine of necessity are summed up with equal truth and elegance), I cannot bring myself to suppose that the poet was in a cheerless, melancholy frame of mind. So far from being able to observe the remotest vestige of gloom, I see nothing in them but the lustre of unmingled light, and the triumph of exulting joy.

> "Submit.—In this or any other sphere,
> Secure to be as blest as thou canst bear.
> Safe in the hand of one disposing power,
> Or in the natal or the mortal hour.
> All nature is but art, unknown to thee;
> All chance, direction which thou canst not see
> All (*i*) discord, harmony not understood;
> All partial evil, universal good.
> And, spite of pride, in erring reason's spite,
> One truth is clear; whatever is, is right."

If, together with the philosophic, we view necessity through the evangelic medium; nothing will be wanting to render the survey complete. Christian necessitarians, having sung with Mr. Pope, can also sing as follows in those cheerful lines of the late excellent Mr. Hart:

> "This God is the God we adore;
> Our faithful, unchangeable friend:
> Whose love is as great as his power,
> And knows neither measure nor end.
>
> 'Tis Jesus, the first and the last,
> Whose Spirit shall guide us safe home:
> We'll praise him for all that is past:
> And trust him for all that's to come."

And so much for the pretended gloominess of necessity. Or in other words for the Æthiopic complexion of that dismal, melancholy doctrine which most dolefully asserts that all things, without excepting the worst, work together for the glory of God, and for good to them that love him. Rom. viii. 28. "Dri-plorable news indeed," as an old lady once expressed it.

2. To shew his skill in history and genealogy, Mr. Wesley traces the origin of necessity. And thus he makes out the pedigree.

"That man is not self-determined; that the principle of action is lodged not in himself, but in some other being; has been an exceeding ancient opinion: yea, near as old as the foundation of the world. It seems, none that admit of revelation can have any doubt of this. For it was unquestionably the sentiment of Adam, soon after he had eaten of the forbidden fruit. He imputes what he had done, not to himself, but another: the woman whom thou gavest me. It was also the sentiment of Eve: the Serpent he beguiled me, and I did eat. It is true I did eat, but the cause of my eating, the spring of my action, was in another."

Waiving all notice of the grammatical and the logical inaccuracies which adorn this paragraph, I shall with its author's leave carry the antiquity of necessity somewhat higher up.

God himself is a necessary being. He existed, and could not but exist, without beginning. He exists, and cannot but exist, without end. Necessity, therefore, is co-eval with, and inseparable from, Deity; *i. e.* it is truly and properly eternal: as all his other attributes are. I would term necessity, in this view of it, *necessitas prima*.

With regard to Adam, he was sufficiently instructed in the doctrine of necessity during the state of innocence. He could not but know that he existed necessarily, and that every circumstance of his situation was necessarily determined by a superior hand.

For example. When he was well awoke from that deep sleep into which he had been necessarily cast, without his own consent first had and obtained: was not that single incident (especially when he adverted to the important effect of it) more than enough to im-

(*i*) All discord, *i. e.* all the seemingly irregular and contrarient dispensations of Divine Providence.

press a reflecting mind with the idea of necessity? The very missing of his rib which he had involuntarily lost on the occasion, must have made him a necessitarian, supposing him to have been, what I make no doubt he was, a man of common understanding.

Eve, likewise, could not but know that she was necessarily made, necessarily placed in Eden, and necessarily consigned to Adam.

I conclude, therefore, that the first man and his wife were necessitarians, antecedently to their fall. And if they afterwards endeavoured to account for their fall upon the principle of necessity, I must declare that, for my own part, I see neither the impiety of the attempt, nor the lameness of the reasoning.

"Oh, but this makes God the author of their falling." By no means in the world. It is the Arminian hypothesis which represents Deity as either unseasonably absent from the place, or as looking unconcernedly on, while his feeble creature Eve was chopping unequal logic with a mightier and more artful being than herself. It is the free-will scheme which lays original sin at the divine door, by supposing that God stood neuter throughout the whole affair; though he knew (if Arminianism will allow him to have foreknown) that no less than the ruin of all mankind would be the consequence of that neutrality.

When we say that the fall of man came necessarily to pass, it is only saying that Satan is neither too strong nor too wise for God; and that Satan would not have proved too strong or too wise for Eve herself, had it been the will of God *posuisse obicem, i. e.* to have hindered Satan from succeeding. Now, if it was not the divine will to bar the enemy from succeeding, and if it was really foreknown that without such bar the enemy would succeed; and if God could, without injustice, actually forbear at the very critical time, to put an effectual bar in the way, though he certainly had power to do it: the inference is invincible, that Adam and Eve fell necessarily.

Nor is God's decree to permit the fall liable to any one cavil which will not hold, with equal, or with stronger force, against the actual permission itself. "But why did God decree to permit the fall, and permit the fall according to his decree?" For reasons, the whole of which he has not thought proper to communicate. He giveth not account, to any, of his matters. Job xxxiii. 13. And this is too good an answer to so daring a question.

Let me give our free-willers a momentous hint, viz., That the entrance of original sin was one of those essential links on which the Messiah's incarnation and crucifixion were suspended. So that if Adam's fall was not necessary (*i. e.* if it was a precarious or contingent event), it would follow, that the whole Christian religion, from first to last, is a piece of mere chance-medley: and consequently cannot be of divine institution. Arminians would do well to consider whither their principles lead them.

3. The true necessity is, *toto cælo*, remote and different from Manichæism: as indisputably appears on comparing the two systems together. Not to observe that St. Austin (who in his earlier part of life had been (*m*) entangled in the Manichæan net) was ultimately confirmed in his resolution to renounce those heresies, by reading the epistles of that illustrious necessitarian St. Paul.

Manes, from whom Manichæism is (though very inaccurately) denominated, was by birth a Persian, and flourished toward the close of the third century. His original name was (*n*) Cubric, which he afterwards dropped for that of Manes.

One Scythian, an Arabian merchant, who had made himself master of the oriental philosophy and theology, committed the substance of his collections to writing: and bequeathed his books, which were four in number, to a proselyte of his named Budda-Terebinthus. This Budda, settling afterwards in Persia, resided in the house of a widow, who had bought Manes for a slave.

(*m*) "The Manichæn scheme," says Mr. Wesley, "was formerly espoused by men of renown: St. Augustin in particular." But I will do St. Austin that justice, which this gentleman withholds, by adding, that God converted him from Manichæism while yet a young man; and several years before he was so much as baptized into the Christian Church. The Methodist goes on: "Manichæism is now so utterly out of date, that it would be lost labour to confute it." Herein he is, to express it as tenderly as I can, utterly mistaken in his reckoning. I shall clearly prove a page or two hence, that he himself is, in one respect as much, and in another respect, abundantly more, a Manichœ, than either Scythian, Budda, or Manes.

Mr. Wesley, by a very singular mixture of Manichæism, Pelagianism, Popery, Socinianism, Ranterism, and Atheism, has, I believe, now got to his ultimatum. Probably he would go still farther if he could. But I really think he has no farther to go.—Happy settlement, after forty years infinity of shiftings and flittings hither and thither!

"Thus weathercocks, which for a while,
Have turned about with every blast:
Grown old, and, destitute of oil,
Rust to a point, and fix at last!"

(*n*) "Mutato nomine, deinde Manis, vel Manetis, nomen adoptavit; Persicum aliis, quod ὁμιλητην dicat, disceptatorem, agonistam: aliis Chaldaicum מאני, Græcè μανης, ex מאן, quod Babyloniorum linguâ, significat, vas, organum; quòd se σκευος εκλεκτον dicerat, quo Deus, ad doctrinæ divinæ propagationem, uti vellet. Hinc videtur factum, ut falsæ doctrinæ auctorem talmudistæ vocarint מוראי; quod Elias Levita à מאני Hæretico derivat. Et reverà piùs nomen Cubricus denotasse videtur כפר דיק, vas vanum, contemnendum, fragile. Dein discipuli, ob invidiam Græcæ vocis, quâ Μανης, designabat τον μαινοντα τας φρενας insanentem, vel surentem; literâ duplicatâ, et compositâ voce, quasi esset μαννα χεων, manna fundens, fecere Manichæum.

Spanhemii Hist. Christian. Sæc. 3. *Operum Tom I. col.* 751, 752.

On Budda's decease, the books of Scythian fell into Manes's hands: whence he drew the generality of those tenets which pass under his name, and moulded them into a system. In this odd manner did Manes come to distinguish himself as an Hæresiarch.

The amount of his system was this:

"There are two co-equal, co-eternal, and independent Gods, or infinite principles, viz. God, properly so called, *alias* light: and matter, *alias* darkness.

"The first is the author of all good: the second of all evil.

"The light God inspired the penmen of the New Testament; the dark God inspired the writers of the Old Testament. Consequently the Old Testament is worth nothing.

"These Gods are real substance; the one a good substance, the other a bad.

"In the work of creation, the good being wrought part, and the bad being wrought part.

"The good being is the maker of human souls.

"The good being united himself to the elements of air and fire; the bad being took possession of earth and water.

"The evil God made the world, and the human body, and sin, and magistracy.

"There is a Trinity; but it consists of Scythian, Budda, and Manes. Scythian's seat is in the sun; Budda's in the moon; and Manes's in the air.

"The sun in the firmament is Christ.

"Christ did not assume a real, but only a seeming body.

"The elect are those in whom the evil principle is quite done away.

"Matrimony does but unite us more closely to the evil God.

"Water-baptism is worth little.

'The souls of my auditors" [*i. e.* of those who constantly attended his assemblies, and imbibed his doctrines] "are thereby changed into elect souls; and so return, quite purified, to the good being.

"The souls of other people transmigrate at death into beasts, and trees, and all other kinds of vegetables.

"Inward concupiscence is a person. It is never healed, but it may be totally separated from men. In the day of judgment, each concupiscence shall be shut up in a globe, nd there live in perpetual imprisonment.

"The good God and the bad God wage implacable and never-ceasing war against each other: and perpetually clog and disconcert one another's schemes and operations.

"Hence men are impelled by the forcible constraint, to good or to evil, according as they come under the power of the good Deity or the bad one."

Such is a sketch of what I have been able to collect with certainty of the absurd and execrable tenets of Manes: which form a medley of Pythagorism, Gnosticism, and almost every other ism, both Pagan and Heretical, which that and preceding ages could supply. It is probable that Budda improved upon Scythian, and that Manes improved upon both. Though, in reality, neither of the three, nor all the three together, were authors of the monstrous opinions which constituted the jumble. The opinions were taken from a variety of other sources; and the pilfering triumvirate, contrary to the practice of thieves in general, seemed resolved to steal the worst of everything they could lay their hands on.

I believe it is absolutely impossible to trace quite up to its source, the antiquity of that hypothesis which absurdly affirms the existence of two eternal, contrary, independent principles. The other oriental nations seem to have adopted it from Egypt. But whence the Egyptians had it, and when they first entertained it, we know not: at least I could never find out.

What led so many wise people, and for so great a series of ages, into such a wretched mistake were chiefly, I suppose, these two considerations: (1.) That evil, both moral and physical, are positive things, and so must have a positive cause. (2.) That a being perfectly good could not, from the very nature of his essence, be the cause of such bad things.

But (1.) Evil, whether physical or moral, does not, upon a narrow inspection, appear to have so much of positivity in it as it is probable those ancients suppose.

A man breaks his leg: *i. e.* the continuity or co-hesion of parts, natural to that limb, ceases to be integral. This is followed by the evil of pain. And what is pain? the absence, or privation of sensible ease antecedently enjoyed. A man's house is burnt down. The consequence is a loss, or privation of property. He does not possess as much as he possessed before. Thus (not to multiply needless instances), sickness is a privation of health: and is thence very properly termed disease. Poverty is a deficiency of wealth and conveniences. Death itself a cessation of animal life.

God forbid that I should even wish to extenuate the malignity of sin. The omnipresent Reader of hearts and Hearer of thoughts, knows that, next after his own awful displeasure, I dread and deprecate sin, in all its forms, as the greatest of possible calamities. Let us, however, with cautious and timid hand put moral evil itself into the philosophic scale.

When I was a boy, and began to read Watts's Logic, I well remember the surprise it gave me, to find that so good a man should venture to treat of sin, in the 6th Section (pt. i. chap. 2.) under the title of Not-Being. And I confess I partly wonder at it still.

But let the Doctor speak for himself. "The sinfulness of any human action is said to be a privation: for sin is that want of conformity to the law of God which ought to be found in every action of man. I think," adds the doctor, and in truth I think so too, "we must not reduce such positive beings as piety, and virtue, and truth, to the rank of non-entities, which have nothing real in them. Though sin, or rather the sinfulness of an action, may be properly called a Not-Being: for it is a want of piety and virtue. This is a most usual, and perhaps the most just way of representing these matters.

Very happily we have a fine definition of sin given us by a Logician who could not err. Πας ο ποιων την αμαρτιαν, και την ανομιαν ποιει και η ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑ εςιν ἡ ΑΝΟΜΙΑ. 1 John iii. 4. Every man who committeth sin, doth also commit illegality, for sin is illegality.—Whence I conclude in the first place, that sin, strictly considered, has more of negation in it than of positivity; else it could not have been properly definable by a merely negative term. For illegality imports no more than a non-commensuration to the law, as a rule or measure of length and breadth.—But, secondly, I infer that, unless sin had something of positivity in it, the illegality of it could not be said to be commissable: "Every man who committeth illegality." And yet, after all, I do not clearly discern how that can be, without the assistance of Dr. Watts's distinction (a distinction which is, I believe, admitted by most, if not all, metaphysical writers) between actions themselves, and the sinfulness of them.

Critics explain שוא one of the Hebrew words for sin, by the Greek word *αθεσια* which imports unsettledness, and, in particular, a not standing to articles before agreed upon. שוא, the most usual word for sin, properly signifies a not walking in the right road, and a not hitting the proposed mark. עון is obliquity or crookedness, *i. e.* a want of straightness.

The Greek *αμαρτια* most certainly conveys a negative idea, and signifies, like the second Hebrew word above mentioned, a falling short of the mark.

The Latin *peccatum* (which some are for deriving from עוה) is also explained by *delictum, i. e.* a failure in duty. *Iniquitas, culpa, noxa, injustitia, impietas, scelus, vitium,* and a multitude of others are, in strictness, terms of negation.

But (2.) in what light soever we consider those modes of being and action, called natural and moral evil; whether we view them as positive qualities, or as negative, or as mixed; still the question returns, whether the great First Cause, who is infinitely and merely good, can be, either efficiently or deficiently, the author of them?

In my opinion, the single word permission solves the whole difficulty, as far as it can be solved in the present beclouded state of human reason. Certainly God is not bound to preclude evil from among his works. It is equally certain that he can permit it, not only to obtain but even to reign. And it is as certain, that he actually does so permit it. Why? Not for want of knowledge to perceive it. Nor for want of power to hinder it. Nor for want of wisdom to counteract it. Nor for want of goodness to order all for the best. But because it was and is his unsearchable (*o*) will (and the will of God is rectitude itself), to allow the entrance and

(*o*) And a step, or an inch, beyond this we cannot go. That God willed to permit evil, cannot be doubted, but at the expense, either of his wisdom, or of his power. The reasons why he willed it are, perhaps, among those arcana which angels themselves have not yet been allowed to see into.

I think I may venture to assert that the Scriptures throw hardly any degree of light upon the divine motive, or motives, to this permission. And it appears incontestibly plain from the writings, and from such authentic memorials as remain, of the most sagacious philosophers of preceding ages, and of every civilized clime, the Chinese themselves included; that all their various hypotheses (some of which were extremely subtil and ingenious) by which they strained both judgment and imagination, to account for the primary existence and introduction of moral and physical ataxy; terminated universally in the point whence they set out, *viz.*, we cannot tell.

Whoever desires to see, at one view, as much as needs to be known concerning the speculations of the greatest sages among the ancients on this inextricable subject, will enjoy a most refined amusement (but attended, I think, with no feasible solution of the difficulty) immediately in point, by perusing the second part of that concise, elegant, judicious, and faithful sketch of antique philosophy, entitled, a Discourse upon the Theology and Mythology of the Ancients. Written by the Chevalier Ramsay; an author, who, though, in my opinion, extremely fanciful and erroneous on some metaphysical questions, yet deserves to be loved and admired as one of the most ingenious, polite, candid, and entertaining reasoners that ever added the enchantments of beauty to the dignity of virtue and to the riches of learning.

But still, our utmost investigations leave us precisely where they began. We know scarce any of the views which induced uncreated goodness to ordain (for, where infinity of knowledge and power and of wisdom unite in the permitter, I see no very great difference permitting and ordaining) the introgression, or, more properly, the intromission of evil. For my own part I can with unrepining cheerfulness give God credit (and that to all eternity, should it be his pleasure to require me) for doing every thing well.

> "I know but this, that he is good,
> And that myself am blind."

Can any body bring the matter to a more satisfactory issue? Si non, hoc utere mecum.

It might have been happy for that fine, but too excursive Theorist, Dr. Conyers Middleton, if he had not, with more rashness than good speed, endeavoured to overleap that boundary which God himself has fixed to the present extent of human knowledge. Were we even to grant the doctor his favourite hypothesis, *viz.*, that the whole Mosaic account of the fall is merely allegorical; the origin of evil would still remain as dark, and as deep at the bottom of the well as ever. For to what does this boasted allegory amount? Dr. Middleton shall give it us in his own words (Works, Quarto. Vol. II. p. 140.) "By Adam, we are to understand reason, or the mind of man. By Eve, the flesh, or outward senses. By the Serpent, lust, or pleasure. In which allegory we see

the continuance of that seeming foil to the loveliness of his works.

Arminianism (which represents moral and natural evil as entering and as reigning in defiance and contrariety to the will and wish and endeavours of the Divine Being) coincides so patly with the Manichæan dream of two almighty conflicting principles, who reign in spite of each other, and catch as catch can; that I really wonder at the reversed modesty of those free-willers who are for shifting off the charge of Manichæism from themselves to other folks.

Nay, were I disposed to make the most of my argument, I might add, and very fairly too, That the old Manichæism was a gentle impiety, and a slender absurdity, when contrasted with the modern Arminian improvements on that system. For, which is worse? To assert the existence of two independent beings, and no more; or to assert the existence of about one hundred and fifty millions of independent beings, all living at one time, and most of them waging successful war on the designs of him that made them?

Moreover, if so very minute a crumb of the creation as this terraqueous planet which we at present occupy, can furnish out such a formidable army of independent principles (*i. e.* of self-determiners: in which number, infants and children themselves must be virtually included, which will swell the catalogue with about seventy millions more); the aggregate number of independent and possibly conflicting agents, contained in the universe at large, may exceed the powers of all the angels in heaven to compute. But, even confining ourselves to our own world; it will follow that Arminian Manichæism exceeds the paltry oriental quality, at the immense rate of 150,000,000 to 2! And this, at the very lowest and most favourable computation, *i. e.* without taking infants into the account; and without reckoning the adult self-determiners of past generations, nor of those generations which are yet to come.

Poor Manes! with how excellent a grace do Arminians call thee an heretic! And above all, such Arminians (whereof Mr. John Wesley is one) as agree with thee, in believing the attainability of sinless perfection here below; or, to use the good old Manichæan phrase, who assert that the evil principle may be totally separated from man in the present life!

"Oh, but Manes held necessity also." But what sort of necessity? Such a necessity as a child would be under, if the Dragon of Wantley was pulling him by one arm, and Moore of Moore-hall by the other. Christianity and philosophy have nothing to do with this necessity, except to laugh at it.

4. Mr. Wesley seems much displeased with a brace of gentlemen, whose names he has not communicated to the public; but who appear, from his account of them, to be in no very fair way towards sinless perfection.

One of these, we are told, delivered his mind to this effect! "I frequently feel tempers, and speak many words, and do many actions, which I do not approve of. But I cannot avoid it. They result, whether I will or no, from the vibrations of my brain, together with the motion of my blood, and the flow of my animal spirits. But these are not in my own power. I cannot help them. They are independent on my choice." Thus far I totally agree with the gentleman unknown. Every one of his premises is true. But the conclusion limps most mi-

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clearly explained the true causes of man's fall and degeneracy: that, as soon as his mind, through the weakness and treachery of his senses, became captivated and seduced by the allurements of lust and pleasure, he was driven by God out of Paradise, *i. e.* lost and forfeited the happiness and prosperity which he had enjoyed in his innocence."

With all the respect due to so very superior a pen, I would offer an observation or two on this passage.——1. If Adam, and Eve, and the Serpent, and the Trees of Knowledge and of Life, and the very Paradise where they grew, were all allegorical (*i. e.* fabulous and unreal); might not an atheist suppose, with equal reason, that the adorable Creator, whom this same history terms God, is as allegorical a being as the rest!——2. If the fall itself, as related in Scripture, be no more than a piece of moral fiction; what security have we that the Scriptural account of redemption is not equally fictitious? Indeed, where is the necessity, or so much as the propriety and reasonableness of imagining that an allegorical ruin requires more than an allegorical restoration?——3. Among a multitude of other objections, which clog the wheel of this unsatisfactory scheme, the following is one; that the difficulty of accounting for the rise of evil still subsists in all its primitive and impenetrable obscurity. For, (1.) How came the "allurements of lust and pleasure" to exist at all? especially, in a state of absolute innocency? (2.) How came man's "outward senses" to be so very easy of access as to fly open like the doors of an enchanted castle, at almost the first appearance of this said gigantic lady called "Allurement?" (3.) How came the human mind to yield itself so tame a "captive" to those seducing senses? Not to ask, (4.) Why the senses themselves were originally indued with that "weakness, and treachery," and power of "seduction," which the doctor so freely places to their account? I think myself warranted to conclude, that this masterly allegoriser has not "clearly explained," nor so much as thrown the least glimmering of explanation upon "the true causes of man's fall and degeneracy." What, then, do we gain by reading Moses through the doctor's allegoric spectacles? So far from gaining, we lose the little we had. The man who pulls down my house, and builds me a better in its place, deserves my thanks. But the man who takes down my dwelling under pretence that it is not sufficiently ample and elegant for a person of my dignity to inhabit, and after all his parade leaves me to sleep in the open air, unsheltered by any roof at all, does me a material injury. When infidels can raise a more commodious fabric (*i. e.* propo-e a more unexceptionable system of principles) than that the Bible presents us with, we will cheerfully remove from our old house. But, until then, let those gentlemen sleep sub dio by themselves.

serably. Which conclusion (if Mr. Wesley have represented it fairly) is this: "Therefore I cannot apprehend myself to be a sinner." And pray what does the gentleman apprehend himself to be? A saint, I presume. Should this tract ever fall into his hands, let me intreat him to cry mightily to God for that supernatural influence of grace which alone is able to convince him of his sinnership; to bring him to Christ; and to save him from the evil effects which must otherwise continue to result from "the vibrations of his brain, the motion of his blood, and the flow of his animal spirits."

The other anonymous gentleman, according to Mr. Wesley's account of him, believes the omnipotence, but doubts the wisdom, and flatly denies the goodness of God. From the peculiar complexion of this creed I should have imagined that its compiler had picked up the two last articles of it at the Foundery; but Mr. Wesley precludes this surmise by giving us to understand that the gentleman is not a free-willer. For thus the creed goes on: "All the evil in the world is owing to God. I can ascribe it to no other cause. I cannot blame that cur for barking or biting; it is his nature, and he did not make himself. I feel wrong tempers in myself. But that is not my fault, for I cannot help it; it is my nature; and I could not prevent my having this nature; neither can I change it."

No man in the world is more prone to put things in people's mouths which they never said, or thought of, than Mr. J. W. I therefore lay very little stress on the testimony which supports the authenticity of this creed. It may be genuine. But it is more probable that it was forged and dressed up for the occasion.

However, I will bestow a few concise annotations on this confession of faith, be it real, or be it fictitious.

"All the evil in the world is owing to God." Nothing can be more false. For, as the great and good (*p*) Mr. Edwards observes, "It would be strange arguing indeed, because men never commit sin but only when God leaves them to themselves, and necessarily sin when he does so; that therefore their sin is not from themselves, but from God: and so, that God must be a sinful being. As strange as it would be to argue, because it is always dark when the sun is gone, and never dark when the sun is present, that therefore all darkness is from the sun, and that his disk and beams must needs be black." (*Enquiry*, p. 364, 365.)

Mr. Wesley's necessitarian adds: "I cannot blame that cur for barking and biting." But did the gentleman never so much as once in his life-time beat a cur for barking and biting? I dare say he has; and would again if a cur was to fly at him with open mouth. It should seem, therefore, that a cur, though he bark and bite necessarily, is liable still to blame; else how could he be justly entitled to blows?

"It is his nature." Most certainly. And yet you will beat him for it!

"He did not make himself." Who thinks he did?

"I feel wrong tempers in myself." I dare say you do.

"But that is not my fault." Certainly the fault is in yourself; and consequently the fault is your's. How you came by it is another matter; and belongs to the question of original sin.

"I cannot help it." Right: you cannot. But there is One that can. Apply to him.

"It is my nature." Very true.——"And I could not prevent my having this nature." I never imagined you could.——"Neither can I change it." I am very clear you cannot. The Æthiopian might as soon change his skin, or the leopard his spots, Jer. xiii. 23. And yet what will become of you if you die unchanged? May the Almighty put that cry into your heart, Turn thou me, and I shall be turned! for thou art the Lord my God. Jer. xxxi. 18. Then will you know what this meaneth: We all, with open face,

(*p*) Viz. the late Rev. Mr. Jonathan Edwards, of North America, whose Enquiry into the Freedom of the Will is a book which God has made the instrument of more deep and extensive usefulness (especially among deists, and persons of science,) than almost any other modern publication I know of. If such of my readers as have not yet met with it wish to see the Arminian sophistry totally unravelled and defeated, let them add that excellent performance to their literary treasures. A more nervous chain of reasoning it would be extremely difficult to find in the English language. Consequently it is not one of those treatises that can be run through in a hurry. It must be read deliberately, and weighed with attention; else you will lose half the strength of the connection.—— ——A spruce Macaroni was boasting one day that he had the most happy genius in the world. Every thing, said he, is easy to me. People call Euclid's Elements a hard book; but I read it yesterday from beginning to end in a piece of the afternoon, between dinner and tea-time. "Read all Euclid," answered a gentleman present, "in one afternoon! How was that possible?" "Upon my honour I did: and never read more smoother reading in my life." "Did you master all the demonstrations, and solve all the problems as you went?" "Demonstrations! and problems! I suppose you mean the a's, and b's, and c's, and 1's, and 2's, and 3's; and the pictures of scratches and scrawls. No, no. I skipt all they. I only read Euclid himself, and all Euclid I did read; and in one piece of the afternoon too."——Mr. Edwards must not be read so genteelly.

There are, it seems, two eminent defences of necessity which I have not yet seen: *viz.* Dr. Hartley's Observations on Man; and an anonymous Essay on Liberty and Necessity, published some years since, at Edinburgh. I hope I have a feast of pleasure and instruction in reserve. And it shall not be my fault if I do not soon enjoy it.

beholding as in a glass, the glory of the Lord; are changed into the same image, from glory to glory, by the Spirit of the Lord. 2 Cor. iii. 18.

5. Mr. Wesley's wrath is not confined to the two gentlemen abovementioned. It strides back into the last century, and prosecutes "the assembly of divines who met at Westminster." For what offence are they thus dug out of their graves? For saying that "Whatever happens in time, was unchangeably determined from all eternity." ——I beg leave to acquaint the court that there is a flaw in the charge. Mr. Wesley cannot quote even a single proposition, without mangling and altering!

In the confession drawn up by those divines, they express the matter thus: God, from all eternity, did, by the most wise and holy counsel of his own will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatever comes to pass. Yet so, as thereby neither is God the author of sin, nor is violence offered to the will of the creatures, &c. (*q*)—In their larger catechism they phrase it with no alteration of sense, as follows: God's decrees are the wise, free, and holy acts of the counsel of his will; whereby, from all eternity, he hath for his own glory unchangeably foreordained whatsoever comes to pass in time: especially concerning angels and men.——In the shorter catechism they say: The decrees of God are his eternal purpose according to the council of his will; whereby, for his own glory, he hath fore-ordained whatever comes to pass. God executeth his decrees in the works of creation and providence.——I shall only observe, concerning all and each of these paragraphs, that if they be not true, the whole Bible is one grand string of falsehood from the first verse to the last.

While Mr. Wesley's hand was in, I wonder he did not arraign another assembly of divines, some of whom were mitred. I mean the famous assembly of bishops and others who met together, not many bow-shots from Westminster, on the Surrey side of the Thames, in the year 1595, at a certain place of rendezvous, called Lambeth Palace; where, says Dr. Fuller, "archbishop Whitgift, out of his Christian care to propagate the truth, and suppress the opposite errors, caused a solemn meeting of many grave and learned divines;" among whom, besides the good archbishop himself, were Bancroft, bishop of London; Vaughan, bishop of Bangor; Tindal, dean of Ely; Whitaker, Divinity Professor of Cambridge, &c., which said assembly of divines drew up the celebrated Lambeth articles; whereof I shall here cite but one for a specimen, having treated at large of this assembly and its determinations elsewhere; (*r*) "*Prædestinatorum præfinitus et certus est numerus; qui nec augeri, nec minui, potest;*" *i. e.* The number of the predestinated is fore-determined and certain, so that it can neither be increased nor diminished.

There have also been still larger assemblies of divines, composed of all the bishops, deans, and delegates of the clergy in England. Witness the assembly who drew up the XXXIX Articles, to which Mr. Wesley has, indeed, over and over again, set his hand; but with the same simplicity and godly sincerity, 2 Cor. i. 12, which seem to have actuated Dr. Reid, Dr. Oswald, and Dr. Beattie, when they subscribed the confession and catechism of the Westminster assembly.

> There's such a thing as holy tricking;
> Tests are but pie-crust, made for breaking.
> Our own conveniency, and gains,
> Are sweetmeats, which that crust contains.
> To come at these, what man so foolish,
> But would a thousand crusts demolish?

Moreover, what shall we say concerning that most reverend, right reverend assembly, who put that woeful collect into the liturgy beginning with, O God, whose never-failing providence ordereth all things in heaven and earth? Can any breathe more strongly the whole of what we mean by necessity? A providence, a never-failing providence, that ordereth not only some, but all things.—Yea, all things both in heaven and earth! In that one passage (and the church has very many others quite like unto it), "see necessity drawn at full length, and painted in the most lively colours."

6. It is curious to behold Arminians themselves forced, by stress of argument, to take refuge in the harbour of that necessity which, at other times, they so vehemently seek to destroy. "It is necessary," say they, "that man's will should be free; for without freedom the will were no will at all."

I pity the distressful dilemma to which they are driven. Should they say, it is not necessary for man's will to be free, they give up their whole cause at once. If they say (and say it they do) that it is necessary, yea, absolutely necessary for the will to be free, and that in its very nature it cannot but be free;—then, say I, upon that principle, these good people are free, with a liberty of necessity, and sheer necessity itself is the root and sap of all their boasted free-agency. In other words free-agency, themselves being judges, is only a ramification of necessity!

7. Though I have mentioned the following anecdote in a preceding publication, yet, by way of recompensing Mr. Wesley for the amusement he has afforded me, in publish-

(*q*) Humble advice of the assembly, &c. p. 10, 11 Edit. Lond. 1658. Quarto.

(*r*) In a Tract, entitled the Church of England vindicated from the Charge of Arminianism: and in my Historic Proof of the Doctrinal Calvinism of the Church of England.

ing the conversation of the two necessitarian gentlemen, whereof I have just given the reader an account: I also, in my turn, shall refer him to a very remarkable conversation which passed between a free-will gentleman and myself, June 21, 1774, in the neighbourhood of London, and in the presence of my friend, the Rev. Mr. Ryland.

"God does all he possibly can," said the Arminian philosopher, "to hinder moral and natural evil. But he cannot prevail. Men will not permit God to have his wish." —Then the Deity, answered I, must certainly be a very unhappy being.—"Not unhappy in the least." What! meet with a constant series of crosses; thwarted in his daily endeavours; disappointed of his wishes; disconcerted in his plan of operations; defeated of his intentions; embarrassed in his views; and actually overpowered every moment of every day by numberless of the creatures he has made; and yet be happy under all this incessant series of perplexing and mortifying circumstances? "Yes: for he knows that in consequence of the free-will with which he has endued his rational creatures, he himself must be disappointed of his wishes, and defeated of his ends; and that there is no help for it unless he had made us mere machines. He therefore submits to necessity, and does not make himself uneasy about it." (*s*)

Can any thing be more shockingly execrable than such a degrading and blasphemous idea of the ever blessed God; and consequently is not the doctrine of human self-determinability the most daring, the most inconsistent, the most false, the most contemptible, and the most atheistical tenet that ever was spawned by pride and ignorance in conjunction? A doctrine which, in running away from the true necessity, coins an impossible necessity of its own inventing; and, while it represents men as gods, sinks God far below the level of the meanest man!

Is not the adorable Creator of the world the Governor of it too? Or has he only built a stage for fortune to dance upon? Does Almighty providence do no more than hold the distaff while contingency (*i. e.* while nothing) spins the threads, and wreathes them into a line for the first cause (very falsely so called if this be the case!) to wind upon his reel and turn to the best account he can? Arminians may affirm it: but God forbid that I should ever believe it.

For my own part I solemnly profess before God, angels, and men, that I am not conscious of my being endued with that self-determining power which Arminianism ascribes to me as an individual of the human species. Nay, I am clearly certain that I have it not. I am also equally certain that I do not wish to have it; and that, was it possible for my Creator to make me an offer of transferring the determination of any one event from his own will to mine, it would be both my duty and my wisdom to entreat that the sceptre might still remain with himself, and that I might have nothing to do in the direction of a single incident, or of so much as a single circumstance.

Mr. Wesley laments that necessity is "The scheme which is now adopted by not a few of the most sensible men in the nation;" I agree with him as to the fact; but I cannot deplore it as a calamity. The progress which that doctrine has of late years made, and is still making, in this kingdom, I consider as a most happy and prominent symptom that the divine goodness has yet abundant mercies in reserve for a church, the majority of whose reputed members have long apostatized from her essential principles; and for a country whose (*t*) morals have degenerated in proportion to the corruptions of its faith.

May the, Psalm cii. 13, set time be nigh at hand for our national recovery to the gospel and to virtue! Then shall God, even our own God, give us his blessing.

(*s*) See a note subjoined to p. 5 of a Sermon, lately published by me, entitled, Free-will and Merit brought to the Test; or, Men not their own Saviours: where some of the horrible consequences, and of the gigantic inconsistencies, inseparable from this gentleman's theory, are pointed out.

(*t*) Take a specimen of the vitiated state to which the free-will gangrene has reduced the moral taste of this Christian and reformed country, in the following admired lines, which are part of a very applauded entertainment, lately introduced on the English stage:

"With sport, love, and wine, fickle fortune defy;
Dull wisdom all happiness sours;
Since life is no more than a passage at best,
Let us strew the way over with flow'rs."

Was a religious and sensible foreigner, whether Protestant or Popish, Jew, Mahometan or Heathen, to be informed that such equally detestable and despicable sentiments as those are heard with rapture at the British theatres, and chorused with delight in numberless private companies in every part of the kingdom, would he not be inclined to set us down in general for a nation of epicurean Atheists, fitonly to wallow in the Circean sty; quite lost to all religion, philosophy, virtue, and decency; and no otherwise entitled to the name of man, than by perpendicularity of shape, connected with the art of speaking?

"If prone to thought, our stature is our shame;
And man should blush, his forehead meets the skies."

A DISSERTATION

CONCERNING THE

SENSIBLE QUALITIES OF MATTER;

MORE ESPECIALLY CONCERNING COLOURS.

Judge not (κατ' ὄψιν) according to sight. JOHN VIII. 24.

WHEN I wrote the foregoing chapters, it was my intention to have taken no notice of Mr. Wesley's weak and puerile objections to the well established doctrine of sensible qualities; partly because what he observes (or rather what he has picked up from Dr. Reid and others) on this subject is so contemptibly frivolous as hardly to justify any serious animadversion, and partly, because I did not consider the subject itself as directly connected with the article of necessity.

But, on my reflecting that the aptitude of perceivable bodies to impress our senses with certain motions called sensations, and that the sensations so produced, together with the correspondent ideas which those sensations impart to, or excite in the mind; are all the result of necessary relation, and form an indissolubly combined chain of cause and effect: I determined to subjoin some enquiries concerning a branch of knowledge which, in this view of it, is not altogether foreign to the main argument of the preceding disquisitions.

By the senses, I mean those conduits or avenues to the brain through which the soul receives its ideas of objects extraneous to itself. No person need be reminded that these senses are five, viz. those of feeling, hearing, seeing, smelling, and tasting. It may perhaps be solidly affirmed, that in absolute strictness we have but one sense, precisely so called, vi ., that of feeling, or perception at large; of which the remaining four are but so many exquisite modifications, or affections. I acquiesce, however, in the popular division of the senses into five.

The sensible qualities of extraneous objects are, properly, no more than "powers," as Mr. Locke justly terms them, viz., powers of producing such particular motions in our animal organs as have a native tendency to occasion correspondent perceptions in the soul, through the mediation of the nerves and brain: that is to say, extraneous objects have this effect when duly presented to the senses, and when the senses are in such a state as duly to receive the impressions naturally arising from the presence or application of those objects.

These powers, inherent in extraneous bodies, of producing such sensations in us, indisputably result from the figure, size, arrangement, and motion of the particles which constitute the bodies themselves. Which appears, among other considerations hence, that the same body, under different modes of corpuscular size, arrangement, motion, and figure, occasions different sensations in the organs, and conveys different ideas to the mind.

Now, these modal differences of arrangement, &c., are undoubtedly resident in their respective subjects, and may easily be conceived of as existable independently on us; *i. e.* they might be just what they are whether the bodies themselves, in which they obtain, were objected to our senses or not. But the effects of those combined modes (as colour, sound, flavour, scent, pleasure, and pain) are things purely relative; and absolutely require the concurrence of sense, in order to their having any kind or degree of positive existence. They are but potentially in their peculiar subjects, until those subjects become objects, by being actually exposed to, and by actually operating upon, the organs of a percipient being.

Thus there might have been tremulations in the atmosphere, through the impulse of one mass of matter upon another (primarily set in motion by the divine will), if no animal or sentient being had been created. But in that case, it is utterly inconceivable how those tremulations, though ever so violent, could have occasioned what we call sound. Again.—The disposition of certain surfaces to reflect, refract, and absorb the incident rays of light, might have been just what it now is, independently on the optic nerves of animals: but then no surface, however disposed, *i. e.* be its texture, reflections, refractions or absorptions, what they will, could have occasioned that ideal result which we term colour, without being opposed to the visual organ of an intelligent substance. And so on, through every species of sensible quality.

Hence there is nothing hyperbolic or extravagant; but all is no less strictly and soberly philosophical, than sublimely and elegantly poetical, in the following lines of Dr. Young:

"The senses, which inherit earth and heavens,
Enjoy the various riches nature yields:
Far nobler! give the riches they enjoy,
Give taste to fruits, and harmony to groves;
The radiant beams to gold, and gold's bright fire:
Take in, at once, the landscape of the world,
At a small inlet, which a grain might close,
And half-create the wond'rous world they see.
But for the magic organ's pow'rful charm,
Earth were a rude, uncolour'd chaos still.
Objects are but th' occasion: our's th' exploit.
Our's are the cloth, the pencil, and the paint,
Which nature's admirable picture draw,
And beautify creation's ample dome.
Like Milton's Eve, when gazing on the lake,
Man makes the matchless image, man admires."

This is provable, not only by reason, but by numberless experiments. Do but artfully vary the medium through which you see it, and you may make the surface of any body whatever assume, in appearance, any colour you please, and that in the most rapid succession, and in every mode of possible diversity. A certain sign that colour is only a sensible quality, and not a real property of matter.

But let us hear Mr. Wesley: who wildly thinks himself no less qualified to demolish the fundamental axioms of natural philosophy, than to overturn the first principles of natural and revealed religion.

"Colour," says he, "is a real material thing. There is no illusion in the case, unless you confound the perception with the thing perceived (*a*). And all other secondary qualities are just as real, as figure, or any other primary one." With regard to colour (for I have neither room nor leisure to run through all the other secondary qualities), its non-existence is certain, not only from the preceding considerations, but likewise, in general, from the natural darkness of matter. Every atom (even those not excepted, which constitute that exquisite fluid, called light; though it is the most attenuated and subtil body with which we are acquainted) is intrinsically dark, and consequently colourless. Light itself, by whose intervention other bodies become visible, seems to depend greatly, if not entirely, for that power, on the exility, the extreme rarefaction, and on the incomparably rapid motion, expansion, and protrudibility, of its component particles: by which properties it is peculiarly fitted to act upon the instruments of animal sight; as these are likewise reciprocally fitted to admit that sensation, which Providence designed they should receive, in consequence of being so acted upon.

"All colours," says Mr. Wesley, "do as really exist without us, at trees, or corn, or heaven, or earth." He is welcome to enjoy a delusion which (like most of his other opinions) has not one sound argument for its support. But hear him again: "When I say that cloth is of a red colour; I mean, its surface is so disposed as to reflect the red; *i. e.* the largest rays of light. When I say, the sky is blue, I mean, it is so disposed as to reflect the blue, *i. e.* the smallest rays of light. And where is the delusion here? Does not that disposition, do not those rays, as really exist, as either the cloth or the sky? And are they not as really reflected as the ball in a tennis-court?"

What, in the name of wonder, could induce Mr. W. to make these concessions? Concessions which cut the throat of his own hypothesis from ear to ear! for I appeal to any competent reader whether the following conclusions do not necessarily flow from those premises:

1. That colour is the mere creature of sensation: which sensation is occasioned (not by any real tinge inherent, either in the object, or in the rays of light, but occasioned) by the "disposition," *i. e.* by the texture or configuration and connection, of the superficial particles, and by the "largeness" or "smallness," *i. e.* by the size of the "reflected rays." This is all very right so far as it goes.

2. That "redness" and "blueness" (for instance) are mere ideas, resulting from the peculiarly "disposed surfaces" of the reflecting bodies, and from the magnitude or minuteness of the "rays" which those surfaces either strike back, or refract in various directions. And what is this but the very doctrine against which Mr. Wesley professedly draws his wooden sword? For,

3. As to the real existence of bodies, and their surfaces, and rays of light; it is not questioned by any I know of, except by the few followers of Bishop Berkeley; and they are very few indeed. Not three dozen, I suppose, in the three kingdoms.

4. It follows, that Mr. Wesley's inconsistent assertion cannot, even on his own principles, be true; viz., that "colour is a real material thing." No: it is an ideal thing; generated in our minds by the "disposition" of "surfaces," and by the reverberation, &c. of "rays."

The Methodist goes on. "It is true, that when they" [*i. e.* when irradiated surfaces] "strike upon my eye, a particular sensation follows in my soul. But that sensation is not colour: I know no one that calls it so." Nor I neither. The sensation only gives at first, and repeatedly excites afterwards, the idea of colour. For, properly speaking, there is no such thing as absolute colour, either in the bodies themselves, or

(*a*) The plain natural meaning of this is, that "the thing perceived," viz. colour, considered as resident in bodies, "is real," but that our "perception" of that "real" colour is a mere "illusion!"—Without any "illusion" at all, may we not pronounce Mr. Wesley to be the lamest, the blindest, and the most self-contradictory waster of ink and paper that ever pretended to the name of reasoner? It is almost a disgrace to refute him.

in the rays which they reflect, or in the eye, or in the soul. Yet is the idea founded on a complication of realities. For both the bodies, and the rays, and the eye, and the soul, have a positive existence.

But Mr. Wesley has a dreadful peal of thunder in reserve; which he thus rattles over the head of natural philosophy. "Take it altogether" [*i. e.* believe the sensible qualities to be no more than sensible], "What a supposition is this! Is it not enough to make one's blood run cold? The great God, the Creator of heaven and earth, the Father of the spirits of all flesh, the God of truth, has encompassed with falsehood every soul that he has made! Has given up all mankind to a strong delusion, to believe a lie! Yea, all his creation is a lie! You make God himself, rather than the devil, the father of lies!"— Mighty pious, mighty rhetorical, and mighty philosophical.

I shall leave the horrid criminality of this indecent passage to the cognizance of the adorable Being it blasphemes: and only observe that Mr. Wesley's heat and profaneness (of which he has elsewhere given innumerable samples) are such, that he dares to scold his Maker with as little ceremony, and with as much scurrility, as an enraged fish-woman would bedin the ears of a 'prentice wench.

But let me ask: "Is God (I tremble even to put the question!) therefore "the father of lies," because he has not furnished us with acuteness of sight sufficient to take in the real magnitudes of the sun and other celestial bodies? Or can he be said to "encompass us with falsehood," because we do not perceive the annual and diurnal motions of the earth? Our senses tell us (and the far greater part of mankind, upon the credit of their senses, live and die in the belief) that the sun is not so large as a coach-wheel; that the moon is less than the dial of St. Paul's clock; that the diameter of the largest visible star is inferior to that of a tea-cup; and that the earth is absolutely quiescent, instead of constantly travelling (as in reality it does) at the rapid rate of about 60,000 miles an hour, exclusively of its diurnal rotation round its own axis. The illusions of colour, taste, and smell, are nothing when compared with the immense difference between appearances and facts, in these and other points of so much greater consequence. And hence it becomes the office of reason and science to rectify, so far as they can, the frequent mistakes of sense.

I shall add to these remarks a sketch of what Mr. Locke has observed, concerning the qualities called sensible. And I the rather do this with some extent, because that profound and masterly genius has cultivated this part of science with a perspicuity and solidity equalled, I believe, by few other writers on the subject.

"It being manifest that there are multitudes of bodies, each whereof are so small, that we cannot, by any of our senses, discover either their bulk, figure, or motion, as is evident in the particles of air and water; and others extremely smaller than those, perhaps as much smaller than the particles of air and water, as the particles of air and water are smaller than peas or hail-stones; let us suppose, at present, that the different motions and figures, bulk and number, of such particles affecting the organs of our senses, produce in us those different sensations which we have from the colours and smells of bodies. Let us suppose, for example, that a violet, by the impulse of such insensible [*i. e.* invisible] particles of matter, of peculiar figures and bulks, and in different degrees and modifications of their motions, causes the ideas of the blue colour and sweet scent of that flower to be produced in our minds. It being no more impossible to conceive that God should annex such ideas to such motions with which they have no similitude, than that he should annex the idea of pain to the motion of a piece of steel dividing our flesh, with which that idea hath no resemblance.

"What I have said, concerning colours and smells, may be understood also of tastes and sounds, and other sensible qualities: which, whatever reality we by mistake attribute to them, are in truth nothing in the objects themselves, but powers to produce various sensations in us; and depend on the primary qualities, viz., bulk, figure, texture and motion of parts.

"Flame is denominated hot and bright; snow, white and cold; manna, white and sweet, from the ideas they produce in us. Whoever considers that the same fire which, at one distance, produces in us the sensation of warmth, does, at a nearer approach, produce in us the far different sensation of pain; ought to bethink himself what reason he has to say that his idea of warmth, which was produced in him by the fire, is actually in the fire; and his idea of pain which the same fire produced in him is not in the fire. Why are whiteness and cold in snow, and pain not; when it produces both one and the other of those ideas in us, and can do neither, but by the bulk, figure, number, and motion of its solid parts?

"The particular bulk, number, figure, and motion of the parts of fire or snow, are really in those bodies, whether any one's senses perceive them or no: and may therefore be called real qualities. But light, heat, whiteness, or coldness, are no more really in snow or fire, than sickness or pain is in manna. Take away the sensation of them; let not the eye see light or colours, nor the ear hear sounds; let the palate not taste, nor the nose smell; and all colours, tastes, odours, and sounds, as they are such

particular ideas, vanish and cease, and are reduced to their causes, viz., bulk, figure, and motions of parts.

"Let us consider the red and white colours in porphyry [marble]. Hinder light but from striking on it, and its colours vanish; it no longer produces any such ideas in us. Upon the return of light it produces these appearances again. Can any one think that any real alterations are made in the porphyry by the presence or absence of light; and that those ideas of whiteness and redness are really in porphyry in the light, when it is plain it has no colour in the dark?

"It has, indeed, such a configuration of particles, both night and day, as are apt, by the rays of light rebounding from some parts of that hard stone, to produce in us the idea of redness, and from others the idea of whiteness; but whiteness and redness are not in it, at any time; but only such a texture as has power to produce such a sensation in us.

"Pound an almond, and the clear white colour will be turned into a dirty one; and the sweet taste into an oily one. What real alteration can the beating of a pestle make in any body, but an alteration in the texture of it?

"He that will examine his complex idea of gold, will find several of the ideas that make it up to be only powers: as the power of being melted, but of not spending itself in the fire; and of being dissolved in aqua regia. Which are ideas as necessary to make up our complex idea of gold, as its colour and weight: which, if duly considered, are nothing but different powers. For, to speak truly, yellowness is not actually in gold, but is a power in gold to produce that idea in us, by our eyes, when placed in a due light. And the heat which we cannot leave out of our idea of the sun, is no more really in the sun than is the white colour which it introduces into wax. These are both equally powers in the sun, operating by the motion and figure of its insensible parts, so on a man as to make him have the idea of heat; and so on wax, as to make it capable to produce in a man the idea of white.

"Had we senses acute enough to discern the minute particles of bodies, and the real constitution on which their sensible qualities depend, I doubt not, but they would produce quite different ideas in us and that which now [seems] the yellow colour of gold would then disappear, and instead of it, we should see an admirable texture of parts of a certain size and figure.

"This microscopes plainly discover to us. For what, to our naked eyes, produces the [semblance of] a certain colour, is, by thus augmenting the acuteness of our senses, discovered to be quite a different thing: and the thus altering, as it were, the proportion of the bulk of the minute parts of a coloured object to our sight, produces different ideas from what it did before.

"Thus sand or pounded glass, which is opaque and white to the naked eye, is pellucid in a microscope. And a hair, seen this way, loses its former colour, and is in a great measure pellucid, with a mixture of bright, sparkling colours, such as appear from the refraction of diamonds, and other pellucid bodies. Blood, to the naked eye, appears all red: but by a good microscope, wherein its lesser parts appears, shews only some few globules of red, swimming in a pellucid liquor. And how those red globules would appear, if glasses could be found that could magnify them yet 1000, or 10,000 times more is uncertain." (*b*)

No dishonour will accrue to this great man, now so largely quoted, by observing, that in what he so ably delivered concerning the secondary or sensible qualities of matter, he stood on the shoulders of his illustrious fore-runner in science, Mr. Boyle.—Permit me, at once, to enrich the present appendix with a few paragraphs from this last-mentioned philosopher; and to confirm its general drift by the sanction of so exalted an authority.

"I do not deny that bodies may be said, in a very favourable sense, to have those qualities [potentially] which we call sensible, though there were no animals in the world. For a body, in that case, may have such a disposition of its constituent corpuscles, that, if it were duly applied to the sensory of an animal, it would produce such a sensible [effect], which a body of another texture would not. Thus, though, if there were no animals, there would be no such thing as pain; yet a [thorn] may, upon account of its figure, be fitted to cause pain, in case it were moved against a man's finger: whereas, a blunt body, moved against it with no greater force, is not fitted to cause any such perception. So snow, though if there were no lucid body nor organ of sight in the world, would exhibit no colour at all (for I could not find it had any in places exactly darkened); yet hath it a greater disposition than a coal or soot to reflect store of light outwards, when the sun shines upon them all three. We say that a lute is in tune, whether it be actually played upon or no, if the strings be all so duly stretched as that it would appear to be in tune, if it were played on.

"Thrust a pin into a man's finger both before and after his death. Though the pin be as sharp at one time as at another; and makes, in both cases alike, a solution of continuity; yet, in the former case, the action

(*b*) Locke's Essay, book 2. chap. 8, and chap. 23.

of the pin will produce pain: and not in the latter, because in this, the pricked body wants the soul, and consequently, the perceptive faculty.—So, if there were no sensitive beings, those bodies, which are now the objects of our senses, would be no more than dispositively endued with colours, tastes, and the like: but actually with only the more catholic affections of bodies, as figure, motion, texture, &c.

"To illustrate this yet a little farther. Suppose a man should beat a drum at some distance from the mouth of a cave, conveniently situated to return the noise he makes. People will presently conclude that the cave has an echo; and will be apt to fancy, upon that account, some (*c*) real property in the place, to which the echo is said to belong. Yet, to speak physically of things, this peculiar quality or property which we fancy to be in the cave, is in it, nothing else but the hollowness of its figure, whereby it is so disposed as, when the air beats against it, to reflect the motion towards the place whence that motion began. And what passes on the occasion is indeed but this: the drumstick, falling on the drum, makes a percussion of the air, and puts that fluid body in an undulating motion; and the aërial waves, thrusting on one another, until they arrive at the hollow superficies of the cave, have by reason of its resistance and figure, their motion determined the contrary way: namely, backward, towards that part where the drum was when it was struck. So that in that which here happens, there intervenes nothing but the figure of one body and the motion of another: though if a man's ear chance to be in the way of these motions of the air forward and backward, it gives him a perception of them which he calls sound.

"And whereas one body doth often seem to produce in another, divers such qualities as we call sensible; which qualities therefore seem not to need any reference to our senses; I consider that, when one inanimate body works upon another, there is nothing really produced by the agent, in the patient, save some local motion of its parts, or some change of texture consequent upon that motion: but by means of its effects upon our organs of sense, we are induced to attribute this or that quality to it. So, if a piece of transparent ice be, by the falling of some heavy and hard body upon it, broken into a gross powder that looks whitish; the falling body doth nothing to the ice but break it into very small fragments, lying confusedly upon one another: though by reason of the fabric of the world and of our eyes, there does, in the day-time, upon this comminution, ensue such a kind of copious reflection of the incident light to our eyes as we call whiteness. And when the sun, by thawing this broken ice, destroys its whiteness, and makes it become diaphonous, which it was not before; the sun does no more than alter the texture of the component parts, by putting them into motion, and thereby into a new order: in which, by reason of the disposition of the intercepting pores, they reflect but few of the incident beams of light, and transmit most of them.

"When you polish a rough piece of silver, that which is really done is but the depression of the little protuberant parts into one level with the rest of the superficies: though, upon this mechanical change of the texture of the superficial parts, we men say, that it hath lost the quality of roughness and acquired that of smoothness; because, whereas the extances did before, by their figure, resist a little the motion of our finger, our finger now meets with no such offensive resistance.

"Fire will make wax flow, and enable it to burn a man's hand. And yet this does not argue in it any inherent quality of heat, distinct from the power it hath of putting the small parts of the wax into such a motion as that their agitation surmounts their cohesion. But though we suppose the fire to do no more than variously and briskly to agitate the insensible parts of the wax, that may suffice to make us think the wax endued with a quality of heat; because, if such agitation be greater than that of our organs of touch, it produces in us the sensation we call heat: which is so much a relative to the sensory which apprehends it, that the same luke-warm water (*i. e.* water whose corpuscles are moderately agitated by the fire) will seem hot to one of a man's hands, if that hand be very cold, and cold to the other, in case it be very hot; though both of them be the same man's hand. Bodies, in a world constituted as our's now is, being brought to act upon the most curiously contrived sensories of animals, may, upon both these accounts, exhibit many different sensible phænomena: which, however we look upon them as distinct qualities, are but the consequent effects of the often-mentioned catholic affections of matter, and deducible from the size, shape, motion (or rest), posture, order, and the resulting texture of the insensible parts of bodies. And therefore, though, for shortness of speech, I shall not scruple to make use of the word qualities, since it is already so generally received; yet I would

(*c*) Real properties it undoubtedly has; and it is impossible that any portion of matter should be without them. But Mr. Boyle means, that the particular effect which we term sound, is not of the number of those real properties, but merely sensitive and ideal; and become so, when matter, under certain modes and circumstances of figure and motion, is objected to, and operates upon the suitably disposed organ of a perceiving animal.

be understood to mean it in a sense suitable to the doctrine above delivered." (*d*)

But there is one consideration which, in my view of it, decides the question absolutely and irrefragably. To wit, the essential sameness of matter in all bodies whatever.

The opinion that what are commonly termed the four elements (viz., earth, water, air, and fire) are so many simple and essentially different principles, or absolute and first rudiments, seems to me an exceedingly erroneous supposition. For I take those elements, as they are usually styled to be, themselves, but so many various modifications of that same simple matter, whereof all body or extended substance, without exception, consists. (*e*)

Now, if it be allowed that all matter is

(*d*) Boyle's Origin of Forms and Qualities, p. 31—38. Edit. Oxf. 1667.

(*e*) Without entering either deeply or extensively into the considerations which determine me to this belief, I would barely offer the following hints.

1. To imagine that Infinite Wisdom would multiply essences without reasonable cause, were to foster an hypothesis directly contrary to that beautiful simplicity which so evidently, and so universally, characterises the variegated works of God. Nature (*i. e.* Omnipotence behind the curtain) is radically frugal, though its phenomena exhibit almost an infinity of modal diversification. Two essences only (viz. spirit and matter) are fully sufficient to account for every appearance, and to answer every known purpose of creation, and of providence. What occasion, then, for five? or, as some suppose, for no fewer than seven? viz., earth, water, air, fire, light, ether and spirit)? Might we not just as rationally dream of seventy, or even seventy millions of essences?

Sir Isaac Newton's rule for philosophising, and the argument on which he grounds it strike me with all the force of self-evidence: Causas rerum naturalium non plures admitti debere, quàm quæ et veræ sint et earum phænomena explicandis sufficiant. Dicunt utique philosophi: Natura nihil agit frustra; et frustrà fit, per plura, quod fieri potest per pauciora. Natura enim simplex est, et rerum causis superfluis non luxuriat. If this be just, the admission of more essences than two would be totally inconsistent with a first and fundamental principle of all natural knowledge.

2. The four classes of matter, commonly called Elements, are in reality not simple, but exceedingly compound bodies; and partake very much of each other. Which circumstance forms no inconsiderable branch of that ατοπία, or confusion, literally so termed, introduced by original sin. Thus,

Earth associates to itself all the solvable substances that are connatural to its bosom. Which substances, after the time respectively requisite for their solution, and for their co-alescence with the earth, are not distinguishable from original earth itself.

Water is known to comprehend every species of earthy particles; as well as to include no small portion of air: and to be capable, by motion, of assuming that quality which we term heat; even in such a degree as to be no less intolerable by animals than flame itself.

Air is constantly intermingled with an immense number of dissimilar particles. With household dust (for instance), which is, in fact, the wearings of almost every thing. Not to mention the countless effluvia, with which the atmosphere is charged, incessantly flying off from animal bodies both sound and putrescent; and from the whole world of vegetable substances both fragrant and fœtid. These particles, through the continual attrition occasioned by their motion and interference with each other, and by the constant pressure of the whole upon them all, undergo, it is probable, a gradual atomic separation: and, when sufficiently comminuted, become, at last, a genuine part of that aerial fluid in which they only floated before.——Could we behold the nothing but pure unmixed air, human health and life would, probably, extend to an extreme length.

Fire, or more properly a fiery substance, will burn (*i. e.* communicate a portion of its own motion to) and assimilate all other contracting bodies, whose corpuscular co-hesion is not sufficiently close and firm to resist the subtil agency of that insinuating power. But, when its force is exhausted (*i. e.* when the intestine agitation of its parts has forced off all that was volatile, and ceases in consequence of having no more to do), what remains? A quantity of particles equally capable (for ought that appears to the contrary) of being condensed into earth, or expanded into water, or rarified into air.——Which reminds me,

3. Of the continual transmutation of one modified substance into another, by the chemical process of nature; sometimes assisted, but oftener quite unassisted, by art; which literal metamorphosis seems to be a grand and fundamental law of this lower world; and if admitted, furnishes me with an additional argument for the sameness of matter under all its vast variety of modes and forms.

We may, for example, ask with the poet:

"Where is the dust that has not been alive?
The spade, and plough, disturb our ancestors:
From human mould we reap our daily bread:
The moist of human frame the sun exhales:
Winds scatter through the mighty void. Even dry:
Earth re-possesses part of what she gave."

And thus the mysterious wheel of nature goes round; the vast mechanic circulation is kept up; and by a wonderful but real εμπεριχωρησις, well-nigh every thing (I speak of matter only) becomes every thing in its turn.

So thoroughly persuaded am I, in my own mind, that all the atoms, particles, and larger portions of matter are primarily and intrinsically and essentially homogeneous; that I make no doubt but a millstone is physically capable of being raised into light, and light physically capable of being condensed into a millstone. By the way, light is, perhaps, no more than melted air; and air is, perhaps, the never-failing reservoir which supplies the sun with materials for its rays. Air is, incontestibly, a necessary pabulum of sublunary, and why not of solar, fire?

I shall conclude this excursive note with a pertinent passage from Mr. Boyle, in which that profound and judicious naturalist informs us, on the authority of an experiment made by himself, that even water is ultimately convertible into oil, and into fire.

"Since the various manner of the coalition of several corpuscles into one visible body is enough to give them a peculiar texture, and thereby fit them to exhibit divers sensible qualities, and to become a body, sometimes of one denomination, and sometimes of another; it will very naturally follow, that from the various (but providential) occursions of these innumerable swarms of little bodies that are moved to and fro in the world, there will be many fitted to stick to one another, and so compose concretions: and many (though not in the self-same place) disjoined from one another, and agitated apart. And multitudes also that will be driven to associate themselves, now with one body, and pre sently with another.

"And if we also consider, on the one side, that the sizes of the small particles may be very various, their figures almost innumerable; and that if a parcel of matter do but happen to stick to one body, it may give it a new quality; and, if it adhere to another, or hit against some of its parts, it may constitute a body of another kind; or if a parcel of matter be knocked off from another, it may barely by that, leave it, and become itself of another nature than before: if, I say, we consider these things on the one side, and on the other side, that (to use Lucretius's comparison) all the innumerable multitude of words which are contained in all the languages of the world, are made of the various combinations of the twenty-four letters of the alphabet; it will not be hard to conceive that there may be an incomprehensible variety of associations and textures of the minute parts of bodies, and consequently a vast multitude of portions of matter endued with store enough of different qualities, to deserve distinct appellations, though, for want of heedfulness and fit words, men have not yet taken so much

essentially the same, under every possible diversity of appearance: it will follow, that what we call sensible qualities are rather modal discriminations than real differences.

Let us apply this doctrine to colours.

Several necessary pre-requisites must concur to impress my mind, at first, with an idea of colour. 1. There must be the presence of a visible object: 2. The surface of that object must have a certain disposition, texture, or construction of parts: 3. Rays of light must fall towards, and be returned from, that surface: 4. My organs of sight must (1.) be of such a structure, and (2.) be in so sound a state, as duly to admit the impression naturally resulting from the above complication of circumstances. Who that considers all this, can doubt a moment, whether the idea of colour, with which my mind is affected, on its perception of an object, depend as absolutely on the structure and on the state of my eyes, as on the superficial disposition and illumination of the object itself? Yea, it depends much more on the former than on the latter. For, as it has lately been well argued, "If all mankind had jaundiced eyes, they must have been under a necessity of concluding that every object was tinged with yellow: and indeed, according to this new system" [viz., the system which supposes that bodies are of the colour they seem to be of], "it would then have been so; not in appearance only, but also in reality!" (*f*)

Besides, was it to be granted that "colour is a real material thing;" such concession would naturally engender a farther mistake, viz., that at least those seven colours which are denominated original ones, and which appear so very different from each other, are in fact so many different essences. But as this conclusion, though forcibly deducible from the premise, would be fraught with absurdities neither few nor small, we may fairly suspect the premise itself to be untrue.

An objection was lately started in private company against the doctrine which maintains the universal sameness of matter, as if, upon this hypothesis, it would follow that, "All bodies and all qualities of bodies are equally estimable." Nothing, however, can be more frivolous than such a supposition. It might as plausibly be alleged that "Because all actions, considered as actions, are exertions of power, therefore all actions are equally good." Whereas the modes and effects of action occasion such vast relative differences in actions themselves, that a man of common understanding and virtue cannot long hesitate what species of action to approve. Thus it is with regard to bodies and semblances. For,

> "Tho' the same sun, with all-diffusive rays,
> Blush in the rose, and in the diamond blaze;
> We prize the stronger effort of his pow'r,
> And justly set the gem above the flow'r."

If a philosophic lady visits a mercer's shop with a view to select the brightest silk it affords, the fair customer will be naturally led to fix her choice on that whose colourings appear, to her, the most elegant and vivid; though she knows that those colourings are illusive, and that, in reality, there is no such thing as absolute colour at all.

In short, we are so constituted as to receive much more delectable ideas from some semblances, and from some combinations of semblances, than from others. And we, with very good reason, like or dislike accordingly. Though were our organs contrarily fabricated to what they are, the same objects which now give us pleasure, would be sources of pain; and what we now relish as desirable, and admire as beautiful, would strike us as disgustful and deformed.

How often are pleasures and pains generated by imaginary considerations! and yet those pains and pleasures are as real, and sometimes still more poignant and exquisite than if they were justly founded.

Dr. Dodderidge has some concise observations on the secondary qualities of bodies, much to the purpose of my general argument. "The same external qualities in objects may excite different ideas in different persons.

"1. If the organs of sensation be at all different, the ideas of the same object must be proportionably so while the same laws of nature prevail.

"2. It is probable, there may be some

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notice of their less obvious varieties, as to sort them as they deserve, and give them distinct and proper names.

"So that, though I would not say that any thing can immediately be made of every thing; as a gold ring of a wedge of gold; or oil, or fire, of water; yet since bodies, having but one common matter, can be differenced but by accidents [*i. e* by modes and circumstances not essential to their nature as parts of matter at large,] which seem, all of them, to be the effects and consequents of local motion: I see not why it should be absurd to think that (at least among inanimate bodies), by the intervention of some very small addition or subtraction of matter (which yet, in most cases, will not be needed), and of an orderly series of alterations, disposing, by degrees, the matter to be transmuted, almost of any thing may at length be made any thing.

"So, though water cannot, immediately, be transmuted into oil, and much less into fire; yet if you nourish certain plants with water alone, as I have done, until they have assimilated a great quantity of water into their own nature, you may by committing this transmuted water (which you may distinguish and separate from that part of the vegetable you first put in) to distillation in convenient glasses, obtain, besides other things, a true oil, and a black combustible coal (and consequently fire); both of which may be so copious as to leave no just cause to suspect that they could be any thing near afforded by any little spirituous parts, which may be presumed to have been communicated by that part of the vegetable that is first put into the water, to that far greater part of it which was committed to distillation." Origin of Forms, &c. p. 61—63.

(*f*) Dr. Priestly's Exam. of Beattie, &c. p. 143.

degree of difference in the organs of different persons. For instance: in the distance of the retina and crystalline humour of the eye; in the degree of extension in the tympanum of the ear; in the acrimony of the saliva, &c. And the variety which is observable in the faces, the voices, and the bones of men, and almost through the whole face of nature, would lead us to suspect that the same variety might take place here.

"3. Those things which are very pleasing to one, are extremely disagreeable to another.

"4. Those things which are, at one time, very agreeable, are, at another, very disagreeable, to the same person, when the organs of his body are indisposed, or when other disagreeable ideas are associated with those that had once been grateful. (*g*)

Thus, as Mr. Boyle remarks, "some men whose appetites are gratified by decayed cheese, think it then not to have degenerated, but to have attained its best state, when, having lost its former colour, and smell, and taste, and, which is more, being in great part turned into those insects called mites; it is both, in a philosophical sense, corrupted, and, in the estimation of the generality of men, grown putrid." (*h*)

It is well known that some persons have literally fainted, not only at the continued sight of the above-mentioned viand, whether decayed or sound; but (which evinces the antipathy to be unaffected) even when the offending substance has been totally concealed from the view of the unsuspecting guest by those who have purposely tried the brutal and inhospitable experiment.—Others will be convulsed at the approach of a cat. —And I have heard of a gentleman who would swoon at the presence of a cucumber, properly cut and prepared for the table.

Now whence is it, that what eminently gratifies the senses of one individual shall thus have a reverse effect on those of another? Certainly not from any difference in the object: for both the substance and the attributes of that remain precisely the same, whether the perceptions which they occasion in us be pleasing or offensive. Consequently, if one and the same object operate in so contrary a manner on the sensitive organs of various people, the diversity of effect, where it really obtains, must be owing to a modal variation in the mechanical structure of the sensitive organs themselves.

I consider it, therefore, as equally ungenerous and absurd, when particular aversions, seem they ever so odd, are hastily blamed and ridiculed. They may be, and very frequently are, constitutional and insuperable.

The elegant sex, especially, are often savagely censured on these accounts. If a lady turn pale when it thunders, or start from a spider, or tremble at a frog, or shriek at the nigh appearance of a mouse; I cannot in common justice laughingly exclaim, with Dean Swift,

"If chance a mouse creep in her sight,
She finely counterfeits a fright:
So sweetly screams, if it come near her,
It ravishes all hearts to hear her."

Such antipathies are not always to be classed under the article of affectation, nor even of prejudice. They frequently arise, particularly in females, and in very young persons, from the extreme delicacy of their nervous and organic systems.

I smiled, indeed, on a lady's once saying to me, I have just paid a morning's visit to Mrs. G———; and really thought I should have fainted away, on seeing the cloth laid for dinner at so shocking an hour as one o'clock. This, I confess, struck me at first, as the language, not of real, but assumed, elegance, and I treated it accordingly, by hoping that "in all her future visits to Mrs. G———, she would previously arm herself with a smelling bottle, for fear of consequences." I will not, however, be too peremptory in denying that the sight of a table-cloth, displayed at an hour deemed so "shockingly" unseasonable, might literally excite some, though not an insupportable degree of painful vibration in the nerves of so refined a person.

A few other familiar illustrations of our main point shall close the present disquisition.

We will imagine a gentleman to be, as we commonly phrase it, violently in love That is: the charms, or assemblage of sensible qualities, in a particular lady, are exactly adapted to strike with rapture a system of senses so fabricated as his, and, of course, to fall in with his ideas of beauty, merit, and accomplishment. —What is the consequence? He becomes her captive, and can no more avoid becoming such, than an aspin leaf can resist the impulse of the zephyr. Hence she is necessarily considered by him as a Helen, a Venus, a Pansebia.

"Grace is in all her steps: heaven in her eye;
In every gesture, dignity and love."

And yet this self-same lady may appear far less attracting, or but barely passable, or perhaps in some respects, even homely and disagreeable, to the eyes of another man. —Why? Because our ideas depend upon our senses: and our senses depend upon their own interior conformation for the particular cast and mode of every perception which is impressed upon them from without. Hence it is a common phrase, concerning a man who has never been in love, that he has

(*g*) Dodderidge's Lectures, p. 15.

(*h*) Origin of Forms, &c. p. 59.

not seen the right object. And nothing can be more philosophically true.

A lady too, may be totally and inextricably captivated. When this is the case, the happy swain shines, in her estimation, a Narcissus, an Adonis, a Phœbus. Nor are the virtues of his mind distanced by the charms of his person. Other gentlemen may have their moral excellencies: but he, the incomparable he, is

"More just, more wise, more learned, more everything."

While, perhaps, a great part of her acquaintances shall unite to wonder, very seriously, what she could possibly see in this imaginary sanspariel; and even lift up their hands at her monstrous indelicacy of taste.

Parental affection, likewise, affords obvious and striking proof of the theory for which I have been pleading.

"Where yet was ever found a mother,
Who'd give her booby for another?
No child is half so fair and wise!
She sees wit sparkle in its eyes."

Very probably. And it is also very possible that she may be the only person in the world who is able to discern any such thing. An acquaintance, or an occasional visitant, so far from agreeing with the enraptured parent, would perhaps cry out, if politeness did not prohibit, concerning the sweet little dear who passes for the "very image of his papa and mama,"

"Where are the father's mouth and nose?
And mother's eyes as black as sloes?
See here a shocking awkward creature,
That speaks the fool in every feature!"

Different people see the same things differently.—And thus, us Mr. Melmoth writes to his friend: "Though we agree in giving the same names to certain visible appearances; as whiteness, for instance, to snow; yet it is by no means demonstration, that the particular body, which affects us with that sensation, raises the same precise idea in any two persons who should happen to contemplate it together. I have often heard you mention your youngest daughter as being the exact counterpart of her mother. Now she does not appear to me to resemble her in any single feature. To what can this disagreement in our judgments be owing, but to a difference in the structure of our organs of sight?" (*i*)

What shall we say of self-love? How many noble and delightful sensible qualities does a man of this cast really believe himself to possess; most, if not all, of which are absolutely invisible to every other being.

"What fine fingers I have!" said a lady once, in my hearing, "how beautifully the joints are turned!" Undoubtedly she thought so. But doctors differ. Not only the articulation of her fingers, but the construction of her whole hand, seemed to me rather clumsy than elegant. The same lady, by the way, actually thought herself sinless. But herein, likewise, I could not help dissenting from her judgment.

A vain man is, generally, still vainer than the vainest female. Mr. John Wesley, for example, declares himself to be "the greatest minister in the world." I do him the justice to believe that, in permitting this declaration to pass the press, his avowed vanity was the honest trumpeter of his heart! But how few others will subscribe to his opinion! There is more learning in one hair of my head, said the self-enamoured Paracelsus, than in all the universities together. Who ever questioned herein the sincerity of that prattling empiric? But who does not more than question the reality of those great qualities on which he so extravagantly and so ridiculously valued himself?—When a bookseller, desirous to prefix an engraving of Julius Scaliger to one of that critic's publications, requested him to sit for a likeness, Julius modestly answered, If the artist can collect the several graces of Massinissa, of Xenophon, and of Plato, he may then be able to give the world some faint idea of my person. If Scaliger was in love with his own outward man, Dr. Richard Bentley was no less so with his own intellectual improvements. Mr. Wasse, said the doctor very gravely, will be the greatest scholar in England when I am dead.—Peter Aretin had a medal struck, at his own expense, exhibiting his own profile; encircled with this humble inscription: *il divinno Aretino, i. e.* the divine Aretin. (*k*) When I reflect on such instances of self-idolatry as these, they remind me of Congreve's observation:

"If happiness in (*l*) self-content is plac'd
The wise are wretched, and fools only blest."

We have taken a survey of love in more of its terminations than one. Let us for a moment advert to its opposite.

In revolving the description which the celebrated Dr. John Ponet, Bishop of Winchester, has given us of his Popish predecessor in that see, I have been prone to surmise that the latter might really appear as hideously frightful, in the eyes of the former, as the following written picture represents him to have done. "This doctor," says

(*i*) Fitz-Osborne's Letters, Vol. I. Let. 34.

(*k*) In setting Mr. Wesley at the head of these self-admiring gentlemen, I by no means intend to insinuate that he stands on a level with the lowest of them in any one article, that of vanity and conceit alone excepted. Mistake me not, therefore, as though I meant to put him absolutely into the company of such men as Paracelsus, Scaliger, Bentley, and Aretin.

(*l*) "True happiness, however, is not placed in "self content," but arises from a comfortable apprehension of our reconciliation to God by the blood and righteousness of his Son. Hence, a good man shall be satisfied [not with, but] from himself: Prov. xiv. 14. viz. from within: or from the inward testimony of the Holy Spirit witnessing to his conscience that he is a child of God. Rom. viii. 16.

Bishop Ponet, speaking of Stephen Gardiner, "has a swart colour, hanging look, frowning brows, eyes an inch within his head, a nose hooked like a buzzard; nostrils like a horse, ever snuffing into the wind; a sparrow mouth, great paws like the devil's, talons on his feet, like a gripe [*i. e.* like a griffin], two inches longer than natural toes; and so tied to with sinews that he cannot abide to be touched, nor scarce suffer them to touch the stones. And nature, having thus shaped the form of an old monster, gave him a vengeable wit, which, at Cambridge, by labour and diligence, he made a great deal worse; and brought up many in that faculty."(*m*) Such was Bishop Gardiner, according to Bishop Ponet's view of him. Notwithstanding which, this identical Gardiner might seem, in his own eyes, and in the eyes of Queen Mary and others of his friends, a portly personable prelate.

To be serious. Let me, by way of needful and sincere apology, for a disquisition which has extended to an unexpected length, observe that, in sifting the question, it was necessary to recur to first principles, and to survey the argument in various points of view. Let me, moreover, add: that in all I have delivered on the subject, I do but express my own sense of it, without the least aim of dictating to others, or of presumptuously seeking to obtrude my philosophic (any more than my religious) creed on such persons as may honour these pages with perusal.

Upon the whole, I conclude with Mr. Locke; (*n*) that the infinitely wise Contriver of us, and of all things about us, has fitted our senses, faculties, and organs, to the conveniences of life, and to the business we have to do. Such a knowledge as this, which is suited to our present condition, we want not faculties to attain. But, were our senses altered, and made much quicker and acuter, the appearances and outward scheme of things would have quite another face to us: and, I am apt to think, would be inconsistent with our being, or at least well-being in this part of the universe which we inhabit."

(*m*) Bing. Dict. vol. v. p. 307. Article, Gardiner.

(*n*) Essay on Und. book ii. chap. 23.

COLLECTION OF LETTERS.

The following Letters were written by the author without the least view to publication, but soon after his decease, by the advice of friends, some of them were deemed proper to be printed. It should have been notified at the time, that they were sudden thoughts committed to paper without correction. For in a book that the rough draught of the letters were inserted, a memorandum was made *verbatim*, as follows:

"In looking among some old papers, I met with the copies of a few letters, which I had formerly written, and which I designed to enter, either in this or some other plain paper book, by way of preserving them, for my own future satisfaction, if Providence should please to preserve my life.

"The finding of those suggested to me the hint of taking foul copies of such letters as are any way interesting. I may, hereafter, write to particular friends, before I draw them out fair for the post. If I live, they may be of use to myself; if not, they can do me no hurt."

A. T.

Broad Hembury, Oct. 1. 1772.

The chief value of this collection lies in the exhibition it gives of the distinguished merit, and pious occupation that followed the writer of them in his private correspondence. They are interspersed with several observations on religion and human life, and shew a heart penetrated with truth endeavouring to persuade others, accompanied with sprightliness of wit, solidity of judgment, extent of knowledge, and elegance of taste, joined with all the undefinable ease and familiarity off the most unreserved conversation, which takes off that insipidness of a laboured stiffness that often attends the epistolary intercourse of many very sensible persons. Editor.

LETTER I.

Mr. E.

Fen Ottery, March 6, 1767.

EVER DEAR SIR,

Will my honoured friend forgive me if, from a kind impatience to be informed of his welfare, I take the liberty to enquire how he does? Though writing letters is one of the things which, in general, I am least fond of, yet I cannot forbear, dear sir, to present you and Mrs. —— with my respects, and to wish you the joys of believing, and the comforts of the Holy Spirit. I have been returned into Devonshire about a fortnight: Mr. —— is at London, attending the service of Parliament; so that I cannot very readily get my letter franked. I am glad, notwithstanding, that he is absent, as he was one of the two hundred and six members who, this day se'nnight, carried the vote for the reduction of the land tax, in opposition (as he writes me word) to one hun-

dred and eighty-eight, who were for keeping it up to four shillings. But, to come to matters of infinitely greater importance, I hope, sir, you are enabled to trust your soul to Christ, and to cast your care on God. Satan, no doubt, will be ever ready to bring in the indictment, and conscience cannot help pleading guilty to a great part of the charge: but remember that your Judge is at the very same time your Advocate and Saviour. He is a lover of your soul, and was the propitiation for your sins; they cannot be too numerous, nor too heinous, for mercy like his to pardon, nor for merit like his to cover. Only flee to him for refuge, fly to the hiding place of his righteousness, death and intercession, and then the enemy can have no final advantage over you, nor the son of wickedness approach to hurt you in your everlasting interest. Assault you he may, in your way to the kingdom of God; overcome you he cannot, if you look, or desire to look, to Jesus for safety; lie at his blessed feet for protection, lay hold on his victorious cross for salvation, and then you shall find him gracious to relieve, mighty to deliver, and faithful to uphold. Cast anchor on his love, and be happy, rely on his omnipotence, and be safe. He knows that you are very near my heart, that not a day passes in which I do not beseech him on your behalf: may his Holy Spirit diffuse his heavenly peace throughout your soul; make you be joyful with his holy visitations, and while he comforts you from on high, sanctify you to the uttermost! In life, in death, in eternity, may he be your light, your strength, and your exceeding great reward! I know that your health is so bad you cannot read much, but you can pray; you can send up your desires, as incense, to the throne of God, almost every moment. As you sit, as you walk, as you take an airing, you may cultivate an intimacy with heaven; you may carry on a correspondence with God, you may hold silent intercourse with the Spirit of grace. Every sigh, if directed to him, is a prayer; every tear shed for sin is a sort of oblation, acceptable to him in Christ, and shall be noted in his book. Yet not the sighs we breathe, nor the tears we pour, are our justifying merit; but the sigh, the tears, the obedience, the death, of his co-eternal Son; his are the propitiations, ours are the memorial, and the proof of the work of grace which his Spirit begins in the soul. Resign yourself to his will in every dispensation; lie passive in his hand, stir not from his footstool, take all your spiritual distresses as commissioned from him. The cup, the medicinal cup, is of his mixing; the chastisement is the chastisement of a father, who loves while he strikes, and whose seeming wrath is real mercy. May his everlasting arms be spread beneath you; may his grace (as I doubt not it will) be sufficient for you, may his presence be with you, with yours, and with your affectionate servant in him,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

P. S. From my earnest desire to have you manage every one of your affairs in such a way as may most conduce to the peace of your own mind and the welfare of your family; I cannot help requesting leave to suggest a hint which, was my regard for you less than it is, I should certainly suppress; it is, my dear sir, in relation to Mrs. ——, and your two youngest sons: with respect to Mrs. ——, God forbid that you should leave her dependent, either for habitation, or for maintenance, on your children, or any body else. If you are not quite clear as to these two points, do let me beseech you to revise your papers, and if there is any deficiency in either of these respects, set it right while providence, by prolonging your life, continues it in your power. Indeed, and indeed, you will not discharge your duty without it; nor can you expect to depart in peace if you omit it. With regard to your two youngest sons, let me entreat you to leave them equally; they have both the same right to your affection, and to what you may design to give. Their aunt's kind intentions ought to make no difference as to this point: it is incumbent on you, my dear sir, to do your duty, and by that means Mrs. —— will be left (as she ought to be) at full liberty to bestow her favours on the most deserving. Weigh what I have said, and may the Lord God give you a right judgment in all things. It is not from motives of impertinence that I have presumed to mention these particulars, but from the sincere affection I have for you and your's. Adieu, my dear friend, and forgive me if my regard has carried me too far. My best respects, when you write next to Bath, and my kind compliments to the young gentlemen. Do not neglect to take the air every day. Once more, adieu.

LETTER II.

To Mr. Morris.

Broad-Hembury, near Honiton, Devon, Sept. 2, 1768.

It is now above eight years since I saw or heard from my ever dear Mr. Morris. The Lord knows you are near my heart, and are often present to my thoughts. God grant that this letter may find my valued friend as well in body, and as lively in soul, as when I saw him last.

I have been in orders between six and seven years; and now write to you from my living. The Spirit of God has kept me steadfast in his glorious truths, and given

me much joy and peace in believing. I trust, too, that my labours, as a minister, have been owned from above, to the calling in of some chosen vessels, and to the consolation of others who were, before, quickened from their death in trespasses and sins; which I mention to the praise of the glory of his grace, who vouchsafes to make use of the meanest, the feeblest, and the unworthiest instruments to accomplish his designs of love towards those he delights to save.—Whilst I am writing, the fire kindles in my soul: may it reach your heart when this letter reaches your hands. I am at present high on the mount of divine love, and can sing with the Church, Isa. lxi. 10. "I will greatly rejoice in the Lord," &c.—How is it with you? Are you as zealous for Christ, and for souls, as when God made you the means of my conversion twelve years ago? O that the Lord would rend the heavens, and come down and set you all in a flame for himself! Permit your spiritual son to remind you of the sweet, the memorable days and months that are past. Indeed, and indeed, I love you tenderly, in the bowels of Jesus Christ. How has my heart burnt within me, and how have my tears flowed, like water from the smitten rock, when I have heard you preach the unsearchable riches of his grace, blood, and righteousness! The word came with power, and with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven. And is it true, can it be possible, that you should cease from your work of calling sinners to repentance? Do you withdraw your hand from the gospel plough, after God has made it prosper so long in your hands? I am told so; but I cannot believe it. O man of God, stir up the gift that is in thee: let it not rust and moulder by lying useless. The Lord hath often spoke to me by your mouth: Oh, that he would now speak to you by my pen! Do, at my request, meet the dear people of C., and who knows but there may once more be showers of blessing? Blow the trumpet in Zion, as heretofore. While life and health and strength continue, let your feet stand upon the mountains, and the law of gospel-kindness dwell upon your tongue, to the very last: yea, let your lips feed many.—Adieu. I scarce know how to leave off when I write to any of my brethren in the faith. If even the poor, feeble, mortal saints below, love one another so well; no wonder that the love of an infinite God to his own dear elect should be from everlasting to everlasting.—Electing, justifying, regenerating, sanctifying, and persevering grace, have been, and are, the subjects of my ministry: and, I hope, will be, to my latest breath. If a messenger of Christ is under the lively, experimental influence of these glorious truths; the word of his master will be as fire in his bones: yea, he will be in pangs, as it were, like a woman in travail, until Christ is formed in the hearts of them that hear. God Almighty pour out such a spirit of fervency on my dear Mr. Morris, and on his

ever affectionate friend,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER III.

To Mr. Philips.

Broad Hembury, Sept. 6, 1768.

SIR,

I believe I shall go to town by way of Salisbury; in which case I will certainly do myself the pleasure of calling on you. I wish I could fulfil your request in the other particular, concerning which you write; but the times will not allow it. Every one that knows me, knows that I have the greatest and most cordial regard for the evangelical dissenters. I am exactly the same, in that respect, as when you knew me first: and most heartily wish that the wall of partition was so far pulled down, as to admit all gospel ministers to occupy each others' pulpits, without distinction of party and denomination. But, as this is a happiness we cannot expect to see, I am under a necessity of foregoing the satisfaction it would give me to hold forth the word of life to those Christians who are beyond the pale of the establishment: except (which in the course of my ministry many hundreds have done) any of them are so condescending as to attend on me who, they know, am tied up from waiting on them.—I am well acquainted with Mr. Elliot; and an excellent man he is: but he has set himself more at liberty than I can be, by absolutely renouncing all connection with the church of England; which, I freely own, conscience will not suffer me to do: and I am clear, moreover, that it would be going out of bounds, and over-leaping those limits which Providence hath prescribed me, was I to attempt it.

Pray make my affectionate compliments acceptable to your people, and let them know that it is neither bigotry, want of respect, nor want of love, that hinders me from complying with the request they have done me the favour to make. Lawful in itself, I am convinced it would be: but, all things considered, far from expedient. As matters at present stand, it is a great blessing, never to be sufficiently valued and acknowledged, that there are some faithful ministers of every Protestant denomination among us: so that no denomination, unless particularly circumstanced, need go beyond their own tents, in order to gather the gospel manna: by which wise and gracious dispensation of things, God's elect of every name are fed and

nourished up to life eternal, notwithstanding the nominal distinctions which bigotry, prejudice, and human laws, have fixed. I am concerned to hear of Mr. H——'s defection. If he was ever of us in reality, God will, in due time, bring him to us again. A truly gracious man, like a thorough good watch, may deviate, and point wrong, for a season; but, like the machine just mentioned, will after a time come round, and point right as before. In the mean while, let such instances teach us to be jealous over our own corrupt hearts; make us dependent, sensibly and increasingly dependent on the power and faithfulness of the Holy Ghost: stir us up to prayer, that we may be kept from being carried away with the error of the wicked; and put a song of thanksgiving into our mouths, to that God whose free, invincible grace hath enabled us to stand, when others (in appearance stronger than we) have fallen, and become as water that runneth apace. You enquire about my usefulness, acceptance, and number of hearers. My parish is very large, and considerably populous. My church, I suppose, will hold six hundred at least. Strangers, I apprehend, usually make one-third of my auditory; and the word has been signally blest to some, both in the parish and out of it. I have the greatest reason to believe that, within the course of the last twelvemonth, God has owned my ministry more than ever. May my master's feet go on to sound behind me; and may the last works be continually more and greater than the preceding!

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER IV.

To Mr. Rutter.

Broad Hembury, Oct. 3, 1768.

REV. AND WORTHY SIR,

Slender as our acquaintance is, I yet cannot forbear requesting leave to express the real concern I feel, on being informed of the afflictive visitation you lately experienced: if that may be termed afflictive, which is the result of God's unerring providence, who does all things well. May he vouchsafe to sanctify this, and every subsequent dispensation which may yet befal you! May the light of his gracious countenance, the comforts of his Spirit, and the cheering intimations of his favour, be your strength, and your portion, when heart and flesh fail! You have, I trust, a merciful and faithful High-Priest above, who bears you on his heart, and is touched with the feeling of your infirmities. To him let us look; on him let the anchor of our reliance be cast. The merit of his blood and righteousness, like the waving of Elijah's mantle, shall smite the waters of death; so that the stream shall part hither and thither, and open a way for his redeemed to pass over on dry ground. Doubt not, dear sir, but he will send forth his light and his truth to lead you to his holy hill, and to his dwelling-place, that land of rest, and that city of habitation, where the inhabitants small no more say I am sick. I beg an interest in your prayers, and remain, with much respect and esteem, Rev. Sir, your affectionate brother,

and most humble servant,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER V.

To Mr. Bottomley.

New-Way, Westminster, Dec. 3, 1768.

WORTHY SIR,

I have read attentively the paper you condescended to put into my hands, and which I return, because I apprehend you meant I should only peruse it. I not only approve, but admire, the modesty with which you write. I pray God I may be enabled, more and more, to adopt the same truly Christian spirit. And I verily hope and believe that that most gracious Being who has led you thus far, will go on to translate you farther and farther into the light and liberty of his children.—As I once took occasion to tell you, it is much the same with mistakes in matters of judgment, as it was with the two disciples in the dungeon of Philippi: first the prison shakes; and next the doors fly open. I am heartily glad that you are shaken as to the system you have long embraced; and trust that it is prelusive to your deliverance from it. I do not trouble you with my thoughts on the substance of your paper: though I must own there is not, in the whole of it, any single exception against the doctrine of predestination, which will not admit of a very easy solution. But I omit attempting this, as the person to whom that letter was particularly addressed is abundantly more capable than myself of obviating your doubts. Suffer me, dear sir, to repeat, with all humility, the request I made to you some time ago. Be not hasty in determining your judgment on this most important point. View the question on all sides. Chiefly keep your eye fixed on the Scriptures; and derive by humble, earnest, waiting prayer, all your light and knowledge thence. One thing I am very clear in, that if you reduce your ideas to the standard of Scripture, and make this the model of those; suffering the unerring word of revelation to have the casting vote, and turning your mind into the gospel mould; you must and will eventually throw the idol of Arminianism, in all its branches, to the moles and to the bats; you will no longer dwell with Mesech, nor have your habitation

among the tents of Kedar. Having tasted the good old wine of distinguishing grace, you will no longer have any relish for the new scheme of grace without a plan, and of a random salvation; for you will both know and acknowledge that the old is better. Hoping to see that happy time, I remain, with great esteem, dear sir,

Your affectionate brother in Christ,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER VI.

MR. N —

Broad Hembury, Oct. 5, 1772.

DEAR SIR,

You need not trouble yourself to send me the pamphlet you mention, entitled, A Philosophical Survey of Nature. It is already in my possession. I remember to have read it several years ago, when it first came to my hands: and since my receipt of your last favour, I have given it a fresh perusal. The author is, undoubtedly, a professed materialist. His system therefore is atheistical, to all intents and purposes. He is, I should imagine, a person of too much sense to be an absolute atheist himself: but he seems to wish he could. The two grand principles which enter into the very basis of his scheme, viz., That matter may have existed from all eternity; and that matter may, by organization, be refined into intelligence; are positions which, if admitted, would lay the axe to the very root of all existence purely spiritual; and, consequently, render the being of God impossible

To such horrid lengths of absurdity and impiety are men, even those of the brightest talents, liable, when they unhappily shut their eyes against that written revelation which so kindly holds the lamp to benighted reason. One would almost think that writers of this cast are purposely raised up by Providence to shew mankind the necessity of superior illumination, and to demonstrate the utter insufficiency of mere reason, genius, and philosophy, to guide us either to happiness or truth.

This is the only principle on which I can account for the glaring inconsistencies which never fail to disgrace the reasonings of infidels. The very author now under consideration, though he attenuates his theory to a very nice and plausible texture, is yet guilty of departing from an axiom which he professes heartily to adopt, and from which more than a few of his own deductions are spun. The axiom is, that every effect must result from some prior, producing cause. If so (and surely, if this be not true, we have no evidence of anything), how is it possible for matter to be eternal? Matter must be either the first cause, or an effect. Should the ingenious writer affirm matter to be the first cause: he would only beg the question, by taking for granted what (I am bold to say) he will never be able to prove: and on a point of this consequence, wherein both religion and philosophy are so essentially concerned, the bare opinion and unsupported assertion even of this able speculator will never carry the force of demonstration. On the other hand, if matter, in all its diversity of modes, cannot be proved to be the first cause [*i. e.* to have caused its own existence] unprejudiced reason will immediately conclude that matter must, originally, have been the effect of a superior intelligent power, which intelligent power could be no other than that adorable agent whom we call God.

If the whole system of material nature be (as this author himself acknowledges) a regular succession of causes and effects; will it not follow that the eternity of matter is a matter of absolute impossibility? Let us instance in a horse. Who was Lightfoot's father? Turk.—Who was father to Turk? Sweepstakes. — Who got Sweepstakes? Hazel. Were we capable of tracing back the pedigree of Lightfoot to its original source, we should not stop until we came to the very first horse that ever existed. Being arrived so high as that, another question would yet remain: how came this first horse to exist at all? Certainly by the will and power of some superior being.

Would not reason laugh at the man who should affirm that there never was a first horse, but that horses existed eternally?

There must, therefore, in all our ascending enquiries, be some *ultimatum*, some given point at which to stop. This given point, this first cause, is God.—The same analysis which has been applied to Lightfoot, will hold equally true, when applied to any material thing whatever. All must terminate somewhere: for there is "no effect without a cause." Consequently matter is not eternal.

"But may not matter be so organized and refined as to rise into what we call intelligence?" The plain English of this question is, "May not matter (such as a cabbage, a marble statue, a candle, or a chest) be able to hear, see, feel, taste, smell, reason, speak, read, write, and walk?" If any individual of the human species can coolly and in earnest suppose this; let his next of kin (if the insane man's possessions will recompense the trouble) sue for a statute of lunacy, and transmit him to his proper apartment in Moorfields.

I confess myself ashamed to encounter such a position with any degree of seriousness. Suffer me, however, to ask: Is there no essential, but only a modal difference, between the writer of the Philosophical Sur-

vey of Nature, and the pen with which he committed his ideas to writing.

A correspondent less polite than yourself would tell me, perhaps, that instead of enquiring into the capacities of our author's pen, it is time I should lay down my own.

I cannot, however, do this without first repeating the affection and respect with which I am yours, &c.,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER VII

To B. S., Esq.

Broad Hembury, Nov. 9, 1772.

SIR,

Acquainted as you are with the leading objects of my thoughts, you still would not easily conjecture on what speculation they lately turned.—I have been comparing my own situation (not, as some philosophers advise, with persons of inferior rank to myself, but) with that of those whom the world calls great. Every great man I know has passed before me in a kind of intellectual review: and the result is that, if it were even in my power, I would not make an exchange of condition with any one of the twenty-seven.

To be happy we must be virtuous; and in order to our becoming truly virtuous, we must experience the grace of God, which bringeth salvation.

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER VIII.

To Ambrose Serle, Esq.

Broad Hembury, Nov. 20, 1772.

SIR,

Contrary to my wishes, and by a sort of fatality for which I find myself unable to account, I am usually least regular in writing to those whom I most regard. Though incapable of forgetting them, experience proves that I am but too capable of seeming to neglect them: and none has more reason to be displeased with me on this account than my dear, my very dear friend, to whom I am now, after a long interval of silence, addressing myself at last.

How many defects have I for your candour to excuse! Prove yourself candid indeed, by excusing them all. Thus you will lay me under still deeper obligation, and shame me, by your condescension, into a more punctual acknowledgment of your favours.—Your favours, dear sir, eminently deserve the name. They have followed me at home and abroad, ever since I saw you, and if I had, by a deadness to all gratitude, been even disposed to forget you, they would have constantly reminded me of you, whether I would or not. In justice however to myself as well as to you, I must repeat my long intermitted assurances, that the person does not breathe whom I love and respect more than yourself. If I do not tell you so as often as I ought, impute the omission to any cause except the want of those two.

The goodness of God still continues to surround me on every side. Oh that my thankfulness and improvements in grace bore some little proportion to his exuberance of mercies! But in vain do I look within myself for that excellence which I shall never find there, until death is swallowed up in victory. God enable me, in the mean while, to see my own nothingness more and more; and to trust in that great Fulfiller of all righteousness, who

"Toiled for our ease, and for our safety bled.

To those who believe he is [τιμη] preciousness in the abstract. And the more we see of his preciousness, the more humbling views we have of our own vileness. Indeed self-renunciation is the grand central point of the spiritual life. It is the *ratio formalis*, the very essence of true religion. Oh, for a larger measure of it! We are then happiest and safest, when we lie lowest, and feel that Christ and grace are all in all.

But I am, unawares, almost preaching to one at whose feet I wish to sit. May you take the best revenge, and preach largely to me in return! The longer your sermon, the better I shall like it: like him who thought the longest of Demosthenes' orations the best. I greatly desire to hear from you: and hope you are too forgiving to follow the bad example of delay which I have set you.

Commend myself to the continuance of your affection I need not. Commend myself to your prayers I ought, and humbly do. Every blessing be with you. Above all, the best of blessings, the peace and love of God in Christ.

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER IX.

To Mrs. G——.

Broad Hembury, Nov. 20, 177..

Will good Mrs. G. permit the most unworthy, but not the least sincere, of her well-wishers, to enquire after her health; and at a considerable distance of place, and after a long interval of time, to repeat his thanks for her many instances of politeness and condescension?

Above all, Madam, how is it with your soul? What are your views of God and Christ and heaven? Lively, I trust, and full of glory. Yet if our views are dim and languid, still He abideth faithful, and cannot deny himself. Not upon our frames, but upon

the adorable Giver of them, is all our safety built. If we cannot follow him in the light, God help us to follow him in the dark: and if we cannot follow him so, to fall down at his feet, and sink into nothing, under the feelings of our own vileness. They who are enabled thus to fall, shall be raised in due time. I know not why, but I could not forbear writing to you. May the Spirit of the living God write his consolations on your heart, and cause your triumphs in Christ to abound more and more. Impute this liberty to respect and esteem; and believe me to be with a great share of both, Madam,

your obliged and obedient servant,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER X.

To Mr. Samuel Naylor.

Broad Hembury, Nov. 27, 1772.

[Extract]

I am informed that that inveterate troubler in Israel, Mr. J. W———, has lately published a fourth squib against Mr. Hill; I should be glad to see it. What a mercy it is that the enemies of the gospel, amidst all their plenitude of malice, have little skill and less power! Mr. W——, considered as a reasoner, is one of the most contemptible writers that ever set pen to paper. O that he, in whose hand the hearts of all men are, may make even this opposer of grace a monument of his almighty power to save! God is witness how earnestly I wish it may consist with the divine will to touch the heart and open the eyes of that unhappy man. I hold it as much my duty to pray for his conversion as to expose the futility of his railings against the truths of the gospel.

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER XI.

To Mr. B. E——.

Broad Hembury, Dec. 4, 1772.

[Extract]

I agree with you that the expression [*viz.*, That one drop of Christ's blood would have sufficed to the redemption of sinners] has been used by some very pious and well-meaning persons. Yet I can by no means look upon the idea itself as true, or on the expression as warrantable. If an individual drop had been sufficient, we might indeed well ask, Why all this waste of sufferings and of love? The overplus was, according to this supposition absolutely shed in vain. But I cannot bring myself to believe that any part of Christ's most precious humiliation was superfluous and unnecessary. His ineffable dignity as God, and his absolute innocence as man, forbid me to imagine that the Father would inflict a single grain of punishment on his co-equal and immaculate Son, beyond what was absolutely requisite to the plenary payment of our infinite debt. If it be a rule even in the operations of nature, *frustra fit per plura, quod fieri potest per pauciora*; much more strongly will it hold in the present argument. What idea should we have of that man's wisdom who should lavish a million of guineas to procure what a shilling might purchase!

As to the second question, "Whether sinners might not have been saved in some other way, than by the incarnation, righteousness, and death of Christ?" I make no scruple to give it as my judgment that there was no other possible way of salvation for the lost sons of Adam. If there had, Infinite Wisdom and Goodness would certainly have fixed upon it, in preference to the sorrows and agonies, the wounds and death of him who had done no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth. His own prayer, If it be possible, let this cup (the cup of pain and death) pass from me, would most infallibly have been granted (for the Father heareth him always), and Christ could no more pray than he could bleed in vain, if any thing short of the oblation of himself could have obtained eternal redemption for the people of his love. —Ought not Christ to have suffered these things? Ουχι ταυτα εδει παθειν; was there not a must be, a necessity for it? Yes, there was. And, upon any other hypothesis, I see not how it could please the Father to bruise the sinless Messiah and put him to grief, without forfeiting every claim to justice, wisdom, and goodness.

Neither is this "fettering and limiting the omnipotence of God." It is a received maxim in metaphysics, and no maxim can be more just and reasonable, that an essential contradiction is no object of power. Now the pardon of sin, without an adequate expiation; the justification of sinners without a perfect righteousness; and, in a word, the salvation of the guilty without a complete redemption; would have essentially contradicted every attribute of God, and every declaration of his will. It is therefore putting no more limitation on the divine power to believe that fallen men could not possibly be restored but by the intervention of Christ's obedience, atonement, and intercession; than to believe that God cannot possibly cease to be wise and holy, just and true. Infinite exemption from all possible imperfection is a proof, not of defective power, but of such inconceivable greatness, as more than dazzles the keenest view of man, and utterly absorbs the most extended comprehension of all created intellect.

I feel the overwhelming glory of the subject too forcibly to proceed.—May the adorable, the ever-blessed God, who only hath independent immortality, dwelling in the

light which no man, in the present state of unspiritualized nature can approach unto; may he, my dear sir, shine into our hearts, and inspire us with "wonder, love, and praise! Soon will mortality be swallowed up of life: and then with what holy contempt shall we look back, and look down on the littleness, the comparative nothingness, of our puny reasonings when below! An angel of light is not more superior in knowledge, dignity, and bliss, to an infant in the cradle, than the souls of the elect, when death transmits them to the throne of God, differ from what they are while plunged, I had almost said, while buried, in the living sepulchre of a mortal body.

"Minors of yesterday we are;
Nor into manhood rise,
Till death pronounces us of age,
And crowns us for the skies."

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER XII.

To Richard Hill, Esq.

Broad Hembury, Dec. 11, 1772.

[Extract]

The farther my thread of life is extended, the more clearly I see, and the more deeply I feel, the infinite importance of those inestimable doctrines of which God has made you so able an assertor. Go on, sir, in the strength of Him who hath placed you foremost in this blessed warfare; and doubt not that he will enable you to be more than conqueror through his love. Certainly this is not a time for any who have his cause at heart, to hold their peace. Fond as I suppose most men naturally are, of ease and quiet; there is still a blessing incomparably superior: even the honest and indefatigable avowal of those truths which lie at the foundation of all that can render us happy in time and eternity; truths, in which the glory of God, the consolation of his saints, and the interests of holiness, are so eminently and essentially involved. I pray God that you may never, as Dr. Young expresses it, "unbuckle your armour, until you put on your shroud."

I have never seen Mr. W——'s Remarks on the *Farrago*, nor Mr. F's *Logica Genevensis*. But, if I may conjecture of those by what I have already seen in time past, you have abundantly more than even the goodness of your cause in your favour. May your smooth stones of the brook, slung by the hand of faith, continue to pierce those foreheads of brass, which oppose themselves to the living God.

I admire and bless his providence, which has put you on entering the lists, not only against the declared adversaries of the gospel but also against its pretended friends: who, under the mask of spirituality, affect to promote the religion of Jesus: while, in very deed, they are labouring to cut it up by the roots. Two or three years ago you seemed to think that I was rather excessive in forming such a judgment of them. Themselves have since given you ample reason to be of my mind.

May the Holy Spirit keep you lively, and humble, and richly comfortable in your own soul, while you wield the spiritual sword, which, as matters now stand, you cannot sheathe without sin. And let me presume to drop a hint which, by the way, I ought to have impressed upon myself; namely, consult not your own ease at the expense of God's cause. Be not weary of, and God will keep you from being weary in, well doing. Forgive my freedom, and know, that if I had not the highest opinion of your candour, I should not express my wish with so little ceremony. Dr. Dodderidge was strengthened and comforted at a time when he was greatly straitened in soul, by only hearing (as he was riding through a country village) a child reading at a door to his schoolmistress, those words, Thy shoes shall be iron and brass, and as is thy day so shall thy strength be. May this hasty scribble, though coming from me, who am in all things a child, except in years, be condescendingly accepted: and may my utmost prayers and expectations concerning you be answered. —Believe me to be, Ever your's,

in him who died for us and rose again,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY

LETTER XIII.

To Mrs. Bacon.

Broad Hembury, Dec. 11, 1772.

I hope I stand too fair in dear Mrs. B.'s opinion to be suspected of levity in friendship, only because I do not trouble her with my respects quite so often as I ought. However appearances may be against me, realities are not. I shall always remember you, madam, with high esteem: and consider myself more than a little interested in whatever refers to your spiritual or secular happiness.

For this reason, on my receipt of your last favour, I deeply felt for the writer. That spirit of grief and that turn of dejection by which it was so strongly marked, made me, whether I would or no, sigh on your behalf at the throne of God.

Oh, let faith dry your tears: and know that what he wills and does, is, and must be, not only right but best. Afflict not yourself with uneasy apprehensions concerning the state of him whom you mourn as a husband, and I regret as a friend. Leave his soul with him who, I humbly trust, redeemed it with his own most precious blood;

blood which cleanses from all sin; and sprinkled with which, any and every sinner who is enabled to trust in it, may lift up his head with boldness and joy, in the presence of him who chargeth even the angels with folly. Blessed be God, that dear Mr. Bacon pleaded that availing blood, as the basis of his supplications for mercy. ——I have read, concerning good Mr. Fox, the martyrologist, that "he could never refuse giving pecuniary relief to any who asked him in the name and for the sake of Christ." Much less will the Great Father of mercies reject the petitions of those whom his blessed Spirit hath stirred up (and none can stir us up but his own Spirit) to intreat his favour, on account of what the agonizing friend of sinners has done and suffered for the unworthy, the guilty, the hell-deserving. It is a plea that cannot fail, while God is God. May the plea be your's and mine, both in life and death.

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER XIV.

To Ambrose Serle, Esq

Broad Hembury, Dec. 18, 1772.

Dear Mr. Serle's most obliging favour of the 28th ult. calls for an affectionate acknowledgment on my part. I must, however, enter an exception to the ceremonious passages which occur in his much esteemed letter; and beg leave to file a protest against all future declarations of that high respect with which my valued friend vouchsafes to honour me. I know, my dear sir, that your politeness is not a mere complaisance, like that of the world. If I considered it in such a view, I could dispense with it readily enough. But your transparent sincerity, which adds weight and seriousness to the elegance with which you write, is the very circumstance that humbles and abashes me. Certain I am, that you condescend to allow me a place in your regard; and, by that regard, I intreat you to consider me, and to address me, as (what indeed I am) less than the least of all saints. The highest character to which I aspire (God grant I may be entitled to it) is that of an elect sinner, redeemed with blood, and saved by grace.

I rejoice unfeignedly on your behalf that you are favoured with a calm and settled comfort from on high. I said from on high: for that peace and joy which lay us in the dust, at the footstool of free-grace, do and must come from God alone. To be absorbed and melted as into nothing, under the overwhelming radiance of his unmerited love; to sit in holy silence and stillness of soul, beneath the shadow of the cross; to derive, by the ministration of his Spirit, all our hope, happiness, and tranquillity, from the inestimable merits and intercession of the Lamb that is in the midst of the throne; to cast anchor on the covenant favour and covenant faithfulness of Father, Son and Spirit;—are the grand and only sources of holiness and joy.

I admire your excellent motto. It is more than a motto: it is a maxim, an axiom, certain as certainty itself. *Deo duce omnia bona,* is the language of reason no less than of faith. It is a text on which eternity itself will be an everlasting comment. God enable us to live under the cheerful influence of that great principle, until mortality is swallowed up of life.

I did not apprehend that your knowledge of —— amounted to an intimacy. I thank you for informing me of it, as it gives me a double pleasure. You may easily guess that I mean the pleasure of congratulating you on such a connection; and the pleasure of knowing that so worthy a personage has the happiness of so valuable a friend. Had I the honour of being acquainted with his ——, I should felicitate him on his acquisition: an acquisition which rarely falls to the portion of the great. God, I doubt not, will enable you to wait with implicit confidence, and with the most passive serenity, the issue of his own all-wise purposes. He that believeth shall not (at least he should not) make haste.

You condescend to enquire after my projected Life of Archbishop Laud. I cannot say that I have not begun it. But I am in doubt whether I ought to proceed in it. Ecclesiastical matters wear a very different aspect among us from what they did when I first formed the design. We bid fair, at present, not for having a high church, but for having no church at all. A review of the life and times of that prelate, pregnant with the most horrid detail of civil and religious tyranny, would hardly be seasonable at present, when every unfledged ignoramus has a stone to fling at the establishment. I may perhaps seem to speculate too minutely, but I assure you it is a speculation which has considerable weight with me.

It is time, however, that my speculations should cease to intrude on the attention and valuable moments of my dear friend; else he may be induced to suppose that my motto is,

Scriptus et in Tergo, necdum finitus, Orestes.

I shall therefore, with affectionate compliments to Mrs. S. and your family in general, subscribe myself, dear sir,

Your obliged and obedient servant,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER XV.

To Rev. Dr. B. of Salisbury.

Broad Hembury, Feb. 4, 1773.

Your late favour, dear sir, arrived in due course; and as your letters never fail to be fraught with friendship, politeness, and good

sense, I cannot but lament that so few of them find their way hither. If you had my excuse to plead, I could not with any tolerable propriety expect you to write oftener to me, than I to you. But as you have hitherto found no employment for the printers, you are the more at leisure to entertain and improve me by manuscript.

Accept my condolences on the loss of your uncle at Bullbridge: the qualities of whose heart rendered him more truly amiable and respectable than, without them, the brightest talents could possibly have done.

Your account of your own health is such as I ever wish to receive. Next to the pleasure of enjoying your conversation, I value every information that assures me of your welfare. As to myself, in consequence of being well, I have for some months past been far from idle: though, that industry might not make me ill, I keep (as you rightly conjecture) to my old custom of intermixing labour with occasional relaxation. I could wish, indeed, to be ever on the wing, ever on the stretch: but it is impossible in the present state. We must wait for every species of perfection until we enter a superior world.

What think you concerning the archiepiscopal scheme of "reforming" the liturgy and articles? Such a plan is certainly on the carpet; and it as certainly originated at Lambeth. The ostensible pretext is, to expunge some exceptionable passages which are "offensive to thinking men and hurtful to tender consciences." The new Lambeth Articles (if Providence do not render the design abortive) will be of a very different cast from the old ones of 1595.

I am much obliged to you for your kind invitation, in my way to London, if I should have occasion to go thither. The truth is, I ought to have seen the capital long ago. But I really dread to do so. The sight of places, and the conversation of persons, where and with whom I have enjoyed so many happy hours in the company of my late honoured parent, will naturally recal her so strongly to my remembrance, that I fear my nerves will hardly bear it. I am thankful that she never accepted any of my invitations into Devonshire; as it would now have only tended to revive those ideas which I should be happier never to recollect. The higher a departed satisfaction has been, the more painful (supposing the departure to be final) is its remembrance. Philosophy may censure these feelings as a weakness; but they are such a weakness as I cannot help. Resignation is one thing, insensibility is another.

I have unawares extended these reflections to too great a length. If I was not writing to a friend, I should certainly, on a review, cancel this letter, and substitute a more revised half-sheet. But, as the case stands, I will avail myself of your candour Believe me to be,

Rev. and dear sir, ever your's,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY

LETTER XVI.

To Mrs. S. H.

Broad Hembury, Feb. 5, 1773.

MADAM,

My parishioner, Mrs. H. H., desires me to present you with her most respectful and affectionate thanks for your late kind and obliging letter. Indeed, as the good woman told me, with tears of gratitude, your many instances of friendship and regard are such as plainly indicate the particular hand of Providence which alone could raise up so valuable and disinterested a supporter of her old age. She is inexpressibly sensible of the kindness of your offer, respecting your readiness to send her some additional assistance on account of her present illness. But she desires most thankfully to decline putting you to that trouble: as, through the goodness of God, she can hitherto defray the expenses of her sickness by means of your stated supply. I hope she recovers, though slowly, her pain and feebleness continuing very great.

She requests me to inform you, that any advantages of outward situation which might attend her removal to Columpton, would not, in her judgment, compensate for the spiritual want of such a ministry as she could sit under with comfort.

Permit me now, madam, to apologize for my taking upon myself to acquaint you with these particulars. The truth is, Mrs H. has now no near neighbour in whom she can venture to confide, but myself. She knows I love her dearly, to which I am induced by the grace which is given her of God. I may safely express myself so unreservedly of one who cannot be less than ninety. And I own there are very few in my parish, large as it is, whom I so tenderly esteem. Her many doubts and fears respecting the safety of her soul, and the certainty of her acceptance with God, are, to me, so many proofs that she is indeed chosen, redeemed, and justified. And I am persuaded that the Lord will not take her hence, until he has shone her doubts and fears away. At least, it is a remark, to which I never remember to have met with a single exception, that such of God's people as are most exercised with fear and trembling on their journey through life, are the most comfortable and triumphant in the hour of death. Like Mr. Ready-to-halt, in the Pilgrim's Progress, they are usually the first to fling away their crutches, when they actually come in view of Jordan.

It would be needless to inform you that Mrs H. begs you to accept her best respects and most grateful acknowledgments. To which I add the sincere compliments of, &c.

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY

P. S. If Providence should prolong all our lives until summer, and you should have leisure and inclination to see Mrs. H. before she goes to heaven, I have a part of the vicarage house at your service.

LETTER XVII.

To Ambrose Serle, Esq.

Broad Hembury, March 5, 1773.

EVER DEAR SIR,

God, I trust and believe, will himself be the giver of that support and consolation, which I, with all my sympathy, can only wish and pray that you may experience. Having premised my hope, permit me to thank you for your letter: the only one of your's that ever gave me pain.

With melting heart, and lifted eye, I bless the Lord for his having pointed the late providential shaft with gold: in other words for his having softened your unspeakable loss of dear Mrs. Serle (dearer as an angel than when only a saint) with such undoubted and just assurance of her eternal rest in Christ. May those foretastes of the joy that shall be revealed, with which she was so eminently favoured, be our strength and song, during the appointed course of our remaining pilgrimage, until the Spirit of God have matured us for the inheritance of the saints in light.

I have long observed that such of his people as are least on the mount, while travelling to heaven, are highest on it, and replenished with the richest discoveries of divine love, in the closing scene of life. When they come in actual view of that river which parts the church below from the church above, the celestial city rises full in sight. The sense of interest in the covenant of grace becomes clearer and brighter. The book of life is opened to the eye of assurance. The Holy Spirit more feelingly applies the blood of sprinkling, and warms the soul with that robe of righteousness which Jesus wrought. The once feeble believer is made as David. The once trembling hand is enabled to lay fast hold on the cross of Christ. The sun goes down without a cloud.

Those lines of Dr. Watts are as weighty as they are beautiful:

"Just such is the Christian. His race he begins,
Like the sun in a mist, while he mourns for his sins,
And melts into tears. Then he breaks out and shines,
And travels his heavenly way.
But, as he draws nearer to finish his race,
Like a fine setting sun, he looks richer in grace;
And gives a sure hope at the end of his days,
Of rising in brighter array."

On occasions of this kind, I never offer to condole. I would wish to conceal even my own feelings. Officious lenitives generally operate as corrosives, when tendered to a heart that bleeds under so exquisite a loss; and do but irritate the wound they are meant to assuage. Rather let me wish you to take down your harp from the willows, and to adore the unerring wisdom of him who is daily "accomplishing the number of his elect, and hastening his kingdom."

You have my thanks, dear sir, for your polite and obliging invitation. Should business force me to London this year, I certainly shall, were it only for my own sake, pay my respects to you, as usual; though I shall hardly prevail with myself to take full advantage of your kind and friendly offer.

Our meeting together again on earth is, humanly speaking, precarious. Not so our meeting in heaven. We are by no means sure of the former; but I am fully assured of the latter.

Grace, mercy, and peace, be with you and your's. So prays, from the inmost of his heart, dear sir,

Your obliged, &c.

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER XVIII.

To Richard Hill, Esq.

Broad Hembury, March 12, 1773.

[Extract]

I am told that Mr. Fletcher has it in contemplation to make an attack on me too. He is welcome. I am ready for him. Not shall I, in that case, altogether imitate the amiable examples of yourself and your brother; unless Mr. Fletcher should treat me with more decency than he has hitherto observed towards others. Tenderness, it is very evident, has no good effect on Mr. Wesley, and his pretended family of love. Witness the rancour with which Mr. Hervey's memory and works are treated by that lovely family. For my own part, I shall never attempt to hew such millstones with a feather. They must be served as nettles: press them close, and they cannot sting. Yet have they my prayers, and my best wishes, for their present and future salvation. But not one hair's breadth of the gospel will I ever (God being my helper) offer up at their shrine, or sacrifice to their idol.

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER XIX.

To Mr. Ryland, Jun.

London, April 30, 1773.

Many and best thanks to dear Mr. R. for his two valuable and much esteemed letters; as also for the several pamphlets with which the latter of his two favours was accompa-

nied. Mr. Richard Hill had shewn me Wesley's second remarks immediately on my coming to town: I am, however, greatly obliged to you for forwarding it.

Heartily I wish that I could avail myself of your dear father's invitation to Northampton. But it is a pleasure which my time, at present, will not suffer me to enjoy. I must, *volente Deo*, leave town next week. Should life be spared, and opportunity granted, in future, I know not the family with whom I could spend a week or two more profitably and agreeably than your's.

The word of God runs and is glorified in London. Cobler Tom laments, it seems, publicly from his preaching-tub (mis-named a pulpit) that such an Antinomian as myself should have crowded auditories, while the preachers of the pure gospel (by which you know he means free-will, merit, and perfection) are so thinly attended.

The envy, malice, and fury of Wesley's party are inconceivable. But, violently as they hate me, I dare not, I cannot, hate them in return. I have not so learned Christ. ——They have my prayers and my best wishes for their present and eternal salvation. But their errors have my opposition also: and this is the irremissible sin which those red-hot bigots know not how to forgive.

You desire to be informed of the title to my intended publication now in the press. It runs thus: "Historic Proof of the doctrinal Calvinism of the Church of England: including a brief Account of some eminent Persons, famous for their Adoption of that System, both before and since the Reformation; with Specimens of their Testimonies."

I fear it will extend to a four or five shilling volume. But the facts and evidences are so numerous, and drawn from such a multiplicity of sources, that I could not possibly bring it into less compass. Acquaint your good father, that his grand favourite and mine, archbishop Bradwardin, makes a very eminent figure in the chapter which relates to our English heroes.

Though I have for fifteen years past (*i. e.* for very near half my life), been solidly and clearly convinced of the original and intrinsic Calvinism of the established Church; still I did not know that the subject was supported by such a vast confluence of positive authorities until the furious opposition of the Methodists forced me to take a nearer and more exact view of the argument. Thus far, at least, I am obliged to that virulent sect. And, on a retrospective survey of the whole matter, I myself stand astonished at that profusion of evidence which pours from every quarter in favour of the main point. My own collections (to go no farther), viewed in the aggregate, absolutely surprise me. And yet the argument is far from being exhausted.—But if that is not exhausted, my paper almost is. I must therefore conclude: having but just room to salute you and your family, to commend me to your prayers, and to subscribe myself, ever dear sir,

Your's most affectionately
AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER XX.

To the Rev. Mr. P.

[Extract] *London, May 3, 1773.*

You were not mis-informed as to my having had an interview with Thomas Oliver. It happened thus:

On Saturday, the 8th of last month, I was going to see good Mr. Hitchin of Hoxton. On my way, passing by the Foundery, it occurred to me that I had now an opportunity of gratifying my curiosity by purchasing Wesley's last printed Journal. I therefore went in and found a man reading, in what is called the Book-room, *i. e.* the room where Wesley's publications are sold. The man, on my telling him what I wanted, answered, "Sir, I am not the person that sells the books, but I will step and call him." He left me for two or three minutes, and returned with (I think) two other men and three women. Having paid for the Journal and taken my change, I was coming away, when one of the men, who proved to be Mr. Joseph Cownley, asked me, "whether my name was not Toplady?" My answer was, "Yes, sir, at your service." All present immediately assumed an air of much civility. I stopped and chatted with them for, I believe, ten minutes. In the course of my stay I took out my snuff-box. Mr. Cownley asked for a pinch. As I held it to him, I said, with a smile, "Is it not against the law of this place for a believer to take snuff?" Mr. Cownley huddled the matter up, by alleging, that he was troubled with the head-ach. Immediately on which one of the good women (whom I afterwards found to be the wife of Mr. Thomas Oliver) said, directing herself to me, "O sir, Mr. Wesley has no objection to people's taking snuff medicinally." I answered, "I am glad you are allowed some latitude: I thought you were tied up by an absolute prohibition, without any loop-hole of exception." Our chat (which, though humourous, was extremely civil on all sides) being over, I took leave of the company.—I should have told you before that, no sooner was my name authenticated than one of the women slipped out of the room. Who she was, I know not: but she was sufficiently corpulent: as broad, comparatively, as she was long. The reason of her decampment, I suppose, was to

announce the tidings to cobler Tom, of the unexpected visitant in the book-room.

As I was going out of the said room, the fat lady stood on the right hand, and a man in black on the left, withoutside the door. In passing I moved my hat. "Sir," cried the corpulent sister, pointing to the other side of me, "That is Mr Oliver."—I said, smiling, "What, my famous antagonist?" Oliver smiled and bowed. "Mr. Oliver," added I, "give me your hand: cudgel-players shake hands, though they mean to break each others' heads." He made me no verbal answer, but repeating his bow, shook me by the hand, and seemed pleased. As I was not willing to have quite a silent meeting on his part I began afresh: "Your complexion, Mr. Oliver, seems to indicate too close an intenseness of thought. Do not study too hard, lest the sword be too sharp for the sheath." He then began to open: "Oh, sir, I do not study too closely. I do not hurry myself. I take my time." On which I told him, "As you are thrown in my way, I should be glad of a quarter of an hour's conversation with you, if you are at leisure." He answered, "With all my heart, sir: I shall be very glad:" and calling for a key, up-stairs we went to his apartment.

On entering it I saw a small table covered with printed pamphlets and written papers. Among the pamphlets was Mr. Hill's *Logica Wesleiensis*.—To avoid the frequent repetitions of said I, and said he; I shall throw as much of our conversation as I can recollect, dialogue-wise, under the initials of our respective surnames. Premising one remark, *viz.*, that he strove much to draw me into a pitched debate on the Arminian points, which I was as much determined to avoid; and that for this reason, because, as none were present but himself and his wife, what I might have said would have lain at the mercy of their misrepresentation afterwards. I therefore parried him at arm's length, and was rather a hearer than a speaker.

After reconnoitering his table at my first going up, I observed to him, "So here is the whole polemical apparatus, ready to fire off. When do you intend to publish against us?

O. It seems, sir, that you too are going to publish a book against Mr. Sellon.

T. Perhaps so; and I will give you a friendly hint. Do not be too hasty in printing your next attack. If you will have patience to wait, you may have an opportunity of killing two or three birds with one stone. You know, if we write a folio, it is but your printing a penny sheet, and we are answered at once. Nay, write but a single page, and call it an answer and we are knocked down flat.

O. Mr. Richard Hill is a very bitter abusive writer.

T. If you knew him, you would pronounce him as amiable a man as lives.

O. We once thought you the bitterest of Mr. Wesley's opposers: but, upon my word, Mr. Hill's scurrilities exceed every thing

T. How partial are most men to themselves and to their own party! Had Mr. Hill written for Mr. Wesley, instead of writing against him, he would have been cried up by the gentlemen on your side of the question, as one of the meekest and most candid authors that ever put pen to paper, had he written ten times more smartly than he has.

O. I believe the time will come, when both you and Mr. Hill will be grieved in your minds for what you have published against Mr. Wesley.

T. Mr. Wesley, if you please, has abundant reason to be grieved for what he has published against the truths of God. I hope, for his own sake, that divine grace will make him grieve soon, and grieve deeply.

O. Mr. Wesley is a very good man, and a very honest one.

T. He has amply shewn himself so. Forgery, for instance, is honesty all over.

O. He only drew such plain inferences from Zanchy, as necessarily flow from Zanchy's principles.

T. He ought to have given the inferences as his own; and not to have fathered them upon another man.

O. Do you not think I have demonstrated that those inferences are just?

T. Do not you think that I have refuted every one of them?

O. Mr. Wesley is certainly an honest man.

T. Mr. Wesley's honesty, Mr. Fletcher's meekness, and Mr. Sellon's politeness, are very fit to go together

O. O sir, surely you will not talk about meekness!

T. Certain I am, that your writers have no more title to arrogate meekness to themselves, than many of your preachers and perfectionists have to set up for a monopoly of holiness.

O. Sally, [or Nanny; I am not sure which]—do fetch a bottle of wine. Mr. Toplady, perhaps, will drink a glass.

Mrs. Oliver went, and returned in half a minute.

T. To shew you that I bear you no enmity, I will drink your health in a single glass.

O. I have read logic, and I have read metaphysics, and I have read natural philosophy.

T. Doubless your reading has been very extensive.

O. Oh, sir, I am no more than a cobler, you know. You have bid me get away to my stall.

T. Certainly you are a Crispinian, though not a Crispian. Do you remember one William Gay, of Uffculm, in Devonshire.

O. Gay? Gay? Let's see. What is he?

T. A master mason. He remembers you, if you do not remember him. You lodged at his house, some years ago: and like St. Paul, preached and worked at your trade by turns.

O. It is a good many years since I was at his house.

T. I beg pardon for breaking the thread of metaphysics.

O. Why sir, I was going to say, that some metaphysical writers think the will takes the lead of the understanding. Others suppose the understanding leads the will.

T. You have read logic too.

O. Yes, indeed.

T. Mr. Wesley's three-penny cut?

O. O, much more than that. I have read several systems.

T. The poor predestinarians had need look about them.

O. Before I would be a predestinarian, I would suffer myself to be tied hand and foot, and carried through this window to yonder mad-house.

T. Should you stand in need of confinement, there would be no occasion for removing you out of your present quarters. The Foundery would answer all the purposes of a mad-house, without conveying you out at the sash. I should vote for keeping you where you are.

O. Ha, ha, ha! Well: But smartness is not argument.——Pray, sir, have you read the Assembly's Catechism?

T. Yes, sir.

O. The position with which it sets out, is, that "God hath from all eternity unchangeably ordained whatever comes to pass." I suppose, sir, you agree with those learned divines as to this particular.

T. You may possibly have seen some of my pamphlets; and, as you are remarkably pat at drawing inferences, you may from my writings infer pretty nearly how far I do or do not agree with those learned divines.

O. But, sir, their doctrine destroys all free-a[illegible]cy.

T. What may your idea of free-agency be?

O. Why—why—free-agents are them that can act or not act, just as they please.

T. You do not suppose that men are free, with a freedom of independency.

O. I acknowledge that men are dependent on God, as creatures. He made them, and he can put an end to their lives whenever he thinks fit.

T. But are man's volitions independently free?

O. Most undoubtedly.

T. Men, in determining their own wills, are independent on their Maker himself?

O. They must be so, or the will would cease to be free.

T. Do not let me misunderstand you.—You hold, that men are absolutely independent on God, so far as relates to the management and actings of their own wills?

O. I believe it firmly.

T. You are honest, and consistent: but I cannot call you orthodox. You suppose man to possess a degree of independence and self-command which not an angel in heaven can dare lay claim to.—Absolute independent self-determination is an attribute truly and properly divine. If I thought you possessed of it, I should immediately fall down and worship you as a God.

O. You have it, and I have it, and every man has it, except he sins away his day of grace.—If I should say to this cane [taking up my walking cane, which happened to lean near him] O cane, repent, believe, and obey the gospel, would not you think me out of my senses?

T. That I should indeed.

O. If man has not free-will, to what end are exhortations?

T. Among other useful ends, they are made instrumental, under the influence of God's Spirit, to convince men that they have, by nature, neither will nor power to do what is good.

O. I have many strong objections against that doctrine.

T. Then put your strong objections into the book you are going to publish, and we will consider them at leisure. In the mean while, let me put one question to you, which a valuable friend, now with God, once put to me.—When I was a lad of 15 or 16 years old, I was haranguing, in company, on the doctrine of free-will, as you are now. A good old gentleman rose from his chair, and coming to mine, held me by one of my coat buttons while he spoke as follows: "My dear sir, you have been talking largely in favour of man's free-agency. Allow me to leave argument and come to experience. How was it with you when God first laid hold on you by effectual grace? had you any hand in procuring it? Nay, would you not have resisted and baffled God's Spirit, if he had left you to your will?" I was more embarrassed with this question than I was willing to shew. Yet I had then too much pride to confess how much I was *non-plust* by this calm and single interrogation. However, before I was eighteen, God was graciously pleased to enlighten me into that precious chain of truths which, through his

[illegible] upon me, I still abide by.—Permit me, Mr. Oliver, to put the above question to you. I trust you have experienced something of a work of God upon your heart. What say you? Did you choose God, or did God choose you? Did he lay hold on you, or did you lay hold on him?

O. I must own to you that, before my conversion, I was one of the most abandoned swearers and drunkards in England. I received my serious impressions from Mr. Whitefield. On the day of the evening in which I first heard him preach, I suppose I had not sworn so few as forty profane oaths.

T. Then it is very clear that your conversion, at least, was not conditional.

O. I will not say that I procured grace of myself. Nor will I say how far I might have resisted it.

T. I plainly perceive that you are not disposed to return a direct answer to my first question. But if you will not answer it to me, let me request you to take an early opportunity of answering it on your knees before God in prayer. Go to your closet, and pour out your heart in his presence, and beg him to shew you whether you were converted by free-will, or by free-grace alone. —To this he gave little or no reply.

At my coming away, I said: "I am going to mention a circumstance, of no importance in itself, but of some consequence to your own reputation as a man of integrity. I should have deemed it no sort of blot, had I been, what you have rashly represented me in print, a native of Ireland. Thousands have been born in that country whose shoes' latchet I am unworthy to loose. With regard to myself, however, your conjecture was a mistaken one. If you doubt it, consult the register book at Farnham in Surrey. My sole motive for setting you right in so insignificant a particular is, that you may for the time to come, be more cautious of publishing uncertain anecdotes.

He very civilly attended me down stairs, to the Foundery door. As we passed through the preaching-place, I observed, "This, I presume, is looked upon as your cathedral." He answered, "We have lately had it repaired. We are not without thoughts of building it anew." "A good scheme," said I: "new doctrines deserve a new place."—"Our's," he rejoined "are the true old doctrines." I added, "There we differ; but let it be our mutual prayer, that we may experience the efficacy of God's word in our hearts, and evidence the power of it by the holiness of our lives." On which we shook hands, and parted.

Upon the whole, this was a curious interview. To say the truth, I am glad I saw Mr. Oliver: for he appears to be a person of stronger sense and better behaviour than I imagined. Had his understanding been cultivated by a liberal education, I believe he would have made some figure in life.

What pleased me most, was that appearance of honesty by which he is so greatly distinguished from the old fox, Mr. John Wesley.—In person he is rather low of stature, of a full make, pale and broad faced, and considerably disfigured by the small pox. His wig was fitter for a bishop than for a shoemaker.

I am not without hope that God will lead him into the way of truth. He is, I believe, extremely sincere, and the promise runs, "them that are upright will he learn his way." Not that I suppose man's uprightness, or sincerity, is conditional of divine guidance, but where God has given sincerity, I look upon it as a token for good, and am in hopes of his graciously giving something more. As I told Mr. Oliver, in the course of our chat, "I have known as stubborn free-willers as he brought to lick the dust at God's footstool."

The Wednesday after this conversation, his curiosity led him to hear me preach at Blackfriars. My text was, Matt. xii. 21. I thought I glimpsed him; but being near sighted, was not certain. However, lest it should be he, I threw out some things in course of my sermon which I should not have mentioned if I had not thought him present. A friend of mine, Mr. Flower, of Cannon-street, happened to sit in the same pew with him. When sermon was ended, Oliver turned to Mr. Flower, and said, with much rancorous emotions, "Believe this, and be damned." Mr. Flower answered, "No sir, believe this, and be saved." Mr. Flower himself was the person from whom I afterwards learned this particular. He added that, during sermon-time, Oliver was in such uneasiness and agitation that he seemed hardly able to contain his rage. Poor dear man, if God has a set time for opening his eyes, the enmity of his free-will shall not be able to steel him against the gospel when the set time comes.

Another intimate friend of mine went, shortly after, to hear Mr. Oliver preach at one of Wesley's meeting-houses. The preacher had not forgot the penance he underwent at Blackfriars, in hearing a whole sermon on free-grace and finished salvation. "I went," said he to his auditory, "last Wednesday morning, to a famous Antinomian church in the city, to hear one of the Antinomian clergymen. I expected to have seen but very few people there. But, alas! though it was on a week-day, and a rainy morning, and though the church is large, the church was quite full. What a shame is it, my brethren, that an Antinomian preacher should have so many people to hear

him, when I, who preach the pure gospel, was forced, but now, to wait a considerable time for my congregation, and after waiting long, to begin to eighteen or twenty people! I never talked to you about election, and perseverance, and imputed righteousness. I never tell you of a finished salvation. I preach the pure gospel. And yet, how backward are you to hear it! You discourage your ministers." I cannot omit one passage in the sermon, which was as follows: "My brethren, if man's free-will is nothing, there can be no room for praise or blame. If I stick a candle into this socket" (pointing to the sconce at or near the preaching desk) "am I to thank the sconce for receiving and holding the candle? nay, verily, for the socket, not being a free agent, cannot help admitting the candle that is thrust into it; and it is the same with man and grace, if grace be given irresistibly."

And so say I. Man is no more to be thanked for the grace which is given him of God, than a sconce is to be thanked for the taper which it holds. But here lies the difference; man in regeneration is made willing to receive grace, and made happy by receiving it, neither of which can be said of Oliver's sconce.

I wish, my dear sir, you may not be as tired with reading this long letter, as the enraged shoemaker was with hearing what he calls my Antinomian sermon. I must, however, do myself the justice to say, that I have not written so prolix an epistle these many years; nor are there many persons in the three kingdoms to whom I would have written a letter of half this length. I wish you would make retaliation, and revenge yourself in kind.

Every blessing be with you and your's.

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER XXI.

To Mrs. Macaulay.

Broad Hembury, June 11, 1773.

Deign to accept my best acknowledgments, madam, for your very obliging letter, which you told me awaited me in Devonshire; and which I accordingly found on my return. You do me infinitely too much honour, in condescending to solicit my opinion of the merits of your last publication. But, as my judgment is asked, I will give it without reserve. I think its merits are unspeakable, both as to substance and composition. That sedulous attention to truth, that undeviating zeal for the rights of mankind, and that nervous refinement of thought, which so eminently mark and adorn your character and writings, shine with full force in your fifth volume. Be it so that your political theory is too sublimely virtuous to be universally adopted by an age of such a cast as the present; yet are you secure of the affections and the admiration of the honest and discerning; who, though they have, in all periods of times, constituted far the smaller part of society; yet is their esteem of more weight and value, than the disgraceful applause of the weak or the interested multitude.

As greatly, madam, as I revere your uncommon talents, and as sincerely as I regard your public and private virtues, there are two or three minutiæ on which I respectfully dissent. It is not, for instance, clear to me, that the levellers were a "brave and virtuous party:" nor that Cromwell was so utterly destitute of conscience and principle, as to you he seems to have been. That he was a traitor to the liberties of his country can admit of very little dispute. Yet can I perceive, in various features of his mental character, some striking symptoms of magnanimity and virtue, which leaves me in suspense as to the total corruption of his heart. You, who have penetrated into the recesses of history, with more attention than I have had opportunity of applying, and with far greater judgment than I am capable of exerting, may wonder, perhaps, at the freedom with which I venture to mention any thing relative to a province so peculiarly your own. But you must place the liberty, madam, which I have presumed to take, to the account of your own condescension, which commanded me to present you with my genuine thoughts.

I wish my honoured friend may, in her turn, prove as obedient to my request, as I have to her command. If so, you will not fail to revisit Devonshire in the course of this summer. My neighbours, Mr. and Mrs. Northcote, long impatiently for the happiness of enjoying your company again. And for myself, I hope I need not assure you that I reap too much pleasure and improvement from the privilege of your conversation, to be distanced in the desire of seeing you, by the warmest of your admirers. Though this is a species of avarice which I deem it an honour to avow, I have still another argument to urge, infinitely superior to any motive deduced from my own self-interest as an individual. I saw, with pain, when last in London, that the closeness of that over-grown town, your want of exercise, and your intense literary application, appear to have had an unfavourable effect on your health. Consider, madam, that, notwithstanding all your past meritorious services, you are still a debtor to society. You owe yourself to your country. If you do not take care of its best citizen, you will be guilty of the highest injustice to the public. Say not, "How does this advice comport

with your doctrine of predestination?" For I hope you are predestinated to take the advice; and that a predestinated old age will be the result. Our friend, Mr. Northcote, sometimes says, "Mr. Toplady believes absolute predestination; and yet he is loth to ride on horseback, for fear of breaking his neck." I answer, "True:" and, perhaps, that very fear may be an appointed means of preserving my neck unbroken. The corollary from the whole is; let Mrs. Macaulay, by coming down soon into Devonshire, consult her health, gladden her friends in the west, and shew herself just to the community. We set too high a value on the productions of your pen, to wish you to lay it aside entirely, while you are with us. We will allow you to devote your mornings to study; and I am pretty certain that Mr. N. and myself together can furnish you with most, if not with all, the books which you may wish to consult, relative to the period on which you are now employed. If invitation will not prevail, I shall have recourse to threats. I told you, when I saw you last, that I would so pester you with letters, that you should be glad to visit us in your own defence: and I mean to be as good as my word. The present piece of prolix expostulation is a disagreeable sample of what you have to expect, from, madam,

Your's, &c.

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER XXII.

To Mrs. Macaulay.

Broad Hembury, July 13, 1773.

Let a lady alone for dexterity. The king has lost by you. Your late much esteemed favour, madam (doubly valuable for being double in size), was so ingeniously folded, as to elude the vigilance of the post-office, and be charged only as a single letter. The circumstance, however, of postage, is an article that I shall never think of, when Mrs. Macaulay's improving favours are the freight. It is in obedience to your own desire, that I trouble you with an incident, in all other respects, too trivial for notice. But, as I am on the subject, I must request you, once for all, never to let a deficiency of franks lay the shortest embargo on your correspondence hither. I imagine them to be (what, considered in this relation, they indeed are) mere things of nought.

Of all the letters, madam, with which you have vouchsafed to honour me, I set the highest value on your last. Should you ask why? My answer would be, because it is the longest. That a person of your eminence, and engaged by so many avocations of usefulness and importance, should oblige me with so much of your time and attention, is an instance of condescending friendship, which reflects as much honour on your own politeness as I can receive from its effects.

Doubtless, the character of Cromwell, when contrasted with the shining benevolence and exemplary disinterestedness of Antoninus Pius; or with that gentleness, yet steadiness of wisdom, that self-denying simplicity, that discreet but noble liberality, that unrelaxing adherence to justice, truth, and equity, which (still more than even his writings) have stamped greatness and immortality on the name of Marcus Aurelius; the maxims and conduct of the English usurper, when weighed against such characters as those, cannot but appear, on the comparison, black as darkness, and lighter than emptiness itself. Much less will Cromwell's measures bear to be paralleled with the humane, the just, the wise, the improving administration of our own Alfred: who, perhaps, both as an individual and as a chief magistrate, came the nearest to moral and political perfection, of any regal character which adorns the page of secular history. I know of but one prince who would probably have outshone Alfred, I mean, Edward VI.

Yet, after all, I question if it be strictly fair to bring Cromwell to the test of such very exalted standards. Antoninus Pius, Antoninus the philosopher, Nicocles of Salamis, Alfred and Edward VI. of England, Louis XII. of France, and (perhaps) one or two more individuals, who were formed for the good of mankind, and for the honour of monarchy, are examples too severely bright for Cromwell's competition. Inexcusable as many of his principles seem to have been, and unjustifiable as the main of his conduct undoubtedly was, the peculiar exigencies of his situation might still, in some degree, oblige him to avail himself of maxims he detested, and to pursue a course of action which his heart might disapprove. In short, much allowance must be made for the times in which he lived; much for the situation in which he was gradually placed; much for that teeming train of events which appear to have drawn him in step by step; much for the embarrassment arising from those distressing alternatives to which public persons are sometimes reduced, and which frequently pose the shallowness of human wisdom; and much for the depravity of human nature itself, which it is sufficiently plain was not less operative in Cromwell than in the rest of the species. To which we may add, that persons who are actually parties in the busy scenes of political transaction are often hurried and perplexed into measures which the cool speculative politician would justly condemn: and at either the prospect or the retrospect of which the

delinquents themselves would shudder. But to close this amicable controversy with a single question: What a figure would the generality of English historians (though many of them have great merit) make, if set in competition with Mrs. Macaulay's noble and spirited performance? Or, to vary the query; how should I dwindle to a span, to an inch, to a point, to nothing, if compared with a Witsius, a Turretin, a Spanhemius, a Gurnall, a Hervey! Think on this when you are for contrasting Cromwell with the two Antoninus's and Alfred.

Sorry I am to learn that your health is not improved since I had the honour of seeing you in the spring. But, though deeply concerned, I cannot wonder. The heat of the season, for some time past, has been intense, even at Broad Hembury. At London, it must be scarce supportable. You, whose constitution is almost as delicate as your mind is elegant, must have suffered much by it, aided, as I fear it has been, by confinement and application. Would to God you would receive, with your usual attention in other matters, the hint I took the liberty to give you at our last interview, viz. Write little, that you may write much.

If no entreaties can prevail with you to see the west this summer; yet be so kind to your friends and to the world as to spare yourself all you can. When you perceive fatigue and languor approaching, lay down your pen for that day; and imagine that I am at your elbow, requesting and adjuring you with all the earnest importunity of respectful friendship, to be tender of that exquisite machine which providence has formed into the distinguished tenement of so much exalted reason and virtue. Nothing exhausts the spirits and impairs the health more than the continued labour of deep historical researches. It engages for a time, all the powers of the soul, and engrosses the whole collective force of the nerves. What can be more dangerous, what more pernicious to the human fabric? Timotheus the Athenian is justly admired for having said, that, "being at the head of an army, he took care not to expose himself rashly to danger: for the life of a general is of too much consequence to be needlessly thrown away." Valuable as your history is, it is not of equal value with the historian. Besides: should the historian fail, what would become of the remainder of the history? I fear I should be the means of detaining you too long from the exercise and relaxation I recommended, were I not to cut short this free lecture, by subscribing myself with great respect,

Madam,

Your obliged, and most obedient servant,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY

LETTER XXIII.

To the Rev. Dr. Gifford.

Broad Hembury, July 14, 1773.

I am often reminded of my much valued and respected friend, by the highly esteemed plates of English coins with which he favoured me. I consult them very frequently; and partly on their own account, but more on his, I deservedly number them amongst my choicest literary κειμηλια.

I hope, dear sir, you have long since received the Danish sword (for Danish it more probably was) which I left for you at Mr. R.'s, when I was last in London. It was given me the first time I was in Ireland, in the year 1755, by counsellor Harding, on whose estate (in the county of Limerick, if I rightly remember) that, and some hundreds more of the same make, were dug up. I have, first and last, shewn it to many virtuosi: not one of whom could form any judgment of the metal it is of. It certainly is a very ancient weapon: and if admitted to be Danish, or Norwegian, it cannot be less than 800 or 900 years old. But you, who are so consummate an historian, know, much better than I can pretend to do, about what period those Northern plunderers ceased to infest Ireland.

Permit me to enquire into a matter of incomparably greater importance. How is your health? Have you got rid of your cough? Is your appetite returned? I expect a full and distinct answer to each of these questions.

May our gracious covenant God in Christ cause you to renew your strength, in every sense of that promise. Remember me in your petitions; let me hear from you without delay; and believe me to be, what, *ab imo pectoris*, I am,

Dear and Rev. sir,

Your affectionate and obedient servant,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER XXIV.

To Rev. Mr. B. P. of New York.

Broad Hembury, Sept. 6, 1773.

DEAR AND REV. SIR,

Your very obliging favour of July 17 arrived here by the last post. Accept my thanks for the regard it breathes; and permit me to shew my sense of it by sincerely beseeching God to crown you with those important mercies, which you so affectionately wish to me, the unworthiest of his messengers.

It gives me unspeakable pleasure to perceive that you are a clergyman of the church of England. I should have received so valuable a letter as your's with respect

and with joy, of what denomination soever the writer had been. But I confess I am so far partial to our own hill in Sion as to rejoice peculiarly when I hear of faithful, spiritual, well-principled watchmen being stationed on her walls. I know not how it is in America; but sure I am that here their number is, comparatively, exceeding few. Yet has God favoured us, of late years, with a manifest revival: and I had the satisfaction, when last in London (viz., about three months ago) of seeing six or eight evangelical clergymen, lately ordained, whom I had not, until then, so much as heard of. May the little leaven, in God's due time, leaven the whole lump.

Your idea of Mr. J. W. and his associates exactly tallies with mine. Abstracted from all warmth, and from all prejudice, I believe him to be the most rancorous hater of the gospel-system that ever appeared in this island. I except not Pelagius himself. The latter had some remains of modesty; and preserved in the main some appearances of decency: but the former has outlived all pretension to both.—Have two pieces, written by my learned and religious friend, Mr. Richard Hill, found their way to America? The one is entitled, "A review of all the Doctrines taught by Mr. J. W." The other, "*Logica Wesleiensis.*" If you have not seen them, they will give you unspeakable satisfaction.

I am glad, for the truth's sake, to hear that my translation of Zanchius was so well received, and has been reprinted, on your side of the Atlantic. God bless it there, as h has graciously vouchsafed to do to many in England.—It was quite a juvenile exercise; accomplished about a year and half before I entered into orders, by way of filling up a few supernumerary hours. I remember shewing the manuscript, one day, to the late Dr. Gill, when he did me the favour of a visit. He advised me to publish it: but, to say the honest truth, I was then not sufficiently delivered from the fear of man: and it slumbered by me from 1760 to 1769. I literally fulfilled Horace's direction (though from a motive not at all allied to that for which he recommends it)

——*nonumque prematur in annum.*

I can never sufficiently bless God for giving me to see the day when I can truly affirm that I care not whom I displease when the inestimable truths of his gospel are at stake. His providence has rendered me independent on any but himself; and his grace enables me to act accordingly. I must likewise add, as a still further motive to my gratitude, that the bolder I am in his cause, the more he gives me the affections of those to whom I minister, and with whom I am connected. Where I have lost one friend by standing up for Christ, I have gained a multitude.

The anonymous pamphlet to which you refer is the production of one Mr. W— S—; who was originally, it seems, a baker by trade; he then became a lay-preacher of Mr. W.'s; and in process of time Lady Huntingdon got him into orders. She is now extremely sorry that she did so: for her ladyship is convinced, at last, that her tenderness for Mr. W. was sadly misplaced.

Though, as you justly observe, Mr. S—'s low libel is not, in any respect whatever, a real answer to my Vindication of the Church of England from Arminanism; yet have I taken the opportunity which his virulence has afforded me, of setting the essential and absolute Calvinism of the Church established, in a still fuller and stronger point of view. My piece, which is now far advanced in the press, is entitled, Historic Proof of the Doctrinal Calvinism of the Church of England. If Providence spare me to see it out of the press, I will direct my bookseller, pursuant to your request, to leave a copy for you with our friend Mr. Gardner; and which I shall desire your acceptance of, as my present.

There is but one paragraph, dear sir, in your much esteemed letter, which gave me uneasiness. I mean the passage relating to your state of health. I cannot help feeling a most tender concern that so valuable a person, as you appear to be, should labour under the disadvantages of too delicate a machine. And yet, why do I permit such a remark to escape my pen? God best knows what he has to do with us. If brotherly affection compels me to sympathise with you; faith on the other hand, bids me leave you without fear, and without complaint, to the paternal the unerring disposal of Him who does all things well.

Be so kind as to indulge me with a line, by the first opportunity, after your receipt of this. One reason for which request is that I may know what pamphlets of mine you have met with, which I beg the favour of you to enumerate; that I may, by the channel you have pointed out, send you such of them as are in print, and which you may not already have seen.

Grace be to you, sir, and love, with faith from God our Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ. May the enlightening, the comforting, the sanctifying, the sealing, influences of the eternal Spirit be your strength, your song, and your ever-present portion, all through the course of your pilgrimage. —Excuse this inaccurate acknowledgment, written *currente calamo;* and believe me to be

Your obliged, &c.

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY

P. S. Why do you express so much diffidence of publicly taking up your pen in the cause of God? He seems to have strongly

breathed the desire into your heart: and your letter fully convinces me that he has endued you with abilities for such a work. I hope (and I assure you it will be in the meanwhile an article in my prayers to God) that you may be effectually inclined, and powerfully enabled, to bear your testimony against error, in a day of such rebuke and blasphemy as this. Up then, and be doing: and the Lord crown your endeavours with his blessing. Adieu.

Pray for me as I also for you.

LETTER XXV.

To the Rev. Mr. Romaine (then at Tiverton).

Broad Hembury, Sept. 11, 1773.

Many thanks to dear and honoured Mr. Romaine, for his obliging favour of to-day, just received from Tiverton. I bless God for bringing him safely thither, and for the expectation of hearing him at my church, both parts of the day, on the 19th instant: of which I shall gladly give notice to-morrow. — Mrs. R. and yourself will, I hope, give me the pleasure of accommodating you both, as well as my bachelor's house will permit, as many days next week as you conveniently can, antecedently to the Sunday above-mentioned. For which purpose I shall take care to be at home; or at the utmost within call.

God's Holy Spirit come with you, and speak by you, and bless you to this people. You will sow on ploughed ground: and cannot offend the generality of my hearers, preach free and finished salvation as strongly as you will. May you be enabled to reach their hearts.

With affectionate respects to dear Mrs. Romaine, I subscribe myself, *ex animo* (as all my subscriptions are) ever yours,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER XXVI.

To Ambrose Serle, Esq.

Broad-Hembury, Oct. 1, 1773.

My having spent part of the week at Exeter will account for this late acknowledgment of dear Mr. S.'s favours, which I found at my return.

You have my particular thanks, ever valued sir, for the transmission of your learned and ingenious manuscript concerning the Origin of the Human Soul. (*a*) I waited with some degree of impatience, for this completion of your kind promise, made when we were travelling together from Honiton to Exeter: and I must own that, though I am not proselyted, I am considerably staggered by the arguments you bring. The strongest of which, in my idea, is that drawn from the eternal generation of God the Son. This, certainly, if anything, bids fairest for turning the scale in favour of the hypothesis you so heartily adopt, and so ingeniously defend. Nor can I answer to the inference you deduce from that topic.

I must, however, with all the respect and tenderness so justly due to my excellent friend, suspend my judgment concerning the whole matter: as I have hitherto been always forced to do; and as no less a man than St. Austin did to the end of his life. Yet, though not determined to either side of the question (*non nostrûm est tantas componere lites*) I own myself inclinable to believe that souls are of God's own immediate creation and infusion. Difficulties, both many and great, do, without doubt, clog the wheels of this opinion. But those which embarrass the *ψυχογονια*, seem at present to me both more and greater. I know not, for instance, how to reconcile it to such Scriptures as Eccles. xii. 7.; Zech. xii. 1.; Heb. xii. 9. Nor can I conceive how soul can generate soul, without supposing the soul to have *partes extra partes*: and if we once grant its divisibility, what becomes of its absolute immateriality, together with its essential incorruptibility, and its intrinsic immortality? Neither can my dear friend ascertain from which of the two parental souls a third is educed: whether from the father's only, or from the mother's only, or by a *decisione utriusque*. As little can it be explained how one or two souls can produce many. The usual simile of "candle being lighted by candle," will here give us no light at all. One candle, it is true, is able to light up a hundred others; but not *sine intercisione materiæ propriæ*. It actually communicates some of its own luminous particles to the candle or candles which it enflames. But can we say this of the soul, and at the same time maintain its spirituality? These, my dear sir, are a specimen of the difficulties which will not allow me to adopt the *ψυχογονια*; and which induce me to consider the *ψυχοκτισις* as the less exceptionable scheme of the two.

After all, it may perhaps be best for us, as humble Christians, not to launch too far into the immense ocean of too curious speculation. God's word is the believer's chart God's Spirit is the believer's pilot. Where the former ceases to describe our path, and the latter to shape our course, it will most conduce to the simplicity and joy of faith, to limit our enquiries, to leave with God the

(*a*) The manuscript here alluded to has since been published in a series of some of the first numbers of the Theological Miscellany, by the ingenious and respectable gentleman unto whom this letter is addressed; who is held in high estimation for his integrity, piety, and benevolence, but particularly for his profound and critical researches evinced in his exhibition of divine truth. Editor.

secret things which belong to him, to keep within sight of land, and wait for all unnecessary eclaircissements until our disimprisoned souls shall ascend on angels' wings to the presence of him whose are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.

And yet I wish to see your modest and elegant disquisition in print. I hope you will give it to the public; for, whether the hypothesis it asserts be intrinsically right or wrong, you treat the argument with such purity of diction, with such refinement of reason, and with such transparent piety, that it must please the philosophic, and cannot possibly offend the Christian reader.—Permit me to detain it from you a week or two longer, as I am very desirous of giving it several perusals more.

After putting your patience to so long a trial, I must not aggravate my prolixity by apologizing for it. Nor can I conclude without reminding you that you are still my debtor, by promise, for a sight of those compositions in verse, in which (by the few samples you have formerly indulged me with) I know you to possess so refined a taste. Lay me, soon, under this obligation also; though no obligations which even you are able to confer, can make me, more than I already am,

Your affectionate and devoted

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER XXVII.

To Mr. M. Pollard.

Broad Hembury, Oct. 1, 1773.

DEAR SIR,

I FEAR you have long ago set me down for little less than a monster of incivility, on account of my permitting your letter to lie so long unacknowledged. I am really ashamed to review its date. You wrote it, Oct. 1, 1772. I am answering it Oct. 1, 1773. Such a seeming failure in common decency needs much candour in you to excuse it; and requires a very sufficient apology from me to extenuate it.

The truth is, your favour was, by some means or other, mislaid: and was not retrieved until a few days ago, when I was hunting among my papers. I often recollected with pain and regret that I was your epistolary debtor; but was forced to continue so, until, by recovering your address, I could know with certainty how to direct my answer.

I read that rancorous and paltry libel on the Church of England, compiled by Cornish, of Culliton, which you were so obliging as to send me: a performance raked together from a variety of ancient and modern dunghills; and exhibiting such a jumble of scurrility as was never, I believe, before crowded into so small a compass.

I cannot agree with you that it deserves a public animadversion. It is, moreover, by this time, dead and buried, in great measure. It was pity to recal it into life. Let it sink and be forgotten. The church has nothing to fear from the efforts of such an indecent scribbler, who has started nothing new; but deals in stale, borrowed cavils, which have been refuted again and again, times without number. Besides, an answer would only conduce to render both the man and his pamphlet conspicuous. It would set the former on a pedestal, and diffuse the latter into a greater number of hands.

Mr. Addison somewhere observes, there are insects so exceedingly minute that we cannot examine them without magnifying them: and compares persons who enter the lists with contemptible writers to the traveller in the fable; who, being incommoded with the noise of grasshoppers, "alighted from his horse, in great wrath, to kill them all. Which was troubling himself to no purpose; for, had he pursued his journey, without taking notice of them, they would have died of themselves in a very few weeks."

This is my chief reason for declining the task you wish me to undertake. To which I must add that my business, for several years past, has lain in another department. My call from Providence seems to be, not the assailing of those who honestly separate from a church, which (unhappily) they do not approve; but to expose the treachery, and to obviate the interested sophistry, of too many among us who, for causes sufficiently notorious, pretend to revere the church, and actually live by her breasts, while they hate her doctrines in their hearts, and labour, with all their might, to stab her under the fifth rib.

With affectionate wishes for your welfare, both here and ever, I remain,

Sir, your obedient servant,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER XXVIII.

To Mr. Burgess.

[Extract.] *Broad Hembury, Oct.* 22, 1773.

I HAVE seen so much of the religious world, and have so largely experienced how little stress is to be laid on fair appearances, that I prize with redoubled esteem the graces and the friendship of the genuine few; in which number, I am thoroughly satisfied, my valued Mr. B. stands. I am led to this remark by the recent conduct of a very flaming professor (R——, of Lyme), who has at length dropped the mask, and, with equal dishonour to the gospel and himself, proves, I fear,

no other than a whited wall, and a painted sepulchre.—In short, one hardly knows whom to trust, or of whom to entertain a good opinion. But the great Head of the Church knows them that are his; and blessed be the riches of his faithful love, he will take care of his own to the end.

Mrs. W., I am afraid, will think my silence a mark of disrespect. But I am so thoroughly certain that all Zion's children shall be taught of the Lord, that I am the less solicitous to obviate her scruples respecting the doctrines of grace. God has already began to do great things for her. He will, doubtless, go on to make her path brighter and brighter. There is no need of my holding a lantern to her steps. She is in a fair way for the kingdom: and I would have as little of human teaching enter into her experience as possible Pray present her with my Christian salutations: and assure her of an interest in my unworthy addresses at the throne of our common Father.

The blessings of Providence and of grace continue, through mercy, to surround my path. I have no cause of personal uneasiness, but the remains of unbelief and unthankfulness. And even these shall be done away, totally and for ever, when mortality is swallowed up of life.

The richest blessings of God's covenant love be with you. I affectionately salute our friends in general, particularly good Captain T., Mr. and Mrs. S—r, Mr. and Mrs. S—y, and Miss B. Write to me as often as you can. And though my many engagements may not always permit me to return you letter for letter; yet believe me to be, what I most sincerely am,

Your affectionate brother in the Lord our righteousness,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER XXIX.

To Ambrose Serle, Esq.

[Extract] *Broad Hembury, Oct.* 22, 1773.

I FEEL my utter inability to debate so abstruse a point with so potent and masterly an antagonist. We are, however, both agreed, that we have souls. And blessed be God for giving us cause to believe that they are redeemed to himself, by the precious blood of his co-equal Son.

Allow me, dear sir, to repeat my request, relative to the publication of your thoughts on a subject which has exercised so few pens of eminence, and which your own is so peculiarly qualified to discuss. In short, I shall never cease teasing you until my wish is granted.

You are too generous to blame me for the slowness with which I recede from my own opinion concerning the question in dispute, or rather, for my suspense between the two opinions. I well remember that, in 1758, when I first began to discern something of the absurdities and impieties of Arminianism, my mind was in a similar state of fluctuation for many succeeding months. Dr. Manton's Sermons on the 17th of St. John, were the means through which my Arminian prejudices received their primary shock: a blessing, for which an eternity of praise will be but a poor mite of acknowledgment to that God whose Spirit turned me from darkness to light. But it was a considerable time (and not until after much prayer and much reading on both sides of the argument) ere my judgment was absolutely fixed.—I shall, when in heaven, remember the year 1758 with gratitude and joy: as I doubtless shall the year 1755, in which I was first awakened to feel my need of Christ. (*b*)

The origin of the soul, though not of equal importance with the doctrines of grace, yet requires much disquisition, in order to our coming at any satisfactory and solid ground whereon to rest the sole of our foot. At least, I find it extremely difficult. I see not any thing by intuition. *Veritas in puteo.* It most times requires much labour to draw it up: and very frequently eludes our utmost skill and pains at last. It is a comfort after all that the soul may be happy here, and saved for ever: though ignorant at present of her own immediate source.

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER XXX.

To Mrs. Macaulay.

Broad Hembury, Oct. 22, 1773.

As we live at a period when to be in debt, and to be in the fashion, are almost inseparable ideas, I offer no apology for the length of time during which my honoured friend's obliging letter has passed without acknowledgment.

I will go farther still, and even value myself on an omission which has, perhaps, contributed something to the public benefit. In writing to me you please and improve a grateful individual. But, as an historian, you convey pleasure and instruction to multitudes. Was I to return you an immediate answer to the favours I receive, your friendship and politeness would not fail to balance the epistolary account with equal exactness. A consideration which induces me now and then (contrary to the general maxim of the

(*b*) Was then 15 years of age. See his Life—Born 1740. Edit.

age), to consult my country's advantage, though at the occasional expense of my own.

With regard, madam, to Oliver Cromwell, on whom our correspondence has of late chiefly turned, I find myself silenced, though not entirely convinced, by the force of your observations. I must resign my client to your better judgment, and superior powers: unless you will permit me to compromise matters in the language of Lord Lyttleton: "By an uncommon appearance of zeal, by great address, and great valour, Cromwell first enflamed the spirit of liberty into extravagance; and afterwards duped and awed it into submission. He trampled on the laws of the nation, but he raised the glory of it; and it is hard to say, which he most deserved, a halter or a crown."

From a person whose public merits were thus equivocal, I revert with pleasure to one whose patriotic deserts no honest and capable judge can dispute. To be informed, and from so good authority as your own, that your health and strength are improved, give me far greater and solider joy than any other information you were able to convey. I hope to be an eye-witness of their continuance, if, as I have some thoughts of doing I should spend a fortnight in London, during the ensuing winter.

I learned another piece of good news, a few days since, at H——, where our friend Mr N—— acquainted me, on Mr. D——'s authority, that your sixth volume will appear early in the spring. This will be the most valuable amends you can make us for depriving us of your company, this year, in the West.

Your old acquaintance and admirer, Mr. H., has, I am told, received some disgust at L——, and is very seldom there, Lord C., however, still professes to affect that romantic sea-port; though it does not promise to yield him (as, if fame say true, he once hoped it would) a second Sir W. P., it were pity a second should ever fall to his share.

With every wish of happiness, and with the utmost sincerity of respect, I remain, Madam, your most obliged and obedient servant,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER XXXI.

To Ambrose Serle, Esq.

Broad Hembury, Nov. 23, 1773.

When favours received distance all power of equal return, the receiver can but barely acknowledge his receipt of them, and confess his incompetency to repay them. Your instances of friendship to me are of the above kind, both as to number and value. My returns to you, are, and must ever be, as last described.

Allow me, dear sir, so far to revive our late amicable contest, as to intreat you not to suppress the publication of your Thoughts *De Origine Animæ*. Were they to appear, they might open a way for other learned and ingenious persons to ventilate the subject: which is one reason why I take the liberty to urge the request.—If I have detained your valuable manuscript too long, you may draw on me for it whenever you please; though the longer I am indulged with it, the more your debtor I shall be.—Pray have you seen Mr. Charles Crawford's Remarks on Plato's Phædon? I am told, that performance is not destitute of fire and genius, though very eccentric from the point of orthodoxy. Possibly, the perusal of it might give you occasion to enlarge your papers, on the subject we have debated, should you be prevailed with to give them to the public: in which case, the random shots of the sanguine and romantic West Indian may be of service to the church of God, by being turned into a contrary direction. Do think of this seriously.

I reckon myself so interested in whatever relates to you, that I cannot help intimating a wish, which dwells much upon my mind, concerning the treatise you have in hand, on the proper divinity of our adorable High Priest and Saviour. My wish is, that you would take occasion, in the course of that work, to vindicate and establish the personality and divinity of the Holy Spirit: points which were never more necessary to be asserted and elucidated than at present; when the poison of *Sabellianism* begins to pour in, as a flood, even among some spiritual professors themselves.

Let me teaze you with yet another request. It is, that I may be indulged with a sight of those compositions, which you mentioned on our way between Broad-Hembury and Honition. You see, I am already so deeply in your debt for obligations received, that, like a professed bankrupt, I care not how many fresh debts I incur. Nay, I wish to sink deeper and deeper.

God give us to sink deeper into his love, and to rise higher and higher into the image of his holiness! Thoroughly persuaded I am, that themore we are enabled to love and resemble him, the more active we shall be to promote his glory and to extend his cause, with our lips, our pens, our lives, our all. Be this our business, and our bliss, on earth. In heaven we shall have nothing to do, but to see him as he is, to participate his glory, and to sing his praise; in delightful, in never-ending concert with angels, with saints who are got home before us, and with those of the elect whom we knew and loved below. I would hardly give six-

pence for a friendship which time and death are able to quench. Our friendship is not of that evanid species. I can, therefore, subscribe myself.

Ever and for ever yours,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER XXXII.

To Ambrose Serle, Esq

Broad Hembury, Dec. 8, 1773.

I cannot but smile at the ease and readiness with which we cut out work for each other. My dear friend's politeness, in so condescendingly hearkening to my solicitations for the public appearance of his masterly thoughts, should induce me, by every tie of respectful gratitude, to meet his wishes with equal facility. But I am really unqualified for the department assigned me by his partiality of esteem. My acquaintance with the fathers is too slender, and my general compass of reading far too contracted, for the undertaking you recommend. I should be master of at least Irenæus, Epiphanius, and Austin, to write, in a manner tolerably satisfactory, on so complicated a subject as a review of heretics and heresies. I have, it is true, many subsidiary helps; but I ever wish, where the nature of the case will possibly admit, to derive my informations, not at second hand, but from the fountain's head. Allow me, dear sir, to recommend the proposal to the proposer himself. The work would be as complete as any human performance can be, if you were to oblige and improve the world with the projected looking glass for heretics.

Glad I am to be informed that your Defence of the Messiah's Divinity is almost finished. My admiration is sure to be excited by every thing you write: nor shall my most sacred wishes be wanting, that God would stamp general usefulness on all your attempts for the glory of his name.

Your design of honouring and gratifying me with the first perusal of your treatise, calls for more acknowledgment than I am able to express. Next to your conversation, I can receive no higher intellectual feast than that which results from a perusal of your writings. Though self-interest, therefore, operates, in this matter, too strongly on my mind to admit of my declining so decisive a proof of your affectionate friendship; yet, that I may not be too greatly indulged at the public expense, I cannot help intimating a desire that my enjoyment of the first fruits may not prejudice the harvest; I mean, that the advanced parts of your work may be transmitted hither so seasonably as not to delay the publication of the whole.

Accept my thanks, likewise, for the promised sight of what you are pleased to style the *Versus inertes*. If they "give me the head-ach," I will let you know it: and, by the same rule, if they charm me into admiration, your delicacy must dispense with my telling you so.

* * * *

The subject of ordination revives my wish that you would submit to the imposition of hands. The church would then (a very uncommon thing in this age) be a gainer at the expense of the state

LETTER XXXIII.

To Mrs. Macaulay.

Broad Hembury, Jan. 11, 1774

Last Saturday I returned from a short excursion to Dorsetshire. Though you can be no stranger to the loss which the public have sustained in the decease of Mr. Hollis, yet it is possible you may not have been apprised of the particulars by an authentic hand.

That friend of the British empire and of mankind was, early in the afternoon of New Year's Day, in a field, at some distance from his place of residence at Corscombe, attended by only one workman, who was receiving his directions concerning a tree which had been lately felled. On a sudden, he put one of his fingers to his forehead; saying, "Richard, I believe the weather is going to change: I am extremely giddy." These words were scarce off his lips, when he dropped. He fell on his left side: and, being near a hedge, his head was received by the subjacent ditch. The man (I know not whether a carpenter, or a common labourer) sprung to his assistance; and raising him from that sad situation, administered what little relief he could. The expiring patriot was still sufficiently himself to say, "Lord, have mercy on me; Lord, have mercy on me; receive my soul:" which were the last words he was able to pronounce. His lips moved afterwards: but no sound was formed. In a few seconds more his spirit was dis-imprisoned.

The frighted assistant lost no time. Leaving the corpse on the grass, he hastened away for superior help. But in vain. The lancet, when applied, was without effect.

It seems, Mr. Hollis always wished that his death might be sudden. Providence was pleased to grant his request. Was I qualified to choose for myself, and were it lawful to make it a subject of prayer, I would wish for the same indulgence whenever my appointed change may come. It is, I think, the most desirable mode of departure, where the person is in a state of grace. How happy, to be surprised into heaven! And, to surviving friends, it is but a single shock, once for all.

At the time of his decease, Mr. Hollis was ready booted, intending to ride that day to Lyme Regis. When I was there, it was my melancholy lot to occupy the chamber in which he always slept, during his occasional stay in that town, and which had been prepared for his reception, two or three nights before. It was at the Three Cups: an inn which he purchased a few years ago.

How black is the ingratitude of human nature! Though this valuable man lived entirely to the benefit of others, and may be classed with the most public-spirited worthies that ever breathed; yet I have seldom known a death so little regretted by the generality. An eminent foreigner was of opinion that "there is no such thing as friendship in the world." Had he said, "there is not much," he would have hit the mark.

> With fame, in just proportion, envy grows:
> The man that makes a character makes foes."

Very exalted virtue is often admired: but not often loved. What is the reason? Because few are truly virtuous. And we must have some virtue ourselves, ere we are capable of loving it in others, or of loving others for it.

You knew and esteemed Mr. Hollis's virtues; nor (which is one of the highest encomiums his memory can receive) was he unworthy even of your friendship.

Allow me, madam, to express my wish, that the precious blood and the imputed righteousness of the adorable Messiah, who lived and died for sinners, may present you, in the hour of death, and in the day of judgment, faultless and complete before the uncreated Majesty. But for the sake of those whom, in virtue and in knowledge, you so greatly surpass; may you be long detained from receiving that crown of life, to which, I trust, the Son of God has redeemed you by the atonement of his inestimable death.

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER XXXIV.

To AMBROSE SERLE, ESQ.

Broad Hembury, Jan. 11, 1774.

I WAS in Dorsetshire when dear Mr. S—'s favour, of the 4th instant, arrived here: else my thanks had waited on him much earlier than they now do, for his repeated obligations. I never was master of so useful a pocket-book as that which your last packet conveyed. Nor have I often met with compositions so pleasing and so profitable as those which your friendship was so good as to communicate under the same inclosure But how could my dear friend (whose judgment rarely fails, unless when his own pieces are the objects of its criticism) ever think of submitting such finished performances to my corretcions? No. To preserve their excellence, they must continue as they are. I must say of them, as Handel said concerning the old tune of the 100th Psalm, when he was asked to improve that consummate piece of noble music: "Was I to alter a note, I should spoil the whole."—Make your obligation complete, by favouring me with more of those elegant and devout productions. If you have copies of those already sent, I shall beg leave to keep them. If not, I shall solicit your permission to transcribe them, before they are returned.

I was once in company with Mr. M'Gregor, of Woolwich, whom you have honoured with your pious, benevolent, and judicious animadversions. I believe him to be a good man: but he is, certainly, a very ignorant one. If you suffer yourself to be at the beck of every conceited nibbler who dreams himself qualified to contest the plainest truths, you will have work enough upon your hands.——My best thanks are due for your valuable tract. Though, perhaps, it may conduce to render both your antagonist and his antecedent scrawlation (forgive a homely Devonshire term) more conspicuous than they might otherwise have been.

I am happy in the expectation of soon receiving your introduction to your great work. Do not suspect me of complaisance for styling it great before I have seen it. I give it that epithet, on account of the unutterable consequence of the subject on which it treats. What my unworthy judgment may be of the manner in which you have treated the argument, shall, as usual, be transmitted to you, *ex animo*, when I have had the long wished-for indulgence of perusing the welcome packet.

Some considerable time ago, I requested my ever dear friend to restrain the overflowings of his kind partiality towards not the least grateful, but the least important, of his obliged confidants. Talk no more of a "giant" and a "dwarf," unless you will allow me to assume all title to the latter denomination. If you love me, treat me as (what I am) an ignorant, feeble, dying sinner. And, if you are so benevolent as to entertain a favourable idea of my wishes for the cause of God, keep that favourable idea to yourself in time to come.

The holidays, I suppose, will hardly be expired when this reaches your hands. Commend me, therefore, to your dear little folks. And may the children of my inestimable friend be the children of the living God!

Mr. Fletcher may fire off as soon as he

pleases. The weapons of his warfare can never wound the truths of God, any more than a handful of feathers can batter down my church tower. I shall, however, be glad to see his performance when it appears. Mr. Shirley told me, when I was last at Bath, that Fletcher is to succeed pope Wesley, as commander in chief of the societies, if he should survive his holiness. No wonder, therefore, that the cardinal of Madely is such a zealous stickler for the cause. One would think that the Swiss were universally fated to fight for pay! Adieu.

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER XXXV.

To the Rev. Mr. Romaine.

Broad Hembury, Jan. 11, 1774.

Accept my thanks, honoured and valued sir, for the welcome present of your three precious volumes. May the life of faith be more and more operative in my heart, and may the walk of faith be displayed in every part of my conversation; until the great Author and Finisher of faith give me an abundant entrance into the land of sight and of glory.

I wish it was in my power to render you an acknowledgment adequate, in worth, to the kind favour you have conferred. When the printer will give my intended publication leave to appear, a copy of it, such as it is, will solicit your acceptance.

The God, whose you are, and whom you serve, lend you long to his church; multiply his mercies toward you, and cause your path to shine, with increasing brightness, to the perfect day. You give me your friendship; give me also your prayers, and consider me as

Your affectionate and obliged,
AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

My best remembrance waits on dear Mrs. Romaine. Miss L—— expresses much concern and surprise at your having passed through Wellington without calling on her, and wishes to know the reason.

LETTER XXXVI.

To Mr. ——

Broad Hembury Feb 9 1774.

Doctor Young has an observation, which discovers, as much as any he ever made, his knowledge of human nature: "It is dangerous," I think he says, "to dive into most men deeper than the surface; lest closer acquaintance should abate our good opinion of them."

You, my dearest friend, are *primus è paucis*, eminent among the rare exceptions to that rule. The person who knows you best will be sure to value you most: and the longer he has the happiness of knowing you, the more must he regard and respect you. His esteem will resemble the progressive enlargements of a river, which widens and encreases as it flows. I am led to this remark by a repeated perusal of your valuable manuscript. Pardon the delay, if no part of it wait on you by the present packet. Were your papers less excellent, they would be dismissed hence with greater expedition.

I did not doubt of your approving Gale's Court of the Gentiles. It is indeed a treasure. Though I think, in some cases, the learned and devout author winds up his darling hypothesis too high, in supposing that the Jews, during the very infancy of their nation, were the sole *lumina terræ*, or the fountains from whom the Egyptians and other eastern literati derived the substance of their erudition. I likewise agree with you, that he might have displayed more judgment in arranging his materials: which (like what Mr. Addison observes concerning Solomon's Proverbs) resemble a superb amassment of pearls, rather piled into a magnificient heap, than regularly strung and artificially disposed. However, it is easy to criticise. But to compile such a performance was not attended with equal facility: *hic labor, hoc opus.*

Did you ever meet with a tract, written by Witsius, and entitled (to the best of my remembrance) *De Trinitate Judaica?* It is the only part of his Latin works which I have never been able to procure. I dare believe it would be worthy of your perusal: as every thing of his is peculiarly learned, elegant, and judicious. Possibly, if you enquire among your literary friends, some of them may get you a sight of that very scarce dissertation. Marcius mentions it, in his Oration at Witsius's interment.

Thanks to you, dear sir, for the newspaper extraordinary, which contained several particulars deserving of attention. The anecdotes related of Richard III's. illegitimate son, are so curious, and wear such an aspect of probability, that I thought them worth cutting out, and have pasted them on a blank leaf of Walpole's Historic Doubts. The minutes of Dr. Samuel Johnson's Tour to Scotland are perfectly in character. He is the very original there delineated. I have some personal knowledge of him: and, however I dissent from various of his principles, nor can avoid smiling at some of his not unpleasing oddities, he still passes with me for one of the ablest and honestest men

who now adorn the republic of letters. Mr. Hollis's character is, I think, prodigiously overcharged, and the panegyric beyond measure excessive: though he certainly was a very valuable member of society, and his decease awakened in me much of that painful sensibility which I heartily wish I could divest myself of. I stood obliged to him for a number of scarce and curious tracts relative to the time of Charles I., and he would have favoured me with incomparably more solid tokens of his esteem, had I been capable of feigning myself a republican, and of dissembling my sincere attachment to the Scriptures and to our ecclesiastical establishment.

I tremble, with you, for the event of things in America. But the kingdom of Providence rules over all. This is as much of politics as I almost ever ventured to write. *Vox audita perit: Litera Scripta manet.* Adieu.

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER XXXVII.

To Mrs. Macaulay, at Bath.

Broad Hembury, Feb. 18, 1774.

Had I not lived long enough in the world to cease from wondering at any thing, I should have more than wondered at the incident of which you so justly complain. If almost any pen, except your own, had informed me of Mr. ——'s ingratitude and injustice, I should have questioned the reality of the fact. I am sorry, still more for his sake than for your's, to find it so authentically attested. Well may Scripture (a book which you, madam, are too wise and too virtuous to despise) say, What is man!

Pity it is, that, on such occasions as the present, you are not divested of that exquisite sensibility which, at your own expense, adds too much honour to the remembrance of a social delinquent. Forget it all, and, as you are more than female in understanding, be more than masculine in fortitude. Triumph over the irritating savageness of the cynicism which has requited you so ill, by opposing to it the iron apathy of the portico.

Do more, rise into a still nobler revenge, namely, by centering your expectations in Him, who never disappoints those desires of which his Spirit is the gracious Inspirer.

"Lean not on earth; 'twill pierce thee to the heart:
At best, a broken reed; but, oft, a spear.
On its sharp point, peace bleeds, and hope expires."

Only the experienced favour and the felt possession of God in Christ can fill the vast capacities of a soul like yours. Enjoy his communicated smile:

"Then bid the earth roll; nor feel the idle whirl."

May Bath have a happy effect on the health of a person so important to the community. You tell me your stay there will be of considerable duration. I think to see London some time in April. Should you continue at the Western Bethesda, until the latter end of that month, or until the beginning of May, I will take Bath in my return to Devonshire, by way of seeing how the waters have agreed with you.

Let me submit a single caution to your candour, viz. Be careful not to renew your acquaintance with the dapper doctor; and, above all, beware of being seen with him in public.

——*Hic niger est: hunc tu, Romana, caveto.*

He would derive lustre from you; but like a piece of black cloth, he would absorb the rays, without reflecting any of them back. The world is very malicious: and a character so eminently conspicuous as your's is a mark at which envy and censure delight to seize every opportunity of discharging their arrows.

As you give me hopes of seeing you in this country, during the course of the ensuing summer, who knows but I may have the honour of escorting you hither, through the whole length of Somersetshire? But I must not detain you from the pump-room, by my tedious speculations. So, for the present, farewell. God give you good spirits; for where they lead the van, good health generally brings up the rear.

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

P.S. I could wish you acquainted with Mrs. Derham, of Green Street, Bath. You would find her one of the most sensible and amiable women in that city. She has all the genuine ease, without any of the affected grimace, of politeness; her husband is a wine-merchant, and she has a lovely daughter, nearly the age of your's.

LETTER XXXVIII.

To the Rev. Mr. De Coetlogon

Broad Hembury, April 5, 1773.

DEAR SIR,

I received your late favour; and am much your debtor, as well for your obliging partiality to my humble efforts in behalf of God's truths, as for the politeness with which you express it.

Were I situate near the capital, I should with much readiness accede to your request, by contributing my assistance towards carrying on the Gospel Magazine: but I find it so very inconvenient to have any concern with printing at so remote a distance, that I shall probably, in future, publish no more, in any way whatever, than absolute occasion

may require. With best remembrance to your most amiable bride,

I remain your affectionate servant,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER XXXIX.

To Mr. G. F.

Broad Hembury, April 3, 1774.

Longer time is usually allowed for the payment of large debts than of trivial ones. By parity of argument, a delay of correspondence on the side of him who has received great epistolary obligations is the more venial on that very account. If my valuable and valued friend will not admit this reasoning to be fair, I must own that I have nothing better to urge in extenuation of my having so long omitted to thank him for his last welcome and much esteemed favour. Yet, as some degree of imperfection is connected with every thing human, I must likewise confess, that I cannot extend my thanks for those strokes of undue panegyric with which, dear sir, your kind partiality so profusely honours me. Sincerely I say it, (and it may be said, once for all) that I would much rather be told of my real faults than of those supposed excellencies which the extreme benevolence of my friends is so ready to place to my account. Candour and politeness, like your's, first illuminate every object on which they shine; and then ascribe to the object itself, those communicated rays of which it is no more than the humble and obliged receiver.

Let me now advert to a superior subject: and thank you for the improving particulars, so kindly forwarded, concerning the lamented decease of our honoured and deserving friend, the late truly excellent Mr. Hitchen; that amiable and precious man of God, whose grace was as solid, as his parts were shining. His steady faith, and his calm unruffled departure, amidst such circumstances of bodily pain, can only be attributed to that everlasting love, and to that atoning blood, which made him more than conqueror. Looking, the other day, into my book of occasional collections, I found two remarks, which dropped from Mr. Hitchen, in a conversation I had with him, July 18, 1769; and which were well worthy of being preserved from oblivion. They run, *verbatim*, thus:

"The greater our sanctification is, and the more advanced we are in holiness, the more we shall feel our need of free justification."

"An architect cannot say to his rule, to his line, or other instrument, 'Go, build a house.' He must first take them into his own hand, ere the wished-for effect will follow. What the ministers of God, but mere instruments? And if ever they are useful in building up the church of Christ, it is his own hand must make them so."

Such improving observations as these; such valuable relics of saints indeed; are too precious to be lightly forgot. May they be engraven on our hearts!

I rejoice to hear of dear Mr. Ryland senior's liberty and sweetness in his ministrations to Mr. H——'s widowed flock. Our Northampton friend is an Israelite without guile; and he is among those who stand highest in my regard. He blames me for seldom writing to him: but, was I to correspond regularly, even with my first rate favourites, I should do nothing more than write letters from morning till night. In heaven we shall be all together, for ever and ever.

Make my affectionate respects acceptable to dear Mrs. F——, &c. Grace, mercy, and peace; bright evidences, sweet experiences, and growing holiness; be your portion, their portion, and the portion of

Your affectionate servant in Christ,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER XL.

To Mr. H.

Tichfield-street, London, May 23, 1774.

[Extract]

Yesterday afternoon, being Whitsunday, curiosity led me to hear Mr. Theophilus Lindsey, who lately resigned the vicarage of Catterick. I took care to be there before any of the service began, in order to hear what that gentleman calls the reformed liturgy: but what may more truly be termed, the liturgy deformed. It is a wretched skeleton of the old Common Prayer, shorn and castrated of its evangelical excellencies.

He preached, or rather read, a poor, dry, ungraceful harangue on Matt. xxv. 14, 15. So wretchedly was he tied and bound by the chain of his notes, that if by accident he happened to take his eye from his papers (and it happened several times) he was sure to blunder, and endeavoured, in an exceedingly confused and embarrassed manner, to gather up the broken thread as well as he could. He is a palpable Arian in his ideas of Christ's person; and appears to be a thorough-paced Socinian, as far as concerns the doctrine of atonement. Yet God forbid that I should judge and condemn him. To his own master he must stand or fall. But I must observe two things: 1. I bless the grace of God for giving me eyes to see, and a heart to value, the inestimable truths of his holy gospel: 2. I never prized our

good old liturgy, and the precious doctrines of the reformation, more than on hearing Mr. Lindsey's liturgy and sermon yesterday. No man (as our Lord observes) having drunk old wine, straightway desireth new: for he saith, the old is better.

Mr. Lindsey's Arian meeting is held in Essex-street, up one pair of stairs, in the house called Essex-house. It is a long narrow room (which, if filled, would hold about two hundred people) where auctions (particularly for books) used to be held. He seems to be a man of much personal modesty and diffidence; and, I verily believe, acts upon principle. But he has no popular talents: no pathos, no dignity, no imagination, no elegance, no elocution. He must unavoidably soon sink into obscurity, when the novelty of his secession begins to subside, and when his Arian friends are weary of puffing him off in the newspapers. Take my word for it (and I am very glad I can truly have it to say) the church of England has nothing to fear from a gentleman of Mr. Lindsey's slender abilities. He can neither thunder nor lighten; but crawls on, quite in the humdrum way; and is no more qualified, either by nature or attainments, to figure at the head of a party, than I am to undertake the command of a navy. One of my company (for a whole coachful of us went) said to me, after service was over; "Well, I suppose you will call Mr. Lindsey's discourse a piece of arrant Lindseywoolsey." No indeed, replied I: it was mere Lindsey throughout: absolute Arianism, Socinianism, and Pelagianism, without one thread of the contrary from first to last.

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER XLI.

To Mrs. Macaulay.

Broad-Hembury, July 8, 1774.

[Extract]

I arrived here, from London, no longer ago than this day se'nnight; and though I was not able to take Bath in my way home, through the unavoidable length of my stay in town, I hope, madam, to be soon amply recompensed for that loss, by seeing you, safe and well, in this part of the world. Favour me with a line: and God grant it may import these two things: 1st, That all your complaints are completely annihilated by the Bath waters; and, 2ndly, That you have begun to take the previous measures for your intended two months' excursion to Devonshire.

I left good Mr. Ryland behind me in London. He desired his best remembrance to you: and wishes (in his lively manner) "that you may be a perfect idiot once in every twenty-four hours, and incapable of writing, reading, thinking, or conversing, viz., from ten at night, until six or seven in the morning:" that you may not impair your health by sitting up late. No friend, I verily believe, has more respect and esteem for you than he: not even your obliged and obedient

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

P. S. One day, when Mr. Ryland and I went to Islington, to dine with Mrs. Bacon, he took that opportunity of introducing me to Mr. Burgh, author of the "Political Disquisitions." I saw him to great disadvantage, as he was in much pain, and in a very ill humour. The interview, on the whole, was a curious one. I was hardly seated, when he said to Mr. Ryland, concerning me, "This gentleman, I apprehend, is an antagonist of Mr. Lindsey's." I answered for myself, No, sir; I am not, indeed, of Mr. Lindsey's principles, but I look upon him, with all his mistakes, to be an honest man: and I respect an honest man, be his opinions what they will. By degrees, our conversation grew rather engaging: and Mr. Burgh seemed, for a while, to feel a truce from the torments of the stone, and assume some degree of goodnature. But I should have had a sharp onset, if he had been in perfect health. Even as it was, he could not forbear feeling my pulse, on the article of freewill. In the course of our debate, I drove him into this dreadful refuge, viz., that "God does all he possibly can [these were Mr. Burgh's own words] to hinder moral and natural evil, but he cannot prevail; men will not permit God to have his wish." Lest I should mistake his meaning, I requested him to repeat those terms again: which he did. Then the Deity, said I, must needs be a very unhappy being. "Not in the least," replied Mr. Burgh. "What! (rejoined I) disappointed of his wishes, embarrassed in his views, and defeated of his schemes, and yet not be unhappy?" "No," rejoined Mr. Burgh: "for he knows that he must be so disappointed and defeated, and that there is no help for it: and therefore he submits to necessity, and does not make himself unhappy about it." A strange idea this, of the Supreme being! At coming away, I told Mr. Burgh, that however he might suppose God to be disappointed of his will, I hope the public would not be disappointed of the remaining volumes of the Political Disquisitions yet unfinished. And, in very truth, madam, your friend Burgh is much better qualified for political disquisitions than either for theological or for metaphysical ones. Adieu.

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER XLII

To the Rev. Mr. Madan.

Broad Hembury, July 8, 1774.

[Extract]

Enough of business. Now for chit-chat. My few *horæ subsicivæ*, since my return hither, have been devoted chiefly to the perusal of Lord Chesterfield's Letters. I should think the better of my own judgment if it should be so happy as to coincide with your's. Mine is, in general, that they are not only, what his lordship terms, "letters written from one man of the world to another;" but, many of them, such as might well be expected from a decent civilized fornicator to his favourite bastard. Do you not also complain of his negligence, in point of style, composition, and connection; really to be wondered at, in even the running productions of so masterly a hand? It is true, letters are but conversation committed to paper: yet, I believe, the generality of well-bred people would blush to converse in a style equally inaccurate and desultory, with that in which Lord Chesterfield sometimes wrote.

I own myself, however, on the whole, extremely entertained and improved by this publication. There are almost an infinity of rules and remarks, respecting both men and *les maniéres*, founded on the deepest worldly wisdom and truth; yet, so intermixed with dross and refuse, that, had I the care of a young person, I would not venture to put those letters into his hands, without the precaution of an *index expurgatorius*.

But was any thing ever like his portrait of the female sex, in letter 129? Where he traduces them all, without making a single exception. I know but one way to bring him off; and that, I fear, will be far from doing it effectually: viz., by supposing that, when he sketched that caricature, his mind was acidulated by a recent fracas with Lady Chesterfield, and that, in revenge, he instantly libelled the whole sex.

I never heard of Mr. Wesley's Sinai-Covenanters until you were pleased to mention them. Poor creatures! to meet once a year, and solemnly bind themselves to keep the whole law! I wish I had known this particular some months ago. Can you tell, whether they have a written form of covenanting, or whether it be all *ore tenus*? and, if the former, whether it be possible to procure a sight of it? This is a matter well worth enquiring into.

You once favoured me with a more critical explication of Pet. i. 19. than I had before met with. I wish you would condescend to give it me in writing.

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER XLIII.

To the Rev. Mr. Romaine.

Broad Hembury, July 8, 1774.

rev. and dear sir,

As it is possible that our valuable and valued friend, Mr.——, may not hitherto have had an opportunity of acquainting you with the polite manner in which Lord ——— received your late favour; and as Mr. ——— has been so good as to communicate to me, in a letter received here yesterday evening the substance of what passed, permit me without delay,

1. To inform you, in general, that your kind application appeared to have a very favourable effect: and that his lordship was so obliging as to say he would "try the ground" with the Lord Chancellor.

2. To thank you, under providence, for the very friendly intervention of your good offices: which, whether crowned with ultimate success, or not, I shall ever most affectionately remember.—And,

3. To request an exertion of your interest with that blessed and only Potentate, who has all power both in heaven and earth, that he would graciously give such an event to this whole matter, as he will be pleased to bless most to the glory of his own name.

I returned hither, from London, this day se'nnight: and, last Tuesday, attended the bishop's visitation at Tiverton. The sermon was preached by Mr. Laud: and, upon the whole, a very excellent one it was. Among its few flaws was the classing of Hutchinson with Clarke, Shaftesbury and Hume: the former of whom, if living, would have been very sorry at being put among such company. The Strand divines were, rather severely than smartly, taken to task: and, as I was afterwards told, old Whitter and young Wood held down their heads in some confusion.

The episcopal charge, though extremely concise (*i. e.* dispatched in about 12 or 14 minutes), was the very best I ever heard. It chiefly turned on the excellency of the XXXIX articles: the expediency of subscription, and the peculiar duties, more than ever, at this time, incumbent on the clergy, relative to their morals, manners, dress, and abstractedness from the world. The whole of his lordship's behaviour, both in the church, and afterwards at dinner, gave much satisfaction to the generality, and peculiar pleasure to me.

Adieu, honoured and dear sir. Kindest respects to yourself, and to Mrs. Romaine, from

Your obliged and affectionate

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER XLIV

To Ambrose Serle, Esq

Broad Hembury, July 8, 1774.

Shall I attempt to thank my ever dear and ever respected friend for his polite and obliging favour of the 30th ult., or for the kind services which preceded that favour, and to which it refers? No. It is a duty to whose performance I feel myself unequal. Your friendship, therefore, like what some say concerning virtue at large, must be its own reward. Yet think me not insensible. My sensibility is the very cause of the omission. Were the obligations under which you lay me more moderate, I could with ease thank you for them: but as the case stands, I must follow Horace's direction, *consule quid valeant humeri*; and not aim at impossibilities.

Sure I am, that God will incline the scale (and not this only, but every other, to the end of time) so as shall conduce to his own glory, and to the accomplishment of his own purpose. It is ours to use the means, in a dependance on his absolute providence; to bless the means used, is his. With him, all events must be ultimately rested: and I trust I can say, *ex animo*, with him I ever wish and desire to rest them; nor would I have a single incident removed out of his hand, were I possessed of all power both in heaven and earth.

You kindly remind me "To strike while the iron is warm." In answer to which I must observe, that I have written, to-day, to Blackheath and to Epsom. Can you suggest any other advisable steps? You will find not only my ear, but my heart, ever open to the least hint suggested by a friend of your wisdom and faithfulness, whether the subject relate to my own interest or not.

You are so good as to enquire after my safe return into the West. I bless God, my journey was both safe and pleasant. The slightest mercies ought to be thankfully received and noticed: for they are as absolutely undeserved as the greatest. We can no more merit a moment's ease, or safety, or happines, in our going out and coming in, or on any other occasion whatever, than we can merit the kingdom of heaven.

I travelled with a very old (or rather, with a very early) acquaintance; an officer of the 21st regiment: with whom, at our first setting off in the coach from London, I had an hour or two's controversy, concerning the lawfulness of duelling. Your friend was on the negative side of the question: the captain on the affirmative. During the amicable skirmish (a duel against duelling), and for many hours after, we were quite ignorant of each other's names. And no wonder; for we had not met since the year 1757, when we were both lads; and time has made such an alteration in each, that neither knew the other. We travelled to Bridport (*i. e.* 138 miles) before we found out who was who: and I have seldom known an eclaircissement which gave more pleasure on both sides. The captain very politely invited me to see him, if I should ever go to Plymouth: and, on my asking for whom I should enquire, the discovery was made.

On a review, I am really ashamed of trespassing on your patience and time by such petty chit-chat. It is high season for me to apologize; not by prolific excuses, but by cutting matters short at once. Only observing that, if the unexpected sight of an old and valued friend on earth gives a heart-felt joy, which none but a breast formed for friendship can experience: what far more exceeding and exalted blessedness must result from that "Communion of saints" made perfect, which will obtain in the kingdom of glory!—Until then, and when there, I am, and shall ever be,

Your affectionate friend,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY

LETTER XLV.

Mr. O—.

Broad Hembury, July 29, 1764.

Best thanks to you, ever dear sir, for your kind and obliging letter of the 19th instant. From what I felt in reading it, I cannot help believing that your soul was much alive to God when you wrote it. May your holiness and comforts resemble the flow of some mighty river, which widens and enlarges more and more, in proportion as it advances nearer the ocean into which it falls.

I rejoice at what you say concerning the happy frame of soul in which the Rev. Mr. Green ascended to Abraham's bosom. It is delightful to live and walk in the shinings of God's countenance: but to die in the light and consolations of his presence, is (next to heaven itself) the crowning mercy of all How gracious is the Holy Spirit of promise thus to shine away the doubts and fears of his people, and put them to bed by daylight! O may we taste the sweetness of his love, rise into a nearer conformity to his image, enjoy closer communion with him, both in and out of ordinances, and experience an increasing sense of his never-failing faithfulness; till we receive the end of our faith, even the full and ultimate salvation of our souls. I bless the Lord I cannot doubt of his making all this our portion. He sometimes enables me to look, as it were, into his heart of everlasting love; and to catch a glimpse of that page in the Book of Life, where he has written my unworthy name: and in the strength of that comfort and travel many days.

I am very glad that dear Mr. ——— has broken the ice at Westminster. Would to God that the nasty party walls which separate the Lord's people from each other below were every one of them thrown down. Sure I am that, in heaven, all God's house will be laid into one. Ephraim shall then no more envy Judah; nor Judah vex Ephraim.

I am greatly indebted to Mr. M—— for what he did me the honour to say of me, and of my late publication, in the pulpit. But I desire at the same time to be (and I bless God I am) humbled and abashed, instead of elevated and puffed up, by the unmerited obligations which I continually receive from the excellent of the earth. Not unto me, O Lord, not unto me, but to thy name, be the undivided glory of every gift, and of every grace ascribed.

Present my affectionate respects to dear Mrs. ——, who, I hope, has, by this time, added to your family, without danger to herself. Let me know this particular: for I bear her much upon my heart.

While your dear little daughter connues as little as she is, I may venture to send my love to her. And I wish also, to be kindly remembered to all in your house, who love your Lord and mine.

How is Miss ———? Christian salutations to her and all that family; and to as many as condescend to enquire after

Dear sir, your obliged and very affectionate servant,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER XLVI.

To Mr. ——

Broad Hembury, Sept. 30, 1774.

EVER DEAR SIR,

Though your kind politeness has desired me never to thank you by letter for the many instances of the regard with which you are continually obliging me; yet I must, for once, violate the prohibition, by acknowledging my safe receipt of the ——, &c., which you have lately added to my ——, and for which I request you to accept my cordial thanks. I wish that you and dear Mrs. —— were here, to help to use them.

I greatly admire the elegant —— and ——, in particular, and I pray the Father of mercies, that the sweet sentences with which the former is decorated and inscribed may be written indelibly on the hearts both of the donor and of the receiver.

Next let me thank you for your much esteemed letter of the 15th instant, and for the kind trouble you were so good as to take, in calling on Mr. ——. Whatever course the Northamptonshire affair may take, it will be in consequence of that "never-failing Providence which orders all things, both in heaven and earth." Blessed be God for enabling me, in some measure, not only to acquiesce but to rejoice in the unerring disposals of his will; and to adore with thankfulness that Infinite Wisdom which alone is able to choose our heritage and our lot.

I have not been on the mount for some days until now. The Lord warm your heart with a ray of that fire which, through the free grace of his Spirit, he at present gives me to experience. Oh, what treasures are in the blood of Christ; what safety in his righteousness! what sweetness in his fellowship! Lord, enlarge our souls to receive of his fulness more and more. If the scanty vessel of imperfect faith can draw such water of comfort from the wells of salvation; what will be the blessedness of God's elect, when they are taken up into glory, and there walk with him,

"High in salvation and the climes of bliss!"

The clearer views God gives us of interest in his covenant, and in the unsearchable riches of Christ, the deeper we sink into a humbling sense of our own vileness and unfruitfulness. The same candle of the Holy Spirit, which shews us God's love, and our part in the Book of Life, discovers to us the exceeding hatefulness of sin, and convinces us that we are hell-deserving sinners. It also fires us with an inextinguishable wish and thirst for conformity to Christ in holiness, and effectually causes us to cry out with David, "Make me go in the path of thy commandments, for therein is my desire."

Doubt not, my dear sir, but the Lord will go on to take care of us in all these respects, and in every other; even beyond the utmost we are able to ask or think.

My best remembrance wait on the amiable and deserving partner of your heart: and I do, with truth and love in Christ Jesus, subscribe myself her and you

Affectionate servant in him,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

P. S. Be so good as to present my respectful salutations to Mr. ———, whom I request to accept my thanks for the intended token of his esteem; which, when it arrives, I hope ever to preserve and value for the sake of the giver.

I shall be happy to hear from you as often as you can find leisure. Is Mrs. ——'s hour of danger past? She has my earnest prayers. Adieu.

LETTER XLVII.

To Mrs. B——

Broad Hembury, Nov. 11, 1774.

On my receiving a letter, franked by Lord Sandwich, I immediately conjectured to

whom I stood indebted for the contents: and on breaking the seal found my hope most agreeably realized. Your friendship and politeness, dear madam, are great indeed: which not only induced you to forgive my omissions, but even prevailed on you to be yourself the renewer of that correspondence which both your merit and my own promise required me to re-commence. Happy in the continuance of your esteem, and signally obliged by the accumulated favours you confer, I should be totally inexcusable, were I to persist in putting your condescension to those trials, whereof our truly valuable friend, Mr. Ryland, so loudly complains.

But what can I say relative to the profuse encomiums with which you deign to honour my late publication? Your probity is unquestionable. Your discernment in every other instance unimpeachable. I am thankful for not having displeased so refined a judge. May that adorable Being, whose Spirit alone is able to enlighten the darkness of the human mind, command his gracious blessing on every attempt which has his glory and the illustration of his truths for its objects!

A person whom we both deservedly admire has just left Devonshire, after a residence in it of no less than three months. I mean Mrs. Macaulay: who wisely intermitted her historical pursuits for the sake of pursuing that without which the former would soon come to a final period; namely, health. I left her very weak and languid (as I believe I told you) when I parted from her last May, at Bath, on my way to London. But she has quitted this part of the west in all the vigour and alacrity of health. She is returned to Bath, where she has taken a house on St. James's Parade; and where, if business or inclination should call you to that city, she will be, I doubt not, extremely glad to see you. I have promised to make an excursion thither, for a month or two, before winter is over, provided my studies will any way give leave: and should be happy, if you could, with convenience to yourself, contrive to visit Bath at the same time.

You tell me you have been amused at London, or rather shocked, by those vehement exertions of female zeal which, in peeresses, are no less violations of law than of delicacy. I too, was, last Wednesday, amused here in my own parish, by a scene much humbler than that which your electioneering ladies exhibited: viz., by what is called, in this country, a Skimmington; a procession, which is very accurately described in Hudibras, and not with more humour than the real sight conveys. A most uneasy pair, whose constant jarrings, and whose frequent skirmishes (in which, however, the heroine, not the hero, generally came off victorious) have long been the talk of the parish, and a nuisance to their immediate neighbours, were mimicked and ridiculed to the life in this rustic exhibition: but accompanied with much better and softer music than the squabbles of the original couple usually afford.

I have heard you remark, and no remark was ever more just, that, let me be where I will, I am sure to meet with instances of connubial infelicity. They really occur to me on every hand, just as "the graces" bolt from every corner on the perusers of Lord Chesterfield's Letters. And yet (you will smile, if not triumph, at such a declaration from me) I am really and literally tired of being a bachelor; not unwilling to try a certain hazardous experiment; though half afraid to venture.

After giving such a voluntary and decisive proof of my sincerity, I cannot be suspected of duplicity, if I subscribe myself, what in very truth I am,

Dear madam, your obliged friend, and most obedient servant,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

P. S. Good Mrs. Ch. has my respectful and affectionate remembrance. God loves her, and will take care of her, even to the end, and without end.—Adieu.

LETTER XLVIII.

To the Rev. Dr. B. of Sarum.

Broad Hembury, Nov. 18, 774.

As I suppose you are, by this time, returned from Freshford, it is incumbent on me, dear sir, to acknowledge your favour of the 9th ult., which arrived here a day or two after my last to you was forwarded to Sarum. I should have been extremely happy to have enjoyed your and Mrs. B.'s company in Devonshire, but cannot wonder at my disappointment when I consider the superior attractions of which Freshford and its environs have to boast. Another year, I hope, will make me amends.

Mrs. Macaulay has lately left us, in a more vigorous state of health and spirits than I ever yet remember to have seen her enjoy. Notwithstanding the many local and social charms of Freshford, you have really sustained a loss by not being here during her long residence in this neighbourhood.

I shall be extremely obliged to you for communicating the Jamaica epitaph on Bradshaw. Though, before I see it, I must inevitably set it down for amere *lusus ingenii*; the person from whom you had it being most egregiously misinformed, if he in earnest believes that the subject of it died in that island where the epitaph was born. Certain it is that Bradshaw died at London, in November, 1657, the year before Crom-

well expired: and that he [Bradshaw] was interred in Henry VIIth's chapel; Mr. Rowe, the famous Puritan minister, preaching his funeral sermon, in Westminster Abbey, from that text in Isaiah, The righteous perisheth, and no man lays it to heart. Moreover, Bradshaw's remains were, soon after the Restoration, dug up, and buried under the gallows, with those of other partisans in the same cause. So that your West Indian correspondent is totally mistaken in every point of view. But pray let me see the epitaph: which is no more the worse for the mis-information with which it was introduced to your acquaintance, than the intrinsic merits of Mr. Drelincourt's excellent Treatise on Death are impaired by the fabulous legend prefixed to it, concerning Mrs. Veal's apparition.

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER XLIX.

To the Countess of Huntingdon.

Broad Hembury, Dec. 9, 1774.

MADAM,

I was, in due course, honoured with your ladyship's letter of Nov. 24; and, had its contents been less weighty, should have sooner acknowledged my receipt of it.

After so condescending and so explicit a display of your views of divine things, I should be criminally inexcusable, were I not, with all possible respect, but yet with the most naked and undisguised simplicity, to submit the result, both of my prayers and of my reflections, to your ladyship's judgment and candour.

I consider the true ministers of God as providentially divided into two bands: viz., the regulars, and the irregulars.

The former may be compared to centinels, who are to keep to their stations: or to watchmen, whose attention is immediately confined to their respective districts. The latter, like troops of light-horse, are to carry the arms of their sovereign wherever an opening presents or occasional exigence may require. Both these corps are useful in their distinct departments; and, in my opinion, should observe the same harmony with each other as obtains among the stationary and planetary stars, which are fixed and erratic in the regions above us.

Hitherto, I have considered myself as a regular: and have been very cautious not to overstep that line into which, I am persuaded, Providence has thrown me; and in which, I can thankfully affirm, divine grace has been pleased to bless me. Ought I not to see the pillar of divine direction moving before me, very visibly, and quite incontestibly, ere I venture to deviate into a more excursive path?

I remember that, in one of my last conversations with dear Mr. Whitefield, antecedently to his last voyage to America, that great and precious man of God said as follows: "My good sir, why do not you come out? Why do not you come out? You might be abundantly more useful, were you to widen your sphere, and preach at large, instead of restraining your ministry to a few parish churches." My answer was to this effect: that "The same Providence which bids others roll at large seems to have confined me to a particular orbit."

And, I honestly own, I am still of the same mind. If there be, for me, a yet more excellent way, God, I trust, will reveal even this unto me. I hope I can truly say, that I desire to follow his guidance with a single eye.

As to the doctrines of special and discriminating grace, I have thus much to observe: that, for the first four years after I was in orders, I dwelt, chiefly, on the general outlines of the gospel, in the usual course of my public ministry. I preached of little else but of justification by faith only in the righteousness and atonement of Christ; and of that personal holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord. My reasons for thus narrowing the truths of God were (with humiliation and repentance I desire to speak it) these two: 1. I thought these points were sufficient to convey as clear an idea as was absolutely necessary, of salvation. And 2. I was partly afraid to go any farther.

God himself (for none but he could do it) gradually freed me from that fear. And as he never, at any time, permitted me to deliver, or even insinuate, any thing contradictory to his truths; so has he been graciously pleased, for between seven and eight years past, to open my mouth to make known the entire mystery of his gospel, as far as his Spirit has enlightened me into it. The consequence of my first plan of operations was, that the generality of my hearers were pleased: but very few were converted. The result of my latter deliverance from worldly wisdom and from worldly fear (so far as the Lord has exempted me from those snares) is, that multitudes have been very angry: but the conversions which God has given me reason to hope he has wrought have been at least three for one before. Thus, I can testify, so far as I have been concerned, the usefulness of preaching predestination: or, in other words, of tracing salvation and redemption to their first source.

Your ladyship's goodness will pardon the unreserved freedom and plainness with which I have taken occasion to open my mind. Nor will you, I hope, disbelieve me when, with the same simplicity and truth, I assure your ladyship that I love and revere you for what God has made you, and for what he has ef-

fected through you. Let me have, as you kindly promise, an interest in your prayers.

Should I visit my Bath friends this winter, as I have some thoughts of doing, I will avail myself of your ladyship's invitation, by paying my respects to you; and the rather as it is now between ten and eleven years since I had an opportunity of presenting you with them in person. Whenever I have been in Bath, during this long period, your ladyship never happened to be there.

Wishing you, not the compliments of the ensuing season, but an encreasing enjoyment of the realities which it brings to our remembrance, I remain, madam,

Your ladyship's most obedient, and most humble servant,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

P. S. May I take the liberty to wish that, when you next write to Lord Moira, your ladyship would condescend to make my respects acceptable to him. Mr. Shirley, if at Bath, has my affectionate salutations.

LETTER L.

To the Rev. Dr. Priestley.

Broad Hembury, Dec. 23, 1774.

REV. SIR,

Condescend to accept the thanks of a person who has not the honour of being acquainted with you, for the pleasure and improvement recently received, from a perusal of your spirited (and, for the most part, just) Animadversions on the three Northern Doctors. Allow me also to thank, in an especial manner, the good providence of God which has raised up no less a man than yourself, to contend so ably for the great doctrine of necessity: a doctrine, in my idea, not only essential to sound and rational philosophy; but abstracted from which I could not, for my own part, consider Christianity itself as a defensible system.

Greatly as I admire the main of your performance, I should, probably, not have taken the liberty to trouble you with my acknowledgments, but for the following circumstance.

In your successful assault and battery of the new Scotch fortification, you have occasionally fired some random shot on a very numerous set of men who, so far as concerns the article of necessity, are your actual friends, and your natural allies. Permit me, therefore, sir, to offer you, in this private manner, a few plain, but not intentionally disrespectful, strictures on some rash and exceptionable passages; which serve as foils, to render your penetration and candour, on some other occasions, the more conspicuous.

I shall confine myself to your Introduction.

1. Are you certain that "The common Arminian doctrine of free-will is founded on Scripture, and pre-supposed by the philosophic doctrine of necessity?" Is it not very possible, and often actually matter of fact, that men have not "the power of doing what they please, or will" to do? The triumvirate of doctors (for instance) are, I doubt not, very willing to beat you off from their intrenchments, and to give you a total defeat. But I am much mistaken if they have "the power of doing it."

2. Why are "Calvin's notions" represented as "gloomy?" Is it gloomy to believe that the far greater part of the human race are made for endless happiness? There can, I think, be no reasonable doubt entertained concerning the salvation of very young persons. If (as some, who have versed themselves in this kind of speculation, affirm) about one half of mankind die in infancy, and if, as indubitable observation proves, a considerable number of the remaining half die in early childhood; and if, as there is the strongest reason to think, many millions of those, who live to maturer years, in every successive generation, have their names in the Book of Life: then, what a very small portion, comparatively, of the human species, falls under the decree of preterition and non-redemption! This view of things, I am persuaded, will, to an eye so philosophic as yours, at least open a very cheerful vista through the "gloom;" if not entirely turn the imaginary darkness into sun-shine. For, with respect to the few reprobate, we may, and we ought to, resign the disposal of them, implicitly, to the will of that only King who can do no wrong: instead of summoning the Almighty to take his trial at the tribunal of our own speculations, and of setting up ourselves as the judges of Deity.

3. I must confess, I see nothing "wonderful," nor to be gazed at "as a strange phenomenon," in the coincidence of "philosophic necessity" with the Calvinistic theology and metaphysics. I should rather "wonder," if they did not coincide: since (according to the ideas formed by me, who live in a Christian country, and believe the Christian revelation) they mutually suppose and support each other. For what is Calvinism but a scriptural expansion of the philosophic principle of necessity? or, if you please, a ramification of that principle into its religious parts? It is possible, indeed, for a person to be a gross necessitarian, or a necessitarian at large, without being fully a Calvinist (witness many of the ancient, and some modern, philosophers;)

but it seems impossible, to me, that any person can be fully a Calvinist without being a necessitarian.

Moreover, every Christian necessitarian is, so far, a Calvinist. Have a care, therefore, Dr. Priestley: lest, having set your foot in the Lemaine lake, you plunge in *quantus quantus*. A catastrophe which, for my own part, and for your own sake, I sincerely wish may come to pass, and of which I do not wholly despair.

4. There is, I apprehend, no shadow of reason for supposing that, had the great and good Mr. Edwards "lived a little longer, he would have been sensible that his philosophy was much more nearly allied to Socinianism than to Calvinism." That deep and masterly reasoner would rather have rejoiced at seeing so important a branch of the Calvinistic philosophy (viz. the doctrine of necessity) so warmly adopted by a Socinian divine.

Seriously, I think you have admitted a Trojan horse into your gates: whose concealed force will, probably, at the long run, display the banner of John Calvin on your walls, and master your capitol, though at present garrisoned by the confederate forces of Pelagius, Sozzo, and Van Harmin.

5. Nor was it any "piece of artifice in Mr. Edwards to represent the doctrine of philosophical necessity as being the same thing with Calvinism, and the doctrine of philosophical liberty as the same thing with Arminianism." This suggestion, sir (which, by the way, is more than a little ungenerous, when we consider how upright and valuable a man Mr. Edwards by all accounts proved himself, in every part of his conduct) seems to have been started merely as a salvo for yourself. You are, on the article of necessity, the reverse of an Arminian. And you are terribly afraid of being dubbed a Calvinist. I must own you are in some little danger. But cheer up. Your case is not yet desperate. Poor Janssenius was in a situation somewhat similar to yours. He, indeed, swam farther into the Geneva lake than you have ventured to do: and, to elude the name of heretic, assured as many good people as would believe him, that he was, all the while, bathing in the Tiber.

So far as I can judge, Mr. Edwards gave the naked and genuine sentiments of his heart to the public. And I am likewise of opinion that the fact stands, simply and literally, just as he represents it. Arminianism, when stripped of its sophistical trappings, contends for such an absolute and inviolable freedom, *εν αμφιρρεπει*, as is independent, in its exercise, on any thing but the will itself. Consequently, the Arminian scheme is no less incompatible with the religion of reason, than with the religion of the Bible: and directly contravenes the whole current, both of natural and of revealed truth.

6. It is, certainly, a very unguarded assertion, that "the modern question of liberty and necessity" is what the Calvinian divines "never understood, nor, indeed, so much as heard of." The contrary is evincible from their writings. The question, so far from being purely "modern," has exercised some of the ablest Protestant pens, from the reformation quite down to the present day. It has been agitated, with no little zeal, *pro et contra*, even among the Papists, long before, but more frequently since, the Protestant æra. And it was the subject of no small debate among some of the heathen philosophers themselves.

7. Mr. Edwards, therefore, was not the "first Calvinist who ever hit upon the true philosophic doctrine of necessity." A vast number of the greatest reformed divines, both foreign and English, touched the self-same key. And it is extremely evident that Mr. Edwards himself received much light from them into the subject; and even availed himself, very frequently, of phrases, distinctions, and arguments, which those grand luminaries had, with success, made use of before him.

8. "Zealous Calvinists," you tell us, "regard your writings with abhorrence." It would have been candid, sir, to have expressed this with more restriction, and with less vehemence. Many very "zealous Calvinists" regard your writings, on some subjects, not only without "abhorrence," but with honour and admiration. Dark and "gloomy" as you have represented us, we still have sufficiency, both of eye-sight and of day-light, to discern the lustre of your genius, and the improvements which your equally profound and refined researches have added to the stock of philosophic knowledge.

9. Nervous (and, I think, irretragable) as Mr. Edwards's treatise is, you still are much too sanguine in asserting that the Calvinists "boast of it as the strongest bulwark of their own gloomy faith." We never boasted of it under any such character. We have, in my apprehension, some hundreds of "bulwarks" no less "strong" than this American one, whose towers I concur with you in deservedly admiring. Exclusively of which numerous bulwarks, we have a citadel (the Bible) against which no weapon can possibly prevail. I pass over your favourite epithet "gloomy," which you so repeatedly prefix to Calvinistic "faith." When you have attended as minutely to the philosophy of Scripture-vision, as you have to that of animal optics, you will perceive the district of Calvin to be, not a Cimmerian region, but a very land of Goshen

10. You think proper, sir, to suppose that "zealous Calvinists will be surprised to hear" (it is well we are not deaf and blind too) "you so full and earnest in the recommendation of Mr. Edwards's book." I much question whether their wonder will mount to "surprise." There are so many weaknesses, contradictions, and inconsistencies in philosophers as well as in ordinary men, that few people who know much of the world and of human nature will be greatly "surprised" at any thing.

11. You, however, are of a different opinion. Perhaps, because "zealous Calvinists," like moles and bats, live in a thick and perpetual gloom with hardly a single ray of truth or of common sense to gild their midnight darkness. People in so melancholy a situation are doubtlessly very apt to take fright. If your charity will not pour daylight on our gloomy abodes, it would at least be compassionate in you to mitigate the woeful "surprise" with which you think your treatise calculated to impress us.

No! You will no more deign to alleviate our "surprise" than to dissipate our gloom. It is rather cruel, though, first to shut us up in the dark, and then to scare us. It seems, we "must still continue to wonder." Wherefore? Because "It would be to no purpose for you to explain to" the zealous Calvinists "Why they ought not to wonder at the matter. What I should say on that subject," adds the high and mighty doctor, "would not be intelligible to them." Inexpressibly candid and polite! The plain English of the compliment is this:

"Every zealous Calvinist is a fool, or a dunce, at best. I will therefore waste no time on such incurable asses. All my philosophic apparatus itself would not afford them a gleam of knowledge: nor all my consummate skill in language and in reasoning make them comprehend the lowest of my sublime ideas. I therefore leave them to stumble on in their impenetrable gloom: and to knock their blockish heads against tables, doors, walls, and posts, amid the tremor of their surprise."

Our case is pitiable indeed. But why will not the illuminated and illuminating doctor direct a few of his rays, by way of experiment, toward our dark and dreary habitations? Behonest, good sir: and fairly tell us, that your reason, for huddling the matter up and for not descending to particulars was not our stupidity, but your fear of the consequences that would result to yourself, had you gone to the bottom of the subject, an unfolded all that was in your heart. To screen yourself, you affect to give us over as incurable before you have so much as tried what you can make of us. If you set about it, who can tell but, stupid as we are, some of us may recover our sight and sense, and be emancipated from our gloom and from our surprise together? Electricity, under your auspices, may work miracles.

However lightly I may occasionally have expressed myself, I assure you, on the word of an honest man, that I have the honour to be, with seriousness and truth,

Reverend sir,

Your admirer,

and very humble servant,

AUGUSTUS MONTAGUE TOPLADY.

P. S. On reviewing this letter, I deem myself obliged, in some measure, to apologize for that vein of freedom into which the supreme and insulting contempt you express of the Calvinists, has unwarily betrayed me. Your last quoted paragraph, sir, appears to carry an implication of extreme prejudice and of sovereign pride. Nothing can be no more supercilious, more rude, and more unjust, than the letter and the spirit of that whole passage. I would willingly, if I were able, frame an excuse for you, by supposing that it escaped you *volante calamo*; and that it is to be imputed, not so much to malice, to haughtiness, or even to your unacquaintedness with the people you traduce, as to the hurry and precipitation with which your treatise was apparently written.

Believe me to be, sir,

Most respectfully, yours.

LETTER LI.

To Mr. ——.

Broad Hembury, Dec. 29, 1774.

No congratulations wait on my ever dear friend from Broad-Hembury on account of his new connection. The reason is, because no change of state on his part can make me love and wish him better than I did before. Nor do I transmit you those compliments which usually reverberate from friend to friend at this particular season of the year: because you have my very best wishes, without intermission, all the year round. And so, I doubt not, will the new partner of your heart, when I have the honour and the pleasure of knowing her. In the meanwhile, I request you to inform her, that she has my respectful salutations.

I take the liberty to trouble you with the inclosed packet for Mr. M. It contains only the sermon on Psalm cxv. 1; which owes its transmission to the press entirely to your condescending desire, signified when I was last in London. You see I am not all disobedience to your commands; though I must, for once, run counter to some of them: I mean, so far as concerns

the principal subject of your last kind and obliging letter. Some nephritic complaints, to which I have long perceived myself liable, warn me to ply my pen no more than necessity may require.

I am, with great affection and respect, &c.

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

P. S. I lost poor Mr. Lane about a fortnight ago: who, at the age of seventy-six, preserved all the strength and gaiety of a boy at sixteen, until within a few days of his decease. He was the second of my domestics whom God has removed by death in the compass of two months. Mrs. Lane (who, by the way, continues as lively at seventy-seven as she could be at thirty) still keeps my house; and supports the loss of her husband not only philosophically, but heroically. An estate, however, of twenty-five pounds per annum, which died with him, is, I believe, very sincerely, though not inconsolably, regretted. Mr. Lane had not been dead a quarter of an hour, when his relict addressed me thus: "Sir, I have been thinking that it will be to no purpose to lay out money for a fine shroud, to be hid in a coffin; nor for a fine coffin, to be hid under the earth." This was natural philosophy, literally so called. It is really a happiness, on irremediable occasions, to have little on no feeling. I envy insensible people, because they are ignorant of mental pain, the keenest species of any. Adieu

LETTER LII

To the Rev. Mr. Ryland.

Broad Hembury, Dec. 29, 1774.

When my dear friend's letter (whose date I am quite ashamed to recollect) arrived, our valuable Mrs. Macaulay was present. Her countenance brightened at learning from whom it came. She, on all occasions, testifies a singular esteem of you: which is in other words saying, that she really has you in very great estimation; for she is too magnanimous, and too upright, to dissemble. She gives your name as a favourite toast of yours and mine, in public and mixed companies. And she has, moreover, so high an opinion of your judgment in physic, no less than in metaphysic, that she makes it a constant rule, and did so during the whole of her three months, stay in Devonshire, to retire to her chamber at ten o'clock.

Though I love and respect you as much as that extraordinary lady can do, still I cannot say that I have carefully followed your advice relating to that early hour of repose with the same implicit obedience. We often regard the physician, and yet transgress his prescriptions. I am, however, reforming very fast in this particular. As a proof of which I must tell you, that if I prolong my studies at any time until two or three in the morning, I begin to think I am sitting up late. For the most part, I rarely exceed twelve or one.

Had the Northamptonshire living fallen to my lot, I should have been a very troublesome neighbour to you. Not a sixpenny pamphlet would I have sent to the press, without previously soliciting your corrections and amendments. You may be thankful that I am only your friend, and not your neighbour. Let me, in a religious view, seriously add that I myself am thankful, and very thankful, that I continue where I am. And I say this, not because I should not have preferred your county to this, but because it was the will of God, as the event has clearly proved, that I should remain in this county, and not be transplanted to yours.

Your thoughts concerning the "Directions to Young Divinity Students" are so just, so forcible, and so vivid, that I must absolutely lay aside all view of engaging in such a book myself. The department is eminently and exclusively yours. Let Homer, therefore, write his own Iliad. As to me, I feel my incompetence to so difficult and important a task, and must follow the old, sensible advice: *Consule, quid saleant*, &c.

My best thanks attend you for that valuable paper transmitted to me, some time ago, from Wells, under Mr. Tudway's enclosure; enumerating the passages in the Old Testament wherein Christ is styled Jehovah. You may judge how poorly qualified I am to accommodate young divines with rules for study, when I assure you that I did not know, until you informed me, that the blessed Mediator between God and man is called Jehovah almost two hundred times in the course of the first Testament.

If you wish your letters to Mr. S—— may arrive free of postage, you must enclose them to ——. Mr. S—— is one of the most learned, most devout, and most valuable men I know. With all his choir of respectable and of amiable qualities, he possesses this crowning one, viz., a heart, like yours, capable of friendship.

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER LIII.

To Ambrose Serle, Esq.

Broad Hembury, Jan. 25, 1775.

ever dear sir,

I write to request that you will condescend to present Mr. M. with my thanks for his

packet lately sent: and to inform him that, though I was by no means well when it arrived, yet the perusal of Mr. Wesley's "Thoughts upon Necessity" (which were part of the packet's contents) put my spirits into such a pleasing flow that I instantly resolved to attack those thoughts, and in half an hour afterwards actually set about it. I have, at three sittings (or rather standings, for I generally write upon my feet), got midway through my intended pamphlet; which will, if Providence please to continue health and leisure, be a Defence of Christian and Philosophic Necessity.

I design writing to Mr. M. myself, so soon as I have finished my tract: and thanking him for the kind conveyances with which he has favoured me. But, to say the truth, I am at present so absorbed in the subject on the tapis, that I am willing to pursue it while my ideas are warm; and warm ideas, if not speedily seized and arrested, are very fugitive.

Every happiness be to yours.

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER LIV.

To Mrs. Macaulay

Broad Hembury, Feb. 10, 1775.

DEAR MADAM,

Your favour of Jan. 27th arrived in due course. Had you deferred penning it but three days longer, it would have borne the date of a certain anniversary on which no person living is so well qualified to write as yourself.

I have had too much ill health this winter to be, as you suppose me to have been, very assiduously engaged "in deep researches after philosophical and religious truth." The principal result of my few researches in that way has been a tract (begun and finished within a fortnight) in explication and defence of Christian and philosophic necessity. But, I believe, I shall not commit it to the press until I go to London; the printers being a very teasing set of people to be concerned with at so great a distance from the scene of action.

As I know not how much longer my supposed researches may be impeded by want of health, I must beg that you will not, in time to come, forbear writing hither from an imaginary fear of "interrupting" researches which have little or no existence.

I will reduce you to a dilemma on the occasion. Either I am, or I am not, engaged in the said researches. If the former, then do you write by all means, and the oftener the better; for I know no pen more capable of assisting a philosophic enquirer than your own. If the latter, still write; for, in that case, the very reason under which you shelter yourself ceases to exist.

To tell you the truth, I am quite of opinion that, by your polite apology for being so bad a correspondent, you have only wedged yourself fast in a cleft stick, from which nothing can extricate you but your directing as many letters to Broad Hembury as possible.

I have not been at Honiton since I took leave of you there. But your host, Mr. N., I have seen twice; once at my own house, and once at Mr. Drewe's.

Many thanks to you, dear madam, for the purse which, you tell me, you have condescended to knit for me. I would rather, however, defer receiving it until I have the pleasure of seeing you at Bath; which I hope will be within these two months; either in my way to, or in my return from, London.

I have a very extraordinary letter to shew you; sent me by my respectable friend, Dr. Baker, vicar of St. Martin's, in Salisb——, relative to Bradshaw's interment in Jamaica. I own I am partly staggered, though not proselyted, as to that matter. I set it down under the class of "Historic Doubts."

But, without any shadow of doubt at all I have the honour to be,

Madam,
Your much obliged
and very obedient servant,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

P. S. Compliments to Miss Macaulay. I observe you do not say a syllable concerning our common favourite, Mr. Lytton. On second thoughts, I will not (as I at first designed) defer shewing you Dr. B.'s letter until we meet, but shall enclose it in this. The circumstance of double postage is not to be considered. Adieu.

LETTER LV.

To Mr. L. C.

Broad Hembury, Feb. 13, 1775.

[Extract]

It is Dr. Samuel Johnson whom Lord Chesterfield terms "a respectable Hottentot:" and whom his lordship, by a caricature abundantly too severe and overcharged, represents as the living essence of awkwardness and ill-breeding. I can testify, upon my own knowledge, that the shades are too deepened, and the line, too distorted. But the doctor is pretty even, it seems, with the noble defamer; and styles those letters, "A system of morals for a whore, and a system of manners for a dancing-master." I totally agree with the doctor as to the morals,

and partly agree with him as to the manners. Seriously, poor Mr. Phil. Stanhope was greatly to be pitied for falling under the management of such a father: a father who was at once capable of guiding a son into the ruinous paths of vice, and of pretending, at other times, to give him a few squeamish cautions against it. Like some hypocritical prostitute who entices with an air of affected modesty, and assumes that air of modesty only to render her enticements the more effectual. Moreover, after all his lordship's attention to the "graces" of his disciple, the poor young gentleman lived and died almost as great a stranger to the graces of politeness as to those of the Holy Spirit. So that the disappointed father had the mortification of perceiving that he had only been raining upon a rock. Few men of education and high connection were ever more clumsy and ungainly in their devoir than Mr. Stanhope.

I take the true original of Lord Chesterfield's disgust against Dr. J—— to have been, the doctor's having too much Christianity for his Lordship's taste. Not but what Johnson has, on some occasions, a great deal of positiveness about him: and Lord C—— was so much of the fine gentleman as to think that nothing, either in religion or philosophy, was worth contending for, in opposition to whatever genteel company a person might happen to be with. It would be committing an act of hostility "on the graces," were a man not to swim implicitly with the current, whether good or bad. Johnson, I believe, was never guilty, so much as once in his life, of such mean, cowardly dissimulation. And I honour him for it. If he likes his company, no man is more affable and communicative. If he meets with a coxcomb, he is sure of taking him down without mercy. Or, if people of sense affront him, he discovers very great and quick sensibility, and generally makes them pay dear for their temerity; for his reproofs are weighty with sentiment, and his repartees cuttingly smart. It must have been pleasant to have seen him and Lord Chesterfield together.

The smooth dissimulation of the latter extended, in some measure, even to me. The year after I was in orders (viz., 1763), I asked his lordship for a scarf. "I am extremely sorry, sir," replied he, "that you did not mention it early enough. Had you asked me two days sooner, a scarf should have been at your service: but no longer ago than yesterday I gave away my only vacant one." I answered that I should be glad to hope for the honour of the next that fell. He replied, "The very next is already promised: but you shall certainly have the next after that." You can discern, without my pointing it out, the flat self-contradiction of these two plausible speeches.—I never asked him again: but looked upon him as a finished courtier from that day forward. When I was a boy, he used to give me a guinea now and then: and generally prefaced his donation (which to me was then a capital sum) with some such proper advice as this: "Now, do not buy too many apples, or nuts, or oranges, to make yourself sick." He certainly had a great fund of good nature at bottom, though it was half smothered and corrupted by art and finesse

Have you read Mrs. Macaulay's Address to the People? I am greatly pleased with the strength of sense which appears in that concise but solid performance. Alas, too solid! Would to God that the facts which it censures were ill founded. But his providence governs and orders all. No thanks to them that they are involuntarily and unknowingly accomplishing the decree of heaven. "Leeches," as a good man somewhere observes, "when they draw blood of a patient, do it to gratify themselves: they know nothing of the wise end for which the physician ordered them to be applied."

The mention of my valuable friend Mrs. Macaulay reminds me of the aforesaid Dr. Johnson, whose high principles, both political and ecclesiastical, are very different from those of the fair historian. A few years ago, Mrs. M. and the doctor (who never had a very cordial esteem for each other) met at the house of a third person, who had invited them to spend the day. Before dinner the conversation turned on the nature of civil government. Johnson, as usual, declared, in very strong terms, for monarchy, Mrs. M. for a republic. Some sparring passed on both sides: and Johnson, happening to cite some passage of Scripture, which he thought spoke in favour of his own system, Mrs. M. undertook him on the Scriptural score, and (as I was told, for I was not present) was rather more potent and pertinent in her quotations than he. Johnson, who does not easily digest contradiction, grew rather sour, and he well knows that he acquits himself better in a political, a historic, or a philosophic war, than in a holy one. The annunciation of dinner occasioned a truce to debate. But the doctor, with more ill manners than I ever heard authentically placed to his account, except in this instance, took occasion, when the company were all seated at table, to renew hostilities with his amiable antagonist. Mrs. M.'s footman was standing, according to custom, at the back of his lady's chair; when Johnson addressed him thus; "Henry, what makes you stand? Sit down, sit down. Take your place at table with the best of us. We are all republicans, Henry. There is no distinction here. The rights of human nature are equal. Your mistress will not be angry at your asserting your privilege of

peerage. We are all on a level. Do take your chair and sit down." This was very indelicate and rude. Nor was it arguing fairly: for a master or mistress (let the natural rights of mankind be, originally, ever so equal) has not only a just claim to superiority, but a title to the services of every person who, by voluntary stipulation, engages to render those services for a consideration agreed upon. Mrs. Macaulay, it seems, coloured a little, and drew up her head, but made no answer. If I had been there I should not have let the doctor off so easily for this savage piece of spurious wit. It is true, his great parts are entitled to proper respect: but, as Mrs. Macaulay was observing to me when she was last in Devonshire, with reference to this very doctor Johnson, "A learned man is not so miraculous a phenomenon in this kingdom that he should expect to be honoured with divine worship." Though, it must be owned, there are very few Johnsons in any kingdom, or in any age.

It is, however, this great man's foible to look for more homage and attention than every body will give him. How little he brooks opposition may be inferred from the droll (but which might have been a very serious) adventure between him and Osborne, the Lincoln's-Inn bookseller. Osborne called upon him one morning, soon after the publication of his Dictionary. The particulars of the conversation I have forgot: but in the course of it, some reference was had to a passage in that work. The doctor was for consulting the particular place itself; and, ascending a set of moveable steps, reached down his Dictionary from one of the highermost shelves. While Johnson was thus mounted, and holding the Dictionary in his hands, Osborne, who was standing beneath, happened to say some saucy thing that the doctor did not relish: on which, without further ceremony, he hurled the massy folio at the poor bookseller's head, who fell to the floor with the blow, but soon recovered his feet again. "An impertinent puppy," said Johnson to him, "I will teach you to behave with insolence to me; I will." But surely this was not acting very philosophically.

One more anecdote, while my hand is in, and then I will release you. I knew this Osborne, and, by the way, a very respectable man he was. In the spring of 1762, a month or two before I took deacon's orders, I was cheapening some books of him. After that business was over, he took me to the farthest end of his long shop, and, in a low voice, said thus: "Sir, you will soon be ordained. I suppose you have not laid in a very great stock of sermons. I can supply you with as many sets as you please. All originals, very excellent ones, and they will come for a trifle." My answer was, "I certainly shall never be a customer to you in that way. for I am of opinion that the man who cannot or will not make his own sermons is quite unfit to wear the gown. How could you think of my buying ready-made sermons? I would much sooner, if I must do one or the other, buy ready-made clothes." His answer shocked me: "Nay, young gentleman, do not be surprised at my offering you ready-made sermons; for, I assure you, I have sold ready-made sermons to many a bishop in my time." My reply was: "Good Mr. Osborne, if you have any concern for the credit of the Church of England, never tell that news to any body else, henceforward, for ever."

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER LVI.

To Francis Toplady, Esq

Broad Hembury, March 19, 1775

VERY DEAR SIR,

You are one of the last persons on earth in whose breast I would wish to occasion pain. Consequently it gives me much concern to find, from your favour of Feb. 21, that the subject mentioned in my last "touched you to the quick." Let it resemble a drawn stake on each side; and let both of us consider the matter as if it had never been started.

Your kind solicitude for my health merits my affectionate acknowledgments. Though I cannot entirely agree with you in supposing that intense study has been the cause of my late indispositions; I must yet confess that the hill of science, like that of virtue, is in some instances climbed with labour. But when we get a little way up the lovely prospects which open to the eye make infinite amends for the steepness of the ascent. In short, I am wedded to those pursuits as a man stipulates to take his wife: viz., for better, for worse, until death us do part. My thirst for knowledge is literally inextinguishable. And if I thus drink myself into a superior world I cannot help it; but must say, as some report Aristotle to have said, when he threw himself into the sea (if it be true that he did so throw himself), *quod non capere possum me capiet.*

Since I wrote to you last, my complaints have been crowned, or rather shod, with a short, but smart touch of the gout. On this occasion I have been congratulated until I have lost all patience. Therefore I do by these presents enter an express caveat against your wishing me joy. I am glad, however, that I know at last what is the matter with me: for I have not been right

well these two years; and was unable, until seized by the foot, to ascertain the radical cause. It is really one of the last disorders to which I should have suspected myself liable. If the strictest temperance could have saved me from the gout, I most certainly had been exempted: for I never knew what it was to be the reverse of sober so much as once in my whole life. On a review, I am quite ashamed to perceive that I have made myself the sole hero of my letter. But, notwithstanding the self-important pronoun I has already occurred too often, I must yet repeat it again; by assuring you that I am, with tender and respectful compliments to yourself, to my aunt, and to my cousin Charlotte,

Dear sir, your affectionate nephew,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER LVII.

To the Rev. Mr. ——.

Broad Hembury, April 5, 1775.

VERY DEAR SIR,

I am, both literally and figuratively, your debtor, for the welcome packet with which you favoured me toward the close of last January.

Friendship and politeness less indulgent and extensive than your own would tell me that I ought to blush for having delayed my acknowledgments so long. The truth is, I had been extremely ill for several weeks before the parcel arrived; and continued so for some weeks afterwards: which, added to the numerous avocations that have since demanded my attention, obliged me to postpone, until now, the pleasure of tendering my affectionate thanks to your condescending acceptance.

I have not been able to devote many hours to the perusal of Dilly's astrology. But I must frankly own that I have read enough to deter me from falling very deeply in love with that real or supposed science. Judge, my dear sir, how exalted an idea I must needs entertain of your candour, ere I could presume to testify, in such blunt terms as these, my opinion of a study which, in the eyes of your superior estimation, appears to be recommended by so many solid and alluring charms.

Among others, two observations in particular strike me with great force on this occasion.

1. Either we can, or we cannot, learn from the stars the train of future events. If we cannot, the whole business evaporates at once into a laborious delusion, and an ingenious nothing. If we can, it seems unwarrantable to pry into "the times and seasons which the Father hath put in his own power," and which the highest authority assures us "are not for us to know." The least that can be said is that it is more humble, and more safe, to leave the evolution of futurity to Providence; to pray instead of erecting a planetary figure: and, instead of consulting the stars, to cast all our care on him that made them.

2. Without doubt, many different infants are born into the world at the same precise point of time; and consequently under the self-same aspects of the heavenly orbs. From which leading circumstance it would follow, on astrological principles, that the cast of mind, the actions, the felicities, the adversities, and, in short, the whole lives and deaths of persons so born, should exactly, in every punctilio, resemble those of each other Their nativities being common, their fates would be the same. But are there any two men upon the stage of the earth, though they entered it at the same instant, whose minds and fates are perfectly similar and uniformly correspondent throughout?

Notwithstanding these free sceptical remarks, I value Lilly's Book as a very curious one: and shall, with many thanks, reimburse my dear friend for its cost.

Though you have not set me to work as an astrologer, you have as a polemic. Mr. Wesley's Thoughts on Necessity, which made a part of your obliging packet, determined me to represent that grand theological and philosophic article in its true point of view. Though I was then so ill that I could scarcely hold my pen, Providence enabled me to begin my Essay almost immediately on my receiving Mr. John's Tract, and to finish it within a fortnight. I should not, however, have made such haste, had I not apprehended that, if I did not avail myself of the present hour, I might probably be in another world before my treatise was completed. But God has extended my reprieve; may I live, and speak, and act, to his glory!

May I congratulate you on your success as candidate for the lectureship of St. * * * * * *? If not, I shall still wish you joy. You and all your concerns are in the hand of him whose will is wisdom, whose heart is love, and whose providence is omnipotence itself.

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER LVIII.

To the Rev. Dr. Gifford.

Broad Hembury, April 6, 1775.

DEAR AND REV. SIR,

In obedience to your wish, I shall concisely present you with my extemporaneous thoughts concerning the Arminian cavil

against personal election and reprobation, drawn from that relationship of God to men by which he is denominated and considered as the father of the whole human race.

Properly speaking, paternity and filiation are correlatives, resulting from the production of a similar intelligent being, *ex essentiâ productoris*. Where this agency and effect obtain, the producer is strictly styled a father, and the produced is strictly styled the offspring of that father.

Consequently, when any of mankind, or when all of them together, are termed sons, or children of God, the phrase is, necessarily and apparently, figurative. For no being less divine than God himself can, according to the precise ideas of paternity and filiation, be literally termed his Son.

Hence, when this predicate, sons of God, is affirmed, concerning angels or men; the affirmation neither is, nor can be, philosophically strict. Because there is no communicated sameness of essence from the producing party to the party produced.

Over and above which metaphysical observation, holy Scripture explicitly ascertains the sense in which God is represented as the Father of men. Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us?

Mr. Toulmin therefore, in his controversy with Mr. Rooker (a controversy, by the way, whose merits I have not looked into), should have stated his objection thus: "Can the common Maker of mankind put an arbitrary difference between the men he has made, consistently with infinite goodness and justice?"

However, we will let Mr. Toulmin have his own way, and clothe his argument in his own terms.

He observes,

1. That "Our Lord has taught us to argue from the paternal character" of God. —True. And that paternal character is neither less nor more than the creative character. The passage, Matt. vii. 11. to which Mr. Toulmin refers, plainly establishes this remark: for it is tantamount to saying, How much more shall your Maker, who is in heaven, &c. [Let me digress, *en passant*, by observing that, in the 21st verse of the above chapter, Christ uses the word Father in its true and absolute signification. For the first person in the Godhead is, properly, literally, and physically, the Father and the immediate source of the second *per communicationem essentiæ*.]

2. Mr. T. asks Mr. R. "Would you, sir, who are a parent, secretly resolve, before your children were born, and could have done either good or evil, to disinherit any of your children?"

On which I observe,

(1.) That Mr. Rooker may, in his turn, ask Mr. Toulmin, And would you, sir, after your children are born, actually permit any of them to be very wicked and very miserable, if it was in your power, by a single nod of your will, to make them good and to render them happy? Now God certainly is able to endue all mankind, and the very devils themselves, with holiness and felicity. He could both have saved them from falling, and can still reclaim them though fallen. And yet he, knowingly and willingly, permits many of the former, and the whole number of the latter, to be the subjects of sin and pain. And if the real, positive, continued permission of this be not inconsistent with the "paternal character;" why should that "character" be supposed to restrain God from secretly resolving, beforehand, on that permission? For, surely, the resolution to do or to permit a thing can no more clash with the "paternal character," than the actual doing or the actual permitting of the thing itself.—But, after all,

(2.) God and an earthly parent are not parallels in any one respect whatever. When a human father becomes possessed of the same numerical nature and attributes as God is, in all their infinity and perfection, it will then (but until then it cannot) be an admissible position, that the Deity is and must be such as one as ourselves, and ought to regulate his conduct by the example we set him. I remember, in the year 1759, while I was a student at college, a gentleman asked me (with reference to this very doctrine which Mr. T. opposes), Would you, if you were God, create any being to misery? My answer was, When I am God I will tell you. Surely, Arminians must be at a dismal loss, ere they could thus think of setting up the human passions, and parental affection in particular (which is, usually, the blindest affection of any), as the standard, and model, and archetype, from which God himself must form his estimate of right and wrong, and in conformity to which he is bound (for the plea supposes this if it supposes anything) to accommodate his purposes and shape his moral conduct! As if his ways were not higher than our ways, and his thoughts than our thoughts!

(3.) The cavil is very unhappily stated. For the most material part of it is phrased in the very words of Scripture. With this essential difference, however, that the said Scripture phrases positively affirm the identical proposition which the cavil is framed to deny. So directly and totally contrary is the judgment of Mr. T. to that of St. Paul.

(4.) It is monstrously inaccurate to insinuate that God has "secretly resolved to disinherit some of his children." We utterly reject the very shadow of such an idea, as involving in it both a religious and a philosophical impossibility. To disinherit is to cut off from succession to a patrimony or

other property, one who before was actual heir. Men may do this: because men are liable to change, and to mistake, and to be chagrined or disgusted by unforeseen incidents. But this can never be the case with God. Consequently, he cannot be said to disinherit the reprobate, who never were heirs. And, for the elect, he will never disinherit them: seeing, nothing shall be able to separate them from that unchangeable love, which hath graciously made them heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ himself.

(5.) I suppose Mr. Toulmin meant to ask: "Would God resolve not to invest some of his creatures with a title to the heavenly inheritance?" To which I answer, Yes. God not only justly might, but he actually has so resolved: unless the Bible is false from end to end. But as to disinheriting, the Bible knows nothing of that. It is Arminianism which represents the immutable God as the capricious disinheritor of his children; not we, who believe that whom he did predestinate, them he also glorified.

(6.) To make the objection square with the thing objected to, the objection should run thus: "Would you, Mr. Rooker, who are a creator, secretly resolve, before your creatures were formed, to exclude any of them from felicity, for wise and just reasons best known to yourself?" —— But this phraseology, which alone comes up to the point in debate, would not suit Mr. Toulmin's fallacious views. It would not suffice to raise a sophistical mist before the eyes of the unwary, which are apt to be caught by superficial appearances, and to be dazzled by the trappings of undue metaphor artfully put on. To make a straight stick seem crooked, you must look at it through a denser medium than air: *i. e.* hold it slantingly under water, and the business is done. Unguarded spectators may be seduced by the stratagem; but careful observers perceive the trick.

In one word: the question, as stated and phrased by Mr. Toulmin, argues *à diverso ad diversum:* and consequently is totally illogical, and proves nothing.

I am, with great esteem, &c.,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER LIX.

To Messrs. Vallance and Simmons.

Plymouth, July 7, 1775.

GENTLEMEN,

I am here on a short visit previously to my setting out for Bath and London: and now write to you, on occasion of a report which prevails here, that Mr. J. W— died lately in Ireland.

You, who dwell at the mart of intelligence, know, probably, the real state of that matter with more certainty than I can yet attain to at this distance. But, should my information be true, I must signify to you my hearty wishes that my Essay on Necessity, if not yet actually published, may be suppressed for the present: until I can throw it into a new form, by cancelling all the passages which have any personal reference to my old antagonist: and by retaining only so much of the Treatise as relates to the naked argument itself.

I hope this intimation will reach you time enough to answer the desired purpose. If it be too late, I cannot help it. But I do not wish to prosecute my war with that gentleman, if he be really summoned to the tribunal of God, and unable on earth to answer for himself. In that case, let my remembrance of his misdemeanors die and be buried with him.

Direct your answer, to me, at Mr. D———'s in G—— street, Bath. I have only time to add that I am, with esteem,

Gentlemen, yours, &c.,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER LX

To Lady Huntingdon.

Brighthelmstone, Sept. 22, 1775.

MADAM,

Best thank to your dear ladyship for the honour of your much esteemed letter from Bristol, of the 8th instant. You were so ill when I left you there, that the receipt of a letter which carries in it the evident traits of your recovery was peculiarly welcome, and furnished me with additional matter of thanksgiving to that God who, in mercy to his church, has been graciously pleased to protract a life so transcendently useful and valuable. It would be far better for your ladyship to be dissolved and to be with Christ: but it is more needful for his people below that you remain in the body. On their account, may it be very long ere you exchange your coronet for a crown.

It would have given me much joy to have been present on a late happy occasion, at Bristol: our friends Mr. and Mrs. ———, when they had the honour of waiting on your ladyship there, presented my message. I suppose, and assigned the reason; I bless the Father of mercies, that the power of the Spirit was experienced, and that he continues to speed your gospel plough.

I have been at this place a week to-day; and mean, if the Lord please, to overstay the 1st Sunday in October: here is a very considerable gathering of people to the standard of the cross. I have found much union with them, and the unction of the Holy One has given me much comfort and enlargement among them hitherto, in our public approaches to God. By a letter from dear Mr. P——, who is now at Chichester, I find that a new chapel at Petworth, and another at Guildford, are to be opened the 1st of October. May they receive that true consecration which arises from the presence and power of the Great Shepherd and Bishop of souls. I trust God will enable me and the people here, who are now of the most clearly enlightened, most judicious, most harmoniously united, and most lively congregations I ever was with, to pour out our souls in prayer on that day, for a blessing on your ladyship's labour of love in general, and on those two new encampments in particular.

I am informed, that Lady M———'s zeal for God has been considerably blest to many of her neighbours at or near Ealing. She has frequent preaching in her house; and it seems there is good hope that Lord R—— himself begins to have the hearing ear, and the feeling heart.

Has your ladyship seen the corrected copy of dear Mr. R———'s Treatise on Psalmody? If you have, you must have perceived that the very exceptionable passages, which laid that great and good man open to such just reprehension, are happily expunged. I asked him for a copy, soon after my arrival in London. He answered, that in its present state, he did not acknowledge it for his: but, I should have one as soon as published. He was as good as his word, and shortly after gave me his book. I examined it very carefully; and find that the faulty pages have been cancelled. We now no longer read of Watts's Hymns being Watts's whims, nor of the Holy Spirit's being always present where psalms are sung, and never present where hymns are sung. I am glad that my valuable friend was under a necessity of striking out these and such like violent and unguarded positions. I never met with so much as one spiritual person who did not censure them most severely; but as he has been so humble and so just to truth as to displace them from his Essay, I hope he will meet with no farther slight and mortification on their account.

God go with your ladyship into Cornwall, and shine on all your efforts for the glory of his name, and for the transfusion of his salvation into the hearts of sinners. Open your trenches, and ply the gospel artillery. And may it prove mighty, through God, to the demolition of every thought and every error, and every work, which exalts itself against the knowledge, the love, and the obedience of Christ!

Your affectionate servant in him,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER LXI.

To Mr. L———.

Brighthelmstone, Sept. 25, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

PERMIT me to condole with you and with dear Mrs. ——— on the loss of our valuable and valued friend, Mrs. ———, the oldest, and one of the most esteemed acquaintance I had on earth. I rejoice, however, that through the precious blood and the imputed righteousness of Christ she is exalted to that place of glory and of rest where the inhabitants shall no more say, I am sick.

Let me give you the true apology for my having no sooner acknowledged the receipt of your obliging letter, which you will not wonder at, when I inform you that I was five or six weeks in travelling from Broad Hembury to London, occasioned by the many interjacent friends I had to visit; and by their condescending importunities, which detained me much longer with each of them than I expected or designed.

On my arrival in town, I found your letter, and would have answered it while there, but for the multiplicity of engagements in which the affection of my London friends involved me. I had not been long in the capital, when I received a pressing invitation to this place, where I have stayed near a fortnight, and whence I return to London next week.

May the late affecting breach which Providence has made in your domestic connections be sanctified to you both, and excite you to seek an interest in that Saviour who is the certain and only deliverer of his people from the wrath to come.

In him I remain, dear sir, your and Mrs. ——'s very sincere friend and servant,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER LXII.

To Mr. N——.

Brighthelmstone, Sept. 26, 1775.

IF you should ever stand in peculiar need of very violent exercise, come down hither, by way of Ryegate and Cuckfield; and before the present stage coach is worn out. The road from the former of these towns to this is the roughest, the country the coarsest, and the vehicle the uneasiest that can well be imagined. I never yet had so complete

a shaking: and, though much used to travelling, was literally sore from head to foot for twenty-four hours after my arrival here, occasioned by such a series of concussions (I had almost said contusions), as I really thought it impossible for any carriage to impart. But I have had ample amends, at my journey's end. For though, in my opinion, our western sea-ports have generally many local charms greatly superior to those of this; yet the inhabitants here seem to have received a much higher polish from their intercourse with strangers. But, above all, the serious people of Brighthelmstone are, so far as I can hitherto judge, peculiarly amiable and estimable; extremely judicious, and well informed in the things of God; and all alive to him. In short, I know of no congregation any where who seem to be more entirely after my own heart. Their union, likewise, and fellowship with each other, are uncommon, considering their number. The great master of our assemblies, God the Holy Spirit, has given us some comfortable opportunities in public; and deigned, I trust, several times, to be eminently present. To free and covenant grace be all the praise.

I am as well as I usually find myself when plunged in a sea air. The salts, I apprehend, with which these kind of atmospheres are charged, together with the large quantity of vapour, exhaled by so great an expanse of water, by considerably increasing the weight of the element we breathe, make it at once more externally compressive, and require a stronger force of interior effort and resistance, to respire with due vigour.

Last Wednesday we were saluted by a continued series of lightning, from eight at night until one in the morning. Not a moment's interval obtained between the flashes; which formed absolute sheets of the most vivid flame, succeeding each other with a rapidity I never was witness to before. As it played on the sea (for I spent the evening at a gentleman's who lives on the East Clift) it resembled a grand, regular cascade of fire, falling on a vast reflecting mirror. There was rain during a small part of the time; and some audible thunder. I have heard louder claps; but never such long extended peals. How happy is it to feel that the God of nature is also God of all!

I am,

Your affectionate servant in him,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER LXIII.

To Dr. William Dodd.

New-street, March 17, 1777.

REV. SIR,

Believe me when I assure you that the liberty which I now take results neither from want of tenderness nor of respect; but from a humble wish of being serviceable to a person who is recommended to me as a very deserving individual, and whose circumstances are, it seems, considerably narrowed and embarrassed, through the unsuspecting confidence which she reposed on your veracity, justice, and honour.

The lady to whom I allude is Mrs. G——. I need not state the merits of a case with which you, sir, are so thoroughly acquainted. Only permit me to conjure you, by every sacred and moral consideration, and by all your feelings as a man of sensibility, not to depart this world without repaying as much of that iniquitous debt as you possibly can.

I say, before you depart this world For it is but too indubitable that there is not a single ray of hope from any one quarter whatsoever, of your avoiding the utmost effect of the terrible sentence which impends. Let me, therefore, importune you, for God's sake and for your own, to devote the remainder of your time to more important employ than that of writing notes on Shakspeare. Indeed, and indeed, your situation is such as should confine your attention to objects of infinitely greater moment. The Searcher of hearts knows that I thus plainly address you from motives of absolute humanity, and from an anxious solicitude for your everlasting welfare.

I am,

With undissembled sympathy and respect,

Sir,

Your well-wisher in time, and eternity,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

You will oblige me, sir, if you favour me with a line (by the gentleman who delivers this to your hands) relative to the business respecting Mrs. G——

LETTER LXIV.

To the Rev. Mr. Berridge.

New-street, March 19, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

The paper to which you refer in your favour of to-day, is, I apprehend, the Public Ledger of the 5th instant. As you inform me that you have not seen it, I inclose it to you, for your perusal, under the present cover: together with a subsequent Ledger of the 9th, containing my answer. When you have read them, I request you to return them, so soon as convenient: for I reserve every thing of this kind, lest it may prove necessary to appeal to them in future.

If I was not certain that the glorious and gracious Head of the Church orders all

things for the good of his mystic body, and that not a hair can fall without his leave; I should deeply lament the continuance of your cough. But, when I recollect who it is that sits at the helm, I can, in a spirit of prayer and of faith, commit you and all that relates to you to the unerring disposal of infinite wisdom, love, and power. In whose covenant-bonds I remain,

Dear and Rev. Sir, &c.

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER LXV.

To Mr. T——.

London, April 4, 1776.

SIR,

It gives me unspeakable pleasure to find that you design to republish the Abridgment of Fox's Martyrology; which I consider as a faithful and judicious compendium of the most valuable ecclesiastical history extant in our language.

We live at a time when the generality of professed Protestants appear to have lost sight of those grand and essential principles to which the Church of England was reformed, and in defence of which her martyrs bled.

Religious ignorance, and a general unconcernedness about divine things, together with the most profuse dissipation, and a growing disregard of moral virtue, are the reigning characteristics of the present age.

In a country thus circumstanced, Popery (ever on the watch for advantages) will, and must, and does, gain continual ground. Ignorance, infidelity, and licentiousness, naturally terminate in superstition, as their ultimate refuge: and Rome too often reaps what profaneness and immorality have sown.

To stem so dangerous a torrent no means are more likely (under God) than the republication of such a work as this: a work eminently calculated to display and to guard us against the principles and the spirit of Popery; to perpetuate the holy lives, the faithful testimonies, and the triumphant deaths, of those evangelical worthies who resisted error, even unto blood: to exalt the standard of Christ: to exhibit the loving-kindness of the Holy Ghost, who gave such grace and power unto men, and to stand as the best commentary on those inestimable truths, which (through the good hand of God upon us) still continue to shine in the liturgy, articles, and homilies, of our Established Church.

I wish this performance much success, in the name of the Lord. May its diffusion be very extensive, and its usefulness very great. May it prove mighty, through God, to make the Protestant Churches in general, and our own national Church in particular, remember whence they are fallen; stir them up to doctrinal and practical repentance, and bring them back to their first principles, and to their first works! With this prayer, breathed from the inmost of my heart,

I remain, Sir,

Your affectionate well-wisher,

AUGUSTUS MONTAGUE TOPLADY.

LETTER LXVI.

To Mr. Hussey

Broad Hembury, Sept. 9, 1776.

VERY DEAR SIR,

A student of Lady Huntingdon's, whose name is Cottingham, and from whom I parted at Bristol on my return from Wales, promised me to wait on you and Mrs. Hussey in London, to inform you how gracious the Lord has been to me ever since I saw you last.

The night I left town, the Worcester coach in which I went, broke down: but not one of us received the least injury. I have a still greater deliverance to acquaint you with; even such, as I trust, will never be blotted from my thankful remembrance. On the Anniversary Day in Wales, the congregation was so large that the chapel would not have contained a fourth part of the people, who were supposed to amount to three thousand. No fewer than one thousand three hundred horses were turned into one large field adjoining the College; besides what were stationed in the neighbouring villages. The carriages, also, were unusually numerous. A scaffold was erected at one end of the College-court, on which a bookstand was placed, by way of pulpit: and thence six or seven of us preached, successively, to one of the most attentive and most lively congregations I ever beheld. When it came to my turn to preach, I advanced to the front; and had not gone more than half through my prayer before sermon, when the scaffold suddenly fell in. As I stood very near the highermost step (and the steps did not fall with the rest), Providence enabled me to keep on my feet, through the assistance of Mr. Winkworth, who laid fast hold on my arm. About forty ministers were on the scaffold and steps when the former broke down. Dear Mr. Shirley fell undermost of all, but received no other hurt than a very slight bruise on one of his thighs. A good woman, who, for the conveniency of hearing, had placed herself under the scaffold, received a trifling contusion on her face. No other mischief

was done. The congregation, though greatly alarmed, had the prudence not to throw themselves into outward disorder: which, I believe, was chiefly owing to the powerful sense of God's presence, which was eminently felt by most of the assembly.

Such was the wonderful goodness of the Lord to me, that I was not in the least disconcerted on this dangerous occasion: which I mention to the praise of that grace and providence without which a much smaller incident would inevitably have shocked every nerve I have About half a minute after the interruption had commenced, I had the satisfaction to inform the people that no damage had ensued: and removing for security to a lower step, I thanked the Lord, with the rejoicing multitude, for having so undeniably given his angels charge concerning us. Prayer ended, I was enabled to preach: and great grace seemed to be upon us all.

If God permit, I hope to be with you, in London, soon after the middle of this month. I deem it one of the principal felicities of my life, that I have the happiness and the honour to minister to a praying people. We should not have had so much of the Lord's presence in Orange-street if he had not poured upon us the spirit of supplication. Go on to pray, and God will go on to bless. Remember me most respectfully and most tenderly to as many of our dear friends in Christ as you are acquainted with. And particularly inform Mr. and Mrs. Willett, and Mr. and Mrs. Stokes, that I have not forgot my promise to write to them; and that I will perform my promise, unless they are so kind as to dispense with it: which I am very sure they would most willingly do if they knew how little time I have to myself.

Farewell. Grace be with you, and with dear Mrs. Hussey. Grace comprehends all we want, in time, and in eternity.

I remain,

My valuable friend, ever, ever yours,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

P. S. I had the happiness to see dear Lady Huntingdon (who is the most precious saint of God I ever knew) well, both in body and soul.

The Lord, I trust, still continues with you at Orange-Chapel. I shall be much obliged to you for informing me how things go on, by a line directed to me, at Mr. Derham's, in Green Street, Bath: for which place I intend to set out, from Devonshire, on Monday next, the 16th instant.

I have the unutterable satisfaction to find several more awakened people at Broad Hembury than I formerly knew of. The Lord never sends his gospel to any place in vain. He will call in his own people; and will accomplish his own work. There is really a very precious remnant in and about this parish. Thanks to free grace for all.

LETTER LXVII.

To Mr. ————.

MUCH LAMENTED SIR,

In consequence of your desire, communicated to me by Mr. ————, I signified my intention of waiting on you: but, on reflection, I more than fear that I have not sufficient firmness of nerves to sustain so trying an interview. My feelings are (unhappily for myself) so terribly keen, that I should only receive material injury, without being able to render you the least good: My tears can be of no service to you. My prayers are frequently ascending to God for you, both in public and in private. May the uncreated angel of the covenant take them, warm as they rise from my unworthy heart and lips; and make them his own, by presenting them with the much incense of his ever effectual intercession.

If I am rightly informed, you have formerly sat under the sound of the gospel. Let me beseech you, sir, to cry mightily to him who is able to save, that the Holy Ghost may realize to your departing soul those precious truths of grace which have, it seems, been often brought to your ears. Nothing short of experimental religion will stand you in any stead. The Lord Jesus enable you, by the operation of his spirit, to come to him as a lost sinner; throwing yourself on the righteousness of his life, and on the atonement of his death, for your free pardon and full justification with God! In which case, though your transgressions be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow; and, though deep as crimson, they shall be made as wool.

I have too much reason to apprehend that all application in your behalf to the powers of this world will be totally without avail. Consider yourself, therefore, dear sir, as absolutely a dying man.

My earnest supplications shall not cease to be poured out at the footstool of the throne of grace, until death sets you beyond the reach of prayer. Several congregations of God's people bear you deeply on their hearts.

Jesus bless you with the manifestations of his favour; and grant you to sing his praises, for ever and ever, in concert with that innumerable assembly of fallen sinners, whom he has loved, and wash from their sins in his own blood. So prays, with bended knees and weeping eyes, he who is, sir,

Your unknown,

but not less affectionate well-wisher,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER LXVIII.

To A. B———.

Knightsbridge, Aug. 12, 1777.

If A. B.'s favour of June 16 had not been mislaid, it would have been answered long before. I hope the polite and ingenious writer will pardon the delay

In reply to the question stated, I am most deeply and clearly convinced that the saints in glory know each other: and more particularly those with whom they took sweet counsel when on earth, and with whom they walked in the house of God as friends. Our Lord himself, I apprehend, gives us to understand as much, where he tells us that the elect shall be, in the future state, ισαγγελοι, or equal to the angels. Now it seems impossible that the unfallen angels who have lived together in heaven for (at least) very near 6000 years, should not be perfectly acquainted with each other. And the same privilege is requisite in order to our being, in every respect, on an equality with them.—The departed soul of the rich man knew Lazarus, when he beheld him afar off: and likewise, at sight, knew Abraham, whom he could never have seen in the present life. Much more do Abraham and Lazarus, and all the glorified family above, rejoice in that communion of saints which obtains in their Father's house. St. Paul, speaking of the spiritual children whom God had given him among the Thessalonians, says, that they would be his "glory and crown of rejoicing, in the day of the Lord Jesus." But how could this be, and how could they mutually congratulate each other on the grace bestowed upon them below if all personal acquaintance was to cease? Surely there are no strangers in that land of light and love!

The three apostles who attended our blessed Lord on the mount of Transfiguration, knew Moses and Elijah when they appeared in glory. To add no more: that remarkable text, I think, fully establishes the point, where our adorable Saviour bids us make to ourselves friends, by the mammon of unrighteousness; that, when we fail, they may receive us into the everlasting habitations. As if he had said: "While you are on earth, take care to conciliate the affections of my indigent disciples, by bestowing on them a proper portion of the wealth which God has lent you, and which is too often perverted to purposes of unrighteousness by them that know not me. So, when your bodies die, and when your souls ascend to heaven, the souls of those poor afflicted saints whom your bounty relieved below, and who were got to glory before you, shall be among the first exulting spirits, who shall meet you on your arrival above, and congratulate you on your safe and triumphant entrance into the world of joy." But they could not do this unless they knew us, and we them.

May the precious blood and righteousness of our Incarnate God, and the faithful leadings of his eternal Spirit, bring you and me to that general assembly and church of the first-born! where we shall both see him as he is; and likewise know each other, even as we shall then be known. With this prayer and in this hope I beg leave to subscribe myself, whosoever you may be,

Your affectionate well-wisher in Christ,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER LXIX.

To the Rev Dr. B. of Sarum.

Knightsbridge, August 12, 1777.

You pay me a compliment I do not deserve in supposing that I am industriously employed on some useful work. For a long while I have been unusually idle, both as a preacher and as a writer. But my indolence was and is the result of obedience to medical prescription. I have been, at best, in a most fluctuating state of health for a year and a half past: and several times was in a near view of landing on that coast where the inhabitant shall not say, I am sick. At these times, I bless God, my cheerfulness never forsook me; and, which calls for still infinitely greater thankfulness, my sense of personal interest in his electing mercy, and in the great salvation of Jesus, was never darkened by a single cloud. For the last two months I have been abundantly, and almost miraculously, better. Whether my remaining days be few or many, I only pray and wish that they may be consecrated to the glory of the great Three-One.

And now to descend to the affairs of this world. The accounts of the extravagant and ridiculous manner in which, as you observe, my friend Mrs. M———'s birthday was celebrated at Bath, gave me extreme disgust; and have contributed to reduce my opinion of her magnanimity and good sense. Such contemptible vanity, and such childish affectation of mock-majesty, would have disgraced a much inferior understanding; and have sunk even the meanest character lower, by many degrees. If I live to see her again, I will rally her handsomely.

I must agree with you in feeling for the advancing miseries of our unhappy country. We are already become the jest and the contempt of all Europe. Never, surely, was a great and important empire so wantonly thrown away; and never was nation so infatuated before! However,

when we recollect who it is that presides, invisibly, at the helm of all human affairs (see Daniel iv. 32, 35) we are reconciled to every appearance, melancholy as appearances may seem; and adore the infinite wisdom which secretly, but irresistibly, overrules even the vices, and follies, and the madness of men, to the accomplishment of its own designs.

I am happy to hear that yourself and family are well; and, if you were not a very particular friend, I should almost have grudged you the felicity you must have enjoyed in your late excursion to our much esteemed friends at Freshford.

More than compliments to you and your's conclude me

Your affectionate servant,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY

LETTER LXX.

To Mrs. A. G———.

Knightsbridge, Lord's-day Evening, Nov. 2, 1777.

MADAM,

Your letter quite distresses me, because it places excellencies to my account which I feel myself to be totally unpossessed of. Among all the weak and unworthy servants of Christ, I am the unworthiest and the weakest. If you knew me as well as I know myself, you would be entirely of my mind.

For the Lord's sake let us look to Jesus only, and learn to cease from man. Christ is all in all. Every other person and thing are vile, and wretched, and hateful, but so far as he deigns to smile and bless. "Less than nothing and vanity" is the only motto that belongs to me. If he vouchsafe to wash me in his blood, and to save me by his infinitely free and glorious redemption; a more worthless and helpless sinner will never sing his praises in the land of glory.

Instead of commending me, pray for me; that I may be kept from evil, and devote my few days (in humble and earnest attempt at least) to the honour of his name.

If I wished you to retain your exalted opinion of me, I should, in my own defence, wave the honour of your acquaintance, which you so politely offer me. But, as I desire to undeceive you, and to appear just what I am, I shall be extremely happy to see you here any day in the forenoon after the present week is elapsed; which latter, viz., the remainder of the present week, I am to pass at the house of a friend who lives nine miles hence.

God have you in his keeping, and make you a partaker of the graces and consolations of his Spirit.—I am, with much respect, Madam, &c.

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER LXXI.

To Mr. E. K——.

Knightsbridge, Nov. 22, 1777.

MY FRIEND AND BROTHER IN CHRIST,

By a letter which I have this moment received from Mr. Lake, I am informed that you are apprehensive of the speedy approach of death: and that you are particularly desirous of seeing me; or, if that cannot be, of at least hearing from me, before the great change comes.

As I am not certain of being able to wait on you so soon as I could wish, considering the long extent of way that interposes between us, and being willing to lose no time in assuring you how much I love you, and how earnestly I commend you to God, I seize the immediate opportunity of writing to you. Nor shall I cease to remember you in my worthless address at the throne of grace, both publicly and in private.

The time, however, is perhaps arrived, which eminently calls upon you to cease entirely from man. Forget me; forget even your family; forget all your earthly friends, so far as to lose sight of them: and look only to Jesus, the glorious Author and faithful Finisher of salvation. Repose your confidence on his alone blood, righteousness, and intercession. He represented you on the cross; he bears your name on his breast, and on the palms of his hands, in heaven; he sympathizes with you in all your pains and sorrows; and will take care of you, unto death, through death, and to all eternity. May his comforting Spirit make these blessings clear to your view, and powerfully seal upon your heart a sense and enjoyment of your personal interest in them.

Leave Providence to take care of your wife and children. And leave the covenant-grace of Father, Son, and Spirit, to take charge of you. Nor do I doubt that, whether we meet again or not in this valley of tears, we shall sing together for ever, in the Jerusalem above. So believes, and so prays, your old friend and ransomed fellow-sinner,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY

P. S. I shall hold myself greatly indebted to Mr. Lake for informing me, from time to time, how the Lord deals with you.

LETTER LXXII.

To Mr. F.

Knightsbridge, Nov. 27, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

If I rightly understood you yesterday, the case of conscience proposed by your friend, is this:

"He lives in a part of England, where the gospel is not preached by the clergy of

the established church. But the gospel is preached in a neighbouring congregation of dissenters. He is compelled, therefore, either not to hear the gospel preached at all, or to hear it at a dissenting meeting-house. —Query: Is it his duty to communicate with the dissenters as well as to hear them? Or may he, with a safe conscience, continue only to hear them, and still maintain his communion with the Church of England?"

For my own part, I am most clearly of opinion,

(1.) That, if he cannot hear the church of England doctrines preached in a parish-church (which is terribly the case in some thousands of places), he is bound in conscience to hear those truths where they can be heard: was it in a barn, in a private house, in a field, or on a dunghill.—But,

(2.) I am no less clearly convinced that he is not under the smallest necessity of breaking off from the communion of the Church established.

Some of my reasons are these:

1. Your friend's love to the Church-doctrines (*i. e.* to the gospel of grace) is the very thing that forces him to forsake the church-walls as a hearer. But this need not force him from communicating there. It should rather bind him more closely and firmly to a Church whose doctrines and sacraments are holy, harmless, and undefiled; and alike remote from error, superstition, and licentiousness.

2. Our blessed Lord himself communicated with the established Church of Judæa; though its ministers and people were as deeply degenerated from the purity and power of God's truths as the present ministers and people of the Church of England are, for the most part, now.—That our Lord actually did thus communicate in the Jewish church (fallen as its professsors were) is evident, from his celebration of the passover antecedently to his institution of the Holy Supper, in the evening of the very night wherein he was betrayed.

3. The goodness or badness of a parish minister neither adds nor detracts from the virtue and value of the sacraments he dispenses. Judas appears to have preached the gospel, and to have wrought miracles. Was the gospel, or were those miracles, at all the worse on his account? No: in no wise.—"But the minister of my parish does not preach the gospel." Be it so. You do right, therefore, in not hearing him. Nevertheless, though (in this respect) he out-sins Judas himself, why should that unhappy circumstance make you quarrel with, and absent yourself from, the communion service of the Church?

4. I can set my own *probatum est* to the conduct I am now recommending. For several years after I was made acquainted with the grace of God, I chiefly resided in a place where I was obliged either to starve my soul by never sitting under the ministry of the word, or to go for it to a dissenting meeting house. I made not a moment's hesitation in choosing the latter; and would again pursue the same line, if Providence was again to place me in similar circumstances. But, though I heard the gospel constantly at meeting (because I could hear it no where else), I constantly and strictly communicated in the church only. I know that this was pleasing to God, by the many happy soul seasons I enjoyed, both at the Lord's table, and in the separate assembly. And yet (as you may judge from my leaving them as preachers) the clergymen, at whose hands I received the memorials of Christ's dying love knew no more of the gospel than so many stocks or stones.

5. Let a parish minister be ever so spiritually blind and dead, the liturgy remains the same. Blessed be God, the clergy are forced to read it; and to administer the Lord's supper, and other offices, according to its admirable and animating form of sound words.

6. While your friend communicates in the Church of England he is at full liberty to hear the gospel elsewhere: But,

Should he communicate with a dissenting church, he must first so far become one of them as to hear the gospel in great measure, if not entirely, among them only. Such a transfer of communion, therefore, would resemble tying himself by the leg (or rather nailing himself by the ear) to a single tree, in preference to enjoying the full range of God's garden. I have seen so very many instances of this, in a course of more than two-and-twenty years observation, that no antecedent promises, professions, or protestations to the contrary (made to a new convert, by any of those religious assemblies), would have the least weight on my judgment of this matter.

Thus I have, agreeably to your desire, signified a few of those reasons which have long had great influence in determining my own mind. Influence so very great and decisive that, I am thoroughly persuaded, was the glorious company of apostles to live again on earth at this very time, and to live in England, not one of them, I verily believe, would be a dissenter from our established church: though they would all deeply lament the dreadful state of spiritual, of doctrinal, and of moral declension, to which the greatest part of us are reduced. May God inform and teach your friend the way in which he ought to go, and for ever guide him with his eye! With which prayer for him, for you, and for myself, I remain,

Sir, your servant in Christ,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER LXXIII.

To Mr. Vallance.

Knightsbridge, Dec. 1, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

On the cover of last month's magazine I read the following notice: "Thanks to Minimus for his pious meditation." Now, as I am the only person who ever appeared in your magazine under the signature of Minimus, and as I never sent you any meditation, whether pious or impious, since I surrendered my editorship of the said magazine [in July last], and, as it is generally known that the papers signed Minimus were written by me; —it will be both using me extremely ill, and also look like a desire, on your part, to palm a deception on your readers, if you permit any future paper, of which I am not the author, to bear the signature above-mentioned.

Not doubting that, on further consideration you will see the justice and propriety of this hint, and act accordingly; I remain, sir,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER LXXIV.

To. J. W——, Esq.

Knightsbridge, Dec. 30, 1777.

SIR,

I throw myself on your candour and politeness for your pardon of the present freedom, taken by a person who has not the honour of being known to you. The favour which I presume to solicit is, that you would be so obliging as to communicate to me such leading particulars as you may recollect concerning a late friend of yours, who was one of the greatest, and yet (by a fate peculiarly strange) one of the obscurest men whom this island ever produced: I mean Mr. Baxter, the metaphysician, who dedicated the 3rd volume of his chief work to you. I have a very cogent reason for wishing to acquire authentic and exact information of the times and places of his birth and death; and of such other principal circumstances, as may merely suffice to perpetuate the outlines of his personal history; which, in point of diffusiveness, need not be more prolix than is the letter I now address to you. I am, &c.

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER LXXV.

To the Rev. Dr. Priestley.

Knightsbridge, Jan. 20, 1778.

I am much your debtor, sir, for your late polite favour from Calne; but especially for the obliging present of your Disquisitions concerning Matter and Spirit; and of the Appendix, concerning necessity. I have read them with great attention; and, as you condescend to request my opinion of those ingenious pieces, you shall have it, with the most transparent unreserve.

I need not say anything as to the article of necessity, because you well know that I have the honour to coincide, almost entirely, with your own view of that great subject. Permit me, however to ask, *en passant*, in what part of any printed work of mine I "seem to think that the torments of hell will not be eternal?" You yourself, dear sir, I doubt not, will, on a calm review, be the first to condemn your own temerity, in having publicly advanced a conjecture totally unwarranted on my part: and I am equally disposed to believe that this will be the last liberty of the kind which you will venture to take, either with me or with any other man. You must be sensible that not a word on the nature or the duration of future punishment ever passed between you and me, either in writing, or in personal converse. Consequently, you must be entirely unacquainted with my ideas of that awful subject: and, as such, were totally unqualified to advance the insinuation of which I have such just reason to complain.

With regard to your "Disquisitions," &c., I would observe,

1. That I can subscribe to no more than to one moiety of them. I still consider materialism as equally absurd in itself, and atheistical in its tendency.

But, 2. The perusal of your book gave me no surprise; because I have for a considerable time past viewed you as a secret materialist: whose favourite principle, like the workings of a subterraneous fire, would at last break forth into open birth.

3. Nor has this publication lessened, in the smallest degree, my respect and esteem for its author. You have a right to think for yourself; and to publish the result of your thoughts to the world. If my own brother was of a different judgment as to this point, I should set him down for an enemy to the indefeasible prerogatives of human nature

4. I revere and admire real probity, wherever I see it. Artifice, duplicity, and disguise, I cannot away with. Transparency is, in my opinion, the first and the most valuable of all social virtues. Let a man's principles be black as hell, it matters not to me, so he have but integrity to appear exactly what he is. Give me the person whom I can hold up, as I can a piece of crystal, and see through him. For this, among many other excellencies, I regard and admire Dr. Priestley.

5. I must acknowledge, sir, that, in the foregoing part of your "Disquisitions," you

throw no small quantity of light on the nature of matter at large. My apprehensions concerning visible substance are, in several important respects, corrected and improved by your masterly observations on that subject. I wish you had stopt at matter, which you evidently do understand, and better, perhaps, than any other philosopher on earth, and not meddled with spirit, whose acquaintance, it is very plain, you have not cultivated with equal assiduity.

6. Bishop Berkeley tells me that I am all spirit, without a single particle of matter belonging to me. Dr. Priestley, on the other head, contends that I am all body, untenanted and unanimated by any immaterial substance within Put these two theories together, and what will be the product? That my sum total, and that of every other man, amounts to just nothing at all. I have neither body nor soul. I have no sort of existence whatever. Here it may be alleged "That the two systems cannot be thrown together, as being totally incompatible." I answer: Why may not Bishop Berkeley's word go as far as Dr. Priestley's, and the doctor's as far as the bishop's? Though, when all is done, the best way, in my opinion, is to cease from both, and to believe neither

7. The arguments for absolute and universal materialism, drawn (or rather pretendedly drawn) from rational and philosophic sources, appear to me prodigiously forced, lame, and inconclusive. And, if we take Scripture into the account, not all the subtilty nor all the violence of criticism will ever be able to establish your system on that ground. What wretched work do you yourself make with those few texts which you venture to quote and strive to obviate, wherein, *plenâ et primâ facie*, man is spoken of as a being compounded of matter and spirit!

Can you bear this plain dealing? If you can, give me your hand. And I most heartily wish that all who differ from you, and especially that all who may commence your public antagonists, may treat you, as I ever desire to do, with the respect due to your virtues and your talents.

How is your health? Beware of too close application, and of too intense exertions of mind. I, for my own part, can most heartily subscribe to these remarks of the apocryphal writer: "The thoughts of mortal men are miserable, and our devices are but uncertain. For the corruptible body presseth down the soul, and the earthy tabernacle weigheth down the mind that museth on many things. Hardly do we guess aright at things that are upon earth; and with labour do we find the things that are before us; but the things which are in heaven who hath searched out? And thy counsel who hath known, except thou give wisdom, and send thy Holy Spirit from above?" — May that Holy Spirit shining on his written word, and shining into our hearts, be a light to the paths of the much-esteemed friend to whom I am writing; and the paths of his

Obliged and humble servant,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY

LETTER LXXVI.

To Mrs. Fowler.

Knightsbridge, Feb. 20, 1778

DEAR MADAM,

Knowing that the officious zeal of numerous visitants, however well meant, occasions more trouble than relief during the first impressions that result from so trying a dispensation as that under which God is now exercising you; I, for this reason, wave presenting you with my personal condolences, and request yourself and your amiable family to accept my written respects.

You and yours are deeply on my heart, before the mercy-seat. Has the Holy Spirit yet brought you to that point whither faith invariably tends, and in which it will always ultimately rest? viz., "It is the Lord; let him do as seemeth him good." That your husband's God is and will be your God, even to the end, and without end, I believe with the fullest assurance. May he likewise be the God of all your offspring! It is a great, an unspeakably great thing, to be born again. How far that most momentous work has taken place on their souls, I know not. But may they ever tread in the religious footsteps of their deservedly honoured father; and never forget that the same blessed and triumphant consolations which enlivened his last hours will also felicitate their lives, and brighten their deaths, if effectual grace render them partakers of like precious faith with him, in the righteousness of our God and Saviour.

The presence of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Remember, that "your Maker is your husband:" a husband who never dies, and who changes not. My kindest and most sympathising respects attend the two young ladies, and both the gentlemen. Adieu, until I have an opportunity of assuring you by word of mouth, how much

I am, &c.,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

LETTER LXXVII.

To Mr. Hussey.

Broad Hembury, March 19, 1778.

VERY DEAR SIR,

The hospitable kindness of my old friend at Salisbury detained me at that place until

Monday last; in the afternoon of which day I set forward for my own parish, and arrived here on Tuesday.

I cannot boast of any great effects produced by the journey, and by change of air. If my hoarseness abates, my cough comes on with redoubled violence; and if my cough grows favourable, the hoarseness returns. But welcome, ten thousand times welcome, the whole will of God. I trust, his Spirit has begun to render me passive in his blessed hand, and to turn me as clay to the seal. I am enabled to be more than resigned: I am thankful for his every dispensation, knowing them to be all ordered in faithfulness and love.

I was unable to preach, while at Salisbury; and begin to apprehend that I must not attempt to preach at my own church here next Sunday. But though such absolute uselessness is the most afflictive part of my present visitation, yet even this I can leave with God my Saviour, who is the governing head of his family both in heaven and earth, and orders all things well.

It is still my hope and my intention to return to town in the course of next week. I am to have a sale of my furniture in my house here on Monday and Tuesday next; and I trust the whole of that business will be accomplished in those two days, without detaining me longer. But, if otherwise, may I not venture to defer my return until Monday the 30th, or Tuesday the 31st of this present month? I am never fond of worldly business, and am now particularly disqualified for managing it well: but when once undertaken, I deem it my duty to go through with it, in the best manner I am able.

Dear Mrs. Hussey, yourself, and all the flock of Christ who worship with us at Orange-street, are much and deeply on my heart. And if I, a sinful, dying worm, feel such glowing affection for the people of God: oh, with what intenseness must the Almighty Father love those whom he ordained to eternal life, before all worlds; and whom he gave to his Son to save, and for whom he gave up the Son himself to the death of the cross! How astonishingly, also, must Jesus have loved his people, when he consented to discharge their two-fold debt of perfect obedience and penal suffering! And how are they loved by the most holy and blessed Spirit of grace, who converts, comforts, sanctifies, and seals them to the day of redemption!

May that three-fold love, the three-fold cord that can never be broken, be the present and eternal rejoicing of my much valued Mr. and Mrs. Hussey, and of their

Obliged and affectionate servant,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

P. S. I hope you had my letter from Sarum, dated the 11th instant. It would rejoice me to have one from you

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LETTER LXXVIII.

To Mr. Hussey.

EVER DEAR SIR,

God's good providence brought me hither yesterday, early in the afternoon, quite unfatigued by my journey, and rejoicing in spirit before him. It can hardly be expected that so short a time should have any very salutary effect on complaints so fixed as mine: my voice, however, has been much better to-day than for three weeks past.

My mind is quite at rest. All my affairs, respecting both this world and a better, are completely settled. My salvation was provided for in the covenant of grace, from all eternity, and sealed by the finished redemption of my adorable Saviour. My temporal business is all settled to my satisfaction, by the completion of my last will and testament, before I left London. So that I have, at present, nothing to do, but to sing in the ways of the Lord, that great are the glory and the goodness of the Lord.

I am uncertain whether I shall see Broad Hembury late in this week, or early in the next. When you favour me with a line be so good as to direct to me, simply, at Broad Hembury, Honiton.

As an old friend whom I have not seen for many years has just now called at Dr. Baker's in order to see me, I am obliged to be very concise. I shall depend, if the Lord permit, on hearing from you when I am in Devonshire. And it gives me great happiness to be able to inform you that I fully design, with the leave of my heavenly father, to be in town again before the last Sunday in this month. God only can tell how deeply my Christian friends, and the dear people at Orange-street in particular, dwell upon my heart. May they pray for me, as I also for them. Remember me, most kindly and respectfully, to dear Mrs. Hussey, Mr. and Mrs. Ward, of Westminster, and all others who condescend to inquire after the meanest of my Lord's redeemed sinners. I have not room to mention a quarter of the persons by name whom I love in the Lord: but all our names are written on his breast.

Adieu, dear sir,

am deeply and ever yours,

AUGUSTUS TOPLADY.

AN ANSWER

TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTION,

"WHETHER POPULAR APPLAUSE CAN YIELD SOLID SATISFACTION TO A TRULY GREAT MIND?"

Real greatness of mind includes whatever is noble, worthy, and exalted: of course, independency is essential to it. If the postulatum be granted (and I see not how it can be denied), the next inquiry will be, Whether a person, whose satisfaction, in whole or in part, is suspended on the applause of others, can be called an independent man? If he may, it would follow, that greediness of popularity does not infer dependence; if he cannot, it will follow, that a person who drudges for popular applause is not possessed of a truly great mind. Add to this that all motives to public usefulness which arise from principles merely selfish are very far from being indicatory of magnanimity. This exalted quality, soaring superior to all the little arts of self-recommendation and personal aggrandizement, shuts self out of the question: and regards only the welfare of others, not their praise. Thus, for instance, a truly patriotic statesman, or a truly conscientious minister of Christ, aims not at the evanid applause, but at the solid benefit of those for whom he labours: nay, one actuated by these elevated views would, to serve mankind substantially, even run the risk of doing good to them against their wills, though he was sure of suffering in their estimation for doing it. Such disinterested benevolence and such heroic beneficence are as shining and conclusive marks as can be given for a mind truly great. Besides, it puts a truly magnanimous man on too low and despicable a footing to suppose him capable of sinking into the meanest of all pursuits, by commencing an angler for fame, and building any part of his mental happiness on the unstable basis of popular breath. A really great person does not live, as the camelion has been vulgarly supposed to do, on air, but on that which will yield sure and solid support, when every exterior happiness fails. The sense of divine favour, universal and disinterested love to mankind, uncorrupt intention, and integrity of action, in a word, the *mens conscia recti*, are what constitute the felicity of one who deserves the name of man. Add to this, that real magnanimity is absolutely inconsistent with pride. Of all vices, pride is the meanest, and the most truly contemptible. But pride is the very basis of that wretched ambition which terminates in the affectation of applause; consequently, a mind truly great cannot degenerate into this inverted ambition; unless meanness and magnanimity are terms synonymous. That just praise which usually attends characters and actions truly great and good, is a deserved consequence of those actions, but ought not to be the motive to performing them. Depraved as mankind are, I yet hope and believe that we have many useful persons, both in the learned, civil, and religious world, who disdain so base a principle of action: and that the love of fame is a passion not quite so universal as a late ingenious satirist imagined. The love of truth, the love of beneficence, and the love of justice, or, in other words, the love of God and the love of man, are the predominant and exciting principles in every breast which genuine greatness warms. I would mention one argument more.

The mind whose satisfaction is at all founded on popular eclat must be in itself extremely fickle; and a mere Proteus, ready, on every occasion, to vary its determinations, and to shape its measures, according to the mutability of the multitude, in order to preserve the applause already gained. A person under the unhappy influence of so base and paltry a passion must alter with the times, and swim with the stream, right or wrong, and, like the camelion just mentioned, assume any colour next him, for fear of losing that estimation which his past compliances had acquired him. Now a truly great man can never be a voluntary slave; but the man whose leading passion is love of praise makes himself a voluntary slave for life; therefore, it is impossible for one under so despicable a bias to be a truly great man. To descend from argument to plain matter of fact. If any person doubts whether popular applause be that unsatisfactory thing which I have described it, he need only go a few miles out of town, to a place called Hayes, and there he will see, with his own eyes, that popular applause, however it may tickle a man's vanity for a while, will, if he has not something more solid for his mind to feed on, leave him, sooner or later, miserable, contemptible, and unsatisfied. I know but of one truly great man who was a professed lover of popular applause, and that was the illustrious Cicero: but it should be remembered that that consummate statesman, patriot, and

philosopher flourished in the very dregs of the Roman commonwealth; when public virtue and public liberty (which will always, at the long run, stand or fall together) were expiring. At such a time, to love Cicero and to love virtue, to love Cicero and to love liberty, were the same thing. Of this that most accomplished man could not but be conscious, and, it may be, he was ambitious of popular estimation, at the critical time, in hopes of being able, by the credit he sought and deserved, to give a happy turn to the public affairs, and make the scale preponderate in favour of his sinking country; all which, he well knew, it would be impossible for him to effect by any counsels he could give, or any measures he could take, unless he could previously secure the approbation of the people he wished to save. So that Cicero's unbounded thirst of praise seems to have arisen purely and solely from the love he bore to the noblest republic that ever subsisted, and he coveted popularity, not for his own sake, or for any solid satisfaction it yielded to himself as an individual; but, as matters then stood, he considered the acquisition of universal esteem as the medium of his country's welfare, and the only possible expedient which could retrieve it from the ruin which then threatened, and with which it was soon after actually overwhelmed, notwithstanding the manifold and almost supernatural efforts of that great man to avert the blow. Or even supposing that Cicero, with all his philosophy and virtue, had some remains of vanity in him, which he sought to gratify, by standing a perpetual candidate for praise (which, however, his character and conduct in all other respects forbid us to believe); yet even on this hypothesis it would not follow, that "popular applause can yield solid satisfaction to a truly great mind." For the gratification of vanity is one thing; satisfaction of mind is another. Vanity may be qualified, and yet the mind go unsatisfied; and *vice versa*. Besides, were it otherwise, we are not to adopt the foibles even of a great man, for they are foils and blemishes, in what character soever they are found. Though, for reasons already hinted, I cannot persuade myself that Cicero's was mere love of praise: it had the noblest of motives, and was directed to the best of ends. It was founded on love to his country, and a passionate ardour for her preservation. But admitting the reverse to be probable, it would not follow that because Cicero, the most shining person heathen antiquity has to boast of, deserved, and from consciousness of that desert (which we could not justly wonder at, in one who had not the advantage of gospel revelation to humble him) coveted applause: that therefore others have a right to claim the same privilege, since Cicero was so transcendant and peculiar a character that what was lawful for him to aspire to would be inexcusable in the rest of mankind. For though succeeding ages will, without doubt, give many millions of men to the world, yet possibly no age nor country will ever produce a second Cicero.

AN ANSWER

TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTION,

"Whether a Highwayman or a cheating Tradesman is the honester Person?"

I SUPPOSE most persons will allow that plain dealing is one very important branch of honesty. Taking this for granted, the next inquiry will be, Who is the plain dealer? The highwayman, who openly avows his design, and says to you, frankly and above-board, Your money or your life! Or the sharking, shuffling tradesman, who, in a sly clandestine manner, abuses the confidence you repose in him, and cheats you, under the fictitious appearance of a fair dealer? Is not such a person as much a robber, to all intents and purposes, as the man who privily steals any part of your property out of your dwelling-house, or takes it from you by force on the highway?

Mutual confidence, such as is supposed to obtain between buyer and seller, is one main band of society; and every illicit practice that tends to render that confidence precarious is a step toward dissolving those social connections of which reciprocal confidence is the basis. Here again, I apprehend, the scale turns in favour of the highwayman. When he presents his pistol at the coach window (or it may be something that looks like one, merely to inspire terror, without even a possibility of doing real mischief), he gives you your alternative; he lets you know what you have to expect in case of refusal. You are not betrayed under a pretext of honesty, but expressly left to your own option, whether you will resign your purse, or stand to the consequence. I grant this to be a breach of the peace, and a breach of integrity: but then it is an open declared one, and you know what you have to do. And, let it be a breach of what it will beside, it is plainly no breach of trust: confidence is utterly disavowed on both sides, and therefore, though forced to part with some of your money, in order to secure your personal safety (and he, I think, is a fool who would not), yet you are not cheated of it. And though force of this kind, if universal, would be no less subversive of society than fraud; yet, since, by the care of the legislature, instances of the former are infinitely fewer than instances of the

latter; going on the highway is not, upon the whole, and as matters now stand, either so general an evil, or so pernicious to the community, as cheating behind a counter.

Add to all this, that when I exchange my money for some certain commodity in lieu of it, I justly expect, and my tradesman professes to let me have, an equitable equivalent for the money so paid. But if, instead of such an equivalent, there is, in reality, no due proportion between the price I pay and the article I purchase; I am as much robbed by that insiduous salesman as if he was to stop me on Hounslow Heath. I mean not to justify the gentlemen of the road. I am truly sensible that before a person can take that desperate and unlawful method of repairing his fortune, he must have bid adieu to virtue, and be lost to principle; we are not now exculpating villainy, but only weighing and comparing it.

In common life it is usual to distinguish between theft and robbery. But I apprehend these, though nominally and circumstantially different, are, in fact, one and the same.

The man who unjustly deprives another of his property, robs him: and there are but two ways of doing this; either privately or publicly. But, in this case, the thing itself suffers very great alteration, from the mode of doing it. I therefore set down the unfair tradesman, and the professed highwayman, for robbers. Only one conducts his scheme in an open manner; the other adds treachery to dishonesty. Robbery is robbery, either way: if there is any difference, it seems to consist in this: that robbery on the public road is robbery barefaced; whereas robbery in a shop is robbery disguised: which only makes it a worse species of the same genus.

One thing more deserves consideration. There have been instances of men who have robbed others on the highway, and some years after sent the persons they robbed anonymous letters, including bank bills to more than the amount of what they took: thus repaying, with interest, what they had formerly borrowed on the Heath. But I never yet heard of a cheating tradesman who made the same return to the customers he had defrauded: and, indeed, if a tradesman of that stamp was afterwards to act on this noble principle of recoiling integrity, he would have enough to do, and after all his unjust gains, have little or nothing to bequeath to his own family. However, as the instances of reimbursing the party robbed are rare, and as general conclusions cannot be formed from particular premises, I lay no great stress on the last observation: but for the reasons alleged before I must and do give it as my opinion, that though the cheating tradesman and the highway robber are both rogues, and great ones, yet that, upon the whole, the highwayman is the honester rogue of the two. And as of two evils, prudence bids us choose the least, so, of the two villains, justice tells us that the least is to be preferred.

POEMS ON SACRED SUBJECTS,

WHEREIN THE

FUNDAMENTAL DOCTRINES OF CHRISTIANITY,

WITH

MANY OTHER INTERESTING POINTS, ARE OCCASIONALLY INTRODUCED.

WRITTEN BETWEEN FIFTEEN AND EIGHTEEN YEARS OF AGE.

En, sanctos Manibus punset sumeret
Ignes Vestatem se Musa facit; bene libera
Curis Libera Deliciisque, Jocisque et Amore profano.

PREFACE.

The following pieces are not recommended to the patronage of the Public on account of any excellency in themselves, but merely for the importance of their subjects; for, however defective the superstructure may be, its foundation is unquestionably good. All the doctrines here advanced, deducing their authority from the Sacred Scriptures, and their faithful epitome, the Homilies, and the Articles of the Established Church.

That the dignity of truths so momentous might be impaired as little as possible by the manner of expressing them, they are often introduced in the very words of the inspired writers, and our venerable Reformers; as every reader who is intimate with the invaluable books just mentioned cannot fail of observing.

Since all the essentials of religion are comprised in these two—sound faith, and a suitable course of obedience, every thing that may give offence to Christians dissent-

ing from each other in points mere.y indifferent, is studiously avoided, and no particular tenets any where struck at, except one or two, which apparently tend to invalidate the authority of revelation, and, by consequence, to subvert the whole system of Christianity.

The Author wishes it was in his power to do justice to the sublime doctrines here treated of; but, until death is swallowed up in victory, the glorious privileges and ineffable benefits redounding to believers from the manifestation of God in the flesh cannot be perfectly conceived, much less properly expressed.

Lest a continued sameness should pall, and want of method confuse the reader, the metre is occasionally varied, and the whole presents itself to his view, digested as follows:

I. Petitionary Hymns.
II. Hymns of Praise.
III. Paraphrases on some select portion of Holy Writ.
IV. A few Pieces occasioned by the Death of Friends. And,

Lastly, several pieces, not properly referable to any of the preceding heads, throwa together by way of Appendix.

PETITIONARY HYMNS.

Te Mente purâ et simplici
Te Voce te Cantu pio,
Rogare curvato genu,
Flendo et canendo discimus. PRUDENTIUS.

Oratio est Oris Ratio, per quam intimæ Cordis
Nostri manifestamus Deo.

POEM I.

1 REFINING Fuller, make me clean,
On me thy costly pearl bestow:
Thou art thyself the pearl I prize,
The only joy I seek below.

2 Disperse the clouds that damp my soul,
And make my heart unfit for thee:
Cast me not off, but seal me now
Thine own peculiar property.

3 Look on the wounds of Christ for me,
My sentence graciously reprieve:
Extend thy peaceful sceptre, Lord,
And bid the dying traitor live.

4 Tho' I 've transgress'd the rules prescrib'd,
And dar'd the justice I adore,
Yet let thy smiling mercy say,
Depart in peace, and sin no more.

POEM II. *At entering nto the Church.*

1 FATHER of love, to thee I bend
My heart, and lift mine eyes:
O let my pray'r and praise ascend
As odours to the skies.

2 Thy pard'ning voice I come to hear,
To know thee as thou art:
Thy ministers can reach the ear,
But thou must touch the heart.

3 O stamp me in thy heav'nly mould,
And grant thy word apply'd
May bring forth fruit an hundred fold
And speak me justify'd.

POEM III. *When Service is ended.*

1 LORD, let me not thy courts depart,
Nor quit thy mercy-seat,
Before I feel thee in my heart,
And there the Saviour meet.

2 Water the seed in weakness sown,
And ever more improve:
Make me a garden of thine own;
May ev'ry flow'r be love!

3 O send my soul in peace away;
For both my Lord hath bought:
And let my heart, exulting, say,
I 've found the pearl I sought!

POEM IV. *For the Morning.*

1 JESUS, by whose grace I live,
From the fear of evil kept,
Thou hast lengthen'd my reprieve,
Held in being while I slept.
With the day my heart renew;
Let me wake thy will to do.

2 Since the last revolving dawn
Scatter'd the nocturnal cloud,
O, how many souls have gone,
Unprepar'd, to meet their God!
Yet thou dost prolong my breath,
Nor hast seal'd my eyes in death.

3 O that I may keep thy word,
Taught by thee to watch and pray
To thy service, dearest Lord,
Sanctify th' present day:
Swift its fleeting moments haste,
Doom'd, perhaps, to be my last.

4 Crucify'd to all below,
Earth shall never be my care
Wealth and honour I forego,
This my only wish and care,
Thine in life and death to be,
Now and to eternity.

POEM V. *For the Evening.*

1 GOD of love, whose truth and grace
Reach unbounded as the skies,
Hear thy creature's feeble praise,
Let my ev'ning sacrifice
Mount as incense to thy throne,
On the merits of thy Son.

2 Me thy Providence has led
Through another busy day:
Over me thy wings were spread,
Chasing sin and death away:
Thou hast been my faithful shield,
Thou my footsteps hast upheld.

3 Tho' the sable veil of night
Hides the cheering face of heav'n,
Let me triumph in the sight
Of my guilt in thee forgiv'n.
In my heart the witness feel,
See the great Invisible.

4 I will lay me down to sleep,
Sweetly take my rest in thee,
Ev'ry moment brought a step
Nearer to eternity:
I shall soon from earth ascend,
Quickly reach my journey's end.

5 All my sins imputed were
To my dear, incarnate God;
Bury'd in his grave they are,
Drown'd in his atoning blood;
Me thou wilt not now condemn,
Righteous and complete in him.

6 In the Saviour's right I claim
All the blessings he hath bought;
For my soul the dying Lamb
Hath a full redemption wrought;
Heaven through his desert is mine;
Christ's I am, and Christ is thine!

POEM VI. *There is Mercy with Thee.*

1 LORD, should'st thou weigh my righteousness,
Or mark what I have done amiss,
How should thy servant stand?
Tho' others might, yet surely I
Must hide my face, nor dare to cry
For mercy at thy hand.

2 But thou art loth thy bolts to shoot;
Backward and slow to execute
The vengeance due to me:
Thou dost not willingly reprove,
For all the mild effects of love
Are center'd, Lord, in thee.

3 Shine, then, thou all-subduing light,
The powers of darkness put to flight
Nor from me ever part:
From earth to heaven be thou my guide,
And O, above each gift beside,
Give me an upright heart.

POEM VII. *In Sickness.*

1 JESUS, since I with thee am one,
Confirm my soul in thee,
And still continue to tread down
The man of sin in me.

2 Let not the subtle foe prevail
In this my feeble hour:
Frustrate all the hopes of hell,
Redeem from Satan's pow'r.

3 Arm me, O Lord, from head to foot,
With righteousness divine;
My soul in Jesus firmly root,
And seal the Saviour mine.

4 Proportion'd to my pains below,
O let my joys increase,
And mercy to my spirit flow
In healing streams of peace.

5 In life and death be thou my God,
And I am more than safe:
Chastis'd by thy paternal rod,
Support me with thy staff.

6 Lay on me, Saviour, what thou wilt,
But give me strength to bear:
Thy gracious hand this cross hath dealt,
Which cannot be severe.

7 As gold refin'd may I come out,
In sorrow's furnace try'd;
Preserved from faithlessness and doubt,
And fully purify'd.

8 When, overwhelm'd with sore distress,
Out of the pit I cry,
On Jesus suffering in my place
Help me to fix mine eye.

9 When * marr'd with tears, and blood, and sweat,
The glorious Sufferer lay,
And in my stead sustain'd the heat
And burden of the day.

10 The pangs which my weak nature knows
Are swallow'd up in thine:
How numberless thy pond'rous woes!
How few, how light are mine!

11 O might I learn of thee to bear
Temptation, pain and loss!
Give me a heart inur'd to prayer,
And fitted to the cross.

12 Make me, O Lord, thy patient son;
Thy language mine shall be:
"Father, thy gracious will be done,
I take the cup from thee."

13 While thus my soul is fixt on him
Once fasten'd to the wood,
Safe shall I pass through Jordan's stream,
And reach the realms of God.

14 And when my soul mounts up to keep
With thee the marriage feast,
I shall not die, but fall asleep
On my Redeemer's breast.

POEM VIII. *John xiv. 17. He dwelleth with you, and shall be in you.*

1 SAVIOUR, I thy word believe,
My unbelief remove;
Now thy quick'ning Spirit give,
The unction from above;
Shew me, Lord, how good thou art,
My soul with all thy fulness fill:
Send the witness in my heart
The Holy Ghost reveal.

2 Dead in sin 'till then I lie,
Bereft of power to rise;
Till thy Spirit inwardly
Thy saving blood applies:
Now the mighty gift impart,
My sin erase, my pardon seal:
Send the witness, in my heart
The Holy Ghost reveal.

3 Blessed Comforter, come down,
And live and move in me;
Make my every deed thy own,
In all things led by thee:
Bid my every lust depart,
And with me O vouchsafe to dwell;
Faithful witness, in my heart
Thy perfect light reveal.

4 Let me in thy love rejoice,
Thy shrine, thy pure abode;
Tell me, by thine inward voice,
That I'm a child of God:
Lord, I choose the better part,
Jesus, I wait thy peace to feel:
Send the witness, in my heart
The Holy Ghost reveal.

5 Whom the world cannot receive,
O manifest in me:
Son of God, I cease to live,
Unless I live in thee
Now impute thy whole desert,
Restore the joy from which I fell:
Breathe the witness, in my heart
The Holy Ghost reveal.

POEM IX. *On War.*

1 GREAT God, whom heav'n, and earth, and sea,
With all their countless hosts, obey,
Upheld by whom the nations stand,
And empires fall at thy command:

* Referring to his agony in the garden.

2 Beneath thy long suspended ire
Let papal Antichrist expire;
Thy knowledge spread from sea to sea,
'Till every nation bows to thee.

3 Then shew thyself the prince of peace,
Make every hostile efforts cease;
All with thy sacred love inspire,
And burn their chariots in the fire.

4 In sunder break each warlike spear;
Let all the Saviour's liv'ry wear;
The universal Sabbath prove,
The utmost rest of Christian love!

5 The world shall then no discord know,
But hand in hand to Canaan go,
Jesus, the peaceful king, adore,
And learn the art of war no more.

POEM X. *Desiring to be given up to God.*

1 O THAT my heart was right with thee,
And lov'd thee with a perfect love!
O that my Lord would dwell in me,
And never from his seat remove!
Jesus, remove th' impending load,
And set my soul on fire for God!

2 Thou seest I dwell in awful night
Until thou in my heart appear;
Kindle the flame, O Lord, and light
Thine everlasting candle there:
Thy presence puts the shadows by;
If thou art gone, how dark am I!

3 Ah! Lord, how should thy servant see,
Unless thou give me seeing eyes?
Well may I fall, if out of thee;
If out of thee, how should I rise?
I wander, Lord, without thy aid,
And lose my way in midnight's shade.

4 Thy bright, unerring light afford,
A light that gives the sinner hope;
And from the house of bondage, Lord,
O bring the weary captive up;
Thine hand alone can set me free,
And reach my pardon out to me.

5 O let my prayer acceptance find,
And bring the mighty blessing down;
With eye-salve, Lord, anoint the blind,
And seal me thine adopted son:
A fallen, helpless creature take,
And heir of thy salvation make.

POEM XI. *Matt.* viii. 25. *Lord, save us, we perish.*

1 PILOT of the soul, awake,
Save us for thy mercies' sake;
Now rebuke the angry deep,
Save, O save thy sinking ship!

2 Stand at the helm, our vessel steer,
Mighty on our side appear;
Saviour, teach us to descry
Where the rocks and quicksands lie.

3 The waves shall impotently roll,
If thou 'rt the anchor of the soul:
At thy word the wind shall cease,
Storms be hush'd to perfect peace.

4 Be thou our haven of retreat,
A rock to fix our wav'ring feet,
Teach us to own thy sovereign sway,
Whom the winds and seas obey.

XII. *O that my ways were made so direct, &c.*

1 O THAT my ways were made so strait,
And that the lamp of faith
Would, as a star, direct my feet
Within the narrow path!

2 O that thy strength might enter now,
And in my heart abide,
To make me as a faithful bow
That never starts aside!

3 O that I all to Christ were given,
(From sin and earth set free)
Who kindly laid aside his heaven,
And gave himself for me!

4 Not more the panting hart desires
The cool, refreshing stream
Than my dry, thirsty soul aspires
At being one with him.

5 Set up thine image in my heart;
Thy temple let me be,
Bid every idol now depart
That fain would rival thee.

6 Still keep me in the heavenly path;
Bestow the inward light;
And lead me by the hand till faith
Is ripened into sight.

POEM XIII.

1 FATHER, to thee in Christ I fly,
What tho' my sins of crimson dye
For thy resentment call?
My crimes he did on Calv'ry bear,
The blood that flow'd for sinners there
Shall cleanse me from them all.

2 Spirit divine, thy pow'r bring in,
O raise me from this depth of sin,
Take off my guilty load:
Now let me live through Jesu's death,
And, being justified by faith,
May I have peace with God!

3 Foul as I am, deserving hell,
Thou can'st not from thy throne repel
A soul that leans on God:
My sins at thy command shall be
Cast as a stone into the sea——
The sea of Jesu's blood.

POEM XIV.

1 SUPREME High Priest, the pilgrim's light,
My heart for thee prepare,
Thine image stamp, and deeply write
Thy superscription there.

2 Ah! let my forehead bear thy seal,
My arm thy badge retain,
My heart the inward witness feel
That I am born again!

3 Thy peace, O Saviour, shed abroad,
That every want supplies:
Then from its guilt my soul renew'd,
Shall, phœnix like, arise.

4 Into thy humble mansion come,
Set up thy dwelling here:
Possess my heart, and leave no room
For sin to harbour there.

5 Ah! give me, Lord, the single eye,
Which aims at nought but thee:
I fain would live, and yet not I——
Let Jesus live in me.

6 Like Noah's dove, no rest I find
But in thy ark of peace:
Thy cross the balance of my mind,
Thy wounds my hiding-place.

7 In vain the tempter spreads the snare,
If thou my keeeper art:
Get thee behind me, God is near,
My Saviour takes my part!

8 On him my spirit I recline,
Who put my nature on;
His light shall in my darkness shine,
And guide me to his throne.

9 O that the penetrating sight,
And eagle's eye were mine

Undazzled at the boundless light,
I'd see his glory shine!

10 Ev'n now, by faith, I see him live
To crown the conquering few;
Nor let me linger here, but strive
To gain the prize in view.

11 Add, Saviour, to the eagle's eye,
The dove's aspiring wing,
To bear me upwards to the sky,
Thy praises there to sing!

POEM XV. *Self-Dedication.*

1 Jesus, my Saviour, fill my heart
With nothing else but thee;
Now thy saving pow'r exert,
And more than conquer me:
Each intruding rival kill,
That hinders or obstructs thy reign:
All thy glorious might reveal,
And make me pure within.

2 Through my soul in mercy shine,
Thine Holy Spirit give;
Let him witness, Lord, with mine
That I in Jesus live;
Set me free from Satan's load,
The gift of Liberty dispense,
In my heart O shed abroad
Thy quick'ning influence.

3 Let the gifts bestow'd on me,
Live to thy praise alone;
Lord, the talents lent by thee
Are thine and not my own:
May I in thy service spend
All the graces thou has given,
Taken up, when time shall end,
To live and reign in heaven.

POEM XVI. *In Temptation.*

1 Compass'd by the foe, on thee
Feebly I presume to call;
Get thyself the victory,
Hold me, and I shall not fall:
On thy creature mercy shew,
Thine I am by purchase too.

2 Guard of my defenceless heart,
Wherefore hidest thou thy face?
Mercy's fountain head thou art,
Ever full of truth and grace;
Quell the roaring lion's pow'r,
Father, save me from this hour.

3 Sun of righteousness, arise,
Shed thy blisful rays on me;
Kindly listen to my cries,
Try'd by him who tempted thee:
Thou my helpless soul defend,
Keep me blameless to the end.

4 Rise in vengeance from thy seat,
Jesus, Lord, make haste to save;
Me to sift my soul as wheat,
Satan hath desired to have:
Let him not too far prevail,
Suffer not my faith to fail.

5 Try'd, afflicted, and distrest
By temptation's searching flame,
Tho', beneath its load oppress'd,
Now in heaviness I am,
I shall soon at freedom be,
More than conqueror in thee.

6 This affliction shall work out,
(Light and transient as it is)
When I am to Sion brought,
Everlasting joy and peace:
Here but for a moment try'd,
There for ever glorified.

POEM XVII.

1 O may I never rest
Till I find rest in thee;
'Till of my pardon here possess'd
I feel thy love to me!
Unseal my darken'd eyes,
My fetter'd feet unbind,
The lame shall, when thou say'st "Arise,
Run swifter than the hind.

2 O draw the alien near,
Bend the obdurate neck,
O melt the flint into a tear,
And teach the dumb to speak:
Turn not thy face away,
Thy look can make me clean;
Me in thy wedding robe array,
And cover all my sin.

3 Tell me, my God, for whom
Thy precious blood was shed;
For sinners! Lord, as such I come,
For such the Saviour bled:
Then raise a fallen wretch,
Display thy grace in me!
I am not out of mercy's reach,
Nor too far gone for thee.

4 Thou quickly wilt forgive,
My Lord will not delay;
Jesus, to thee the time I leave,
And wait the accepted day:
I now rejoice in hope
That I shall be made clean:
Thy grace shall surely lift me up
Above the reach of sin.

5 Hast thou not died for me,
And call'd me from below!
O help me to lay hold on thee,
And ne'er to let thee go!
Though on the billows toss'd,
My Saviour I'll pursue:
Awhile submit to bear his cross,
Then share his glory too.

POEM XVIII.

1 From Justice's consuming flame,
Saviour, I fly to thee;
O look not on me as I am,
But as I fain would be.

2 Deserted in the way I lie,
No cure for me is found:
Thou, good Samaritan, pass by,
And bind up every wound.

3 O may I in the final day
At thy right-hand appear!
Take thou my sins out of the way,
Who didst the burden bear.

4 What though the fiery serpent's bite
Hath poisoned ev'ry vein—
I'll not despair, but keep in sight
The wounds of Jesus slain.

5 My soul thou wilt from death retrieve,
For sorrow grant me joy,
Thy power is mightier to save
Than Satan's to destroy.

POEM XIX. *After being surprised into Sin.*

1 Ah! Give me, Lord, myself to see,
Against myself to watch and pray,
How weak am I, when left by thee,
How frail, how apt to fall away!
If but a moment thou withdraw,
That moment sees me break thy law.

2 Jesus, the sinner's only trust,
Let me now feel thy grace infus'd!
Ah! raise a captive from the dust,
Nor break a reed already bruis'd!

Visit me, Lord, in peace again,
Nor let me seek thy face in vain.

3 O gracious Lord, now let me find
Peace and salvation in thy name;
Be thou the eye-sight of the blind,
The staff and ancles of the lame;
My lifter up whene'er I fall,
My strength, my portion, and my all.

4 Let thy meek mind descend on me,
Thy Holy Spirit from above:
Assist me, Lord, to follow thee,
Drawn by th' endearing cords of love;
Made perfect by thy cleansing blood,
Completely sav'd and born of God.

POEM XX. *Christ the Light of his People.*

1 I LIFT my heart and eyes to thee,
Jesus, thou unextinguished light:
My lantern, guide, and leader be,
My cloud by day, my fire by night.

2 Glory of Israel, shine within,
Unshadow'd, uneclips'd appear;
O let thy beams dispel my sin,
Direct me by a friendly star.

3 The world a maze and lab'rinth is,
Be thou my thread and faithful clue;
Thy kingdom and thy righteousness
The only objects I pursue.

4 Light of the Gentiles, thee I hail!
Essential light, thyself impart!
Spirit of light, his face reveal;
And set thy signet on my heart.

5 Thy office is to enlighten man,
And point him to the heavenly prize;
The hidden things of God t' explain,
And chase the darkness from our eyes.

6 Shew me I have the better part,
The treasure hid with Christ in God;
Give me a perfect peace of heart,
And pardon through my Saviour's blood.

POEM XXI.

1 CHAIN'D to the world, to sin ty'd down,
In darkness still I lie;
Lord, break my bonds, Lord give me wings,
And teach me how to fly.

2 Instruct my feeble hands to war,
In me thy strength reveal,
To put my ev'ry lust to death,
And fight thy battles well.

3 Rend ev'ry veil that shades thy face,
Put on thine helmet, Lord;
My sin shall fall, my guilt expire,
Beneath thy conqu'ring sword.

4 Thou art the mighty God of hosts,
Whose counsels never fail;
Be thou my glorious chief, and then
I cannot but prevail.

POEM XXII.

1 O WHEN will thou my Saviour be,
O when shall I be clean,
The true, eternal sabbath see,
A perfect rest from sin!
Jesus, the sinner's rest thou art,
From guilt, and fear, and pain;
While thou art absent from my heart,
look for rest in vain.

2 The consolations of thy word,
My soul hath long upheld,
The faithful promise of the Lord,
Shall surely be fulfill'd:
I look to my incarnate God,
'Till he his work begin;
And wait 'till his redeeming blood
Shall cleanse me from all sin.

3 His great salvation I shall know,
And perfect liberty:
Onward to sin he cannot go,
Who'er abides in thee;
Added to the Redeemer's fold,
I shall in him rejoice:
I all his glory shall behold,
And hear my shepherd's voice.

4 O that I now the voice might hear,
That speaks my sins forgiv'n;
His word is past to give me here
The inward pledge of heav'n:
His blood shall over all prevail,
And sanctify the unclean:
The grace that saves from future hell,
Shall save from present sin.

POEM XXIII.

1 JESUS, thy light impart,
And lead me in thy path;
I have an unbelieving heart,
But thou can'st give me faith.

2 The work in me fulfil,
Which mercy hath begun;
I have a proud rebellious will,
But thou canst melt it down.

3 Sin on my heart is wrote,
I am throughout impure;
But my disease, O Lord, is not
Too hard for thee to cure.

4 The darkness of my mind
Lies open to thy sight:
Jesus, I am by nature blind,
But thou canst give me light.

5 Send down thy Holy Ghost,
To cleanse and fill with peace:
For O, mine inward parts thou know'st
Are very wickedness.

6 Thy love all power hath,
Its power in me exert;
And give me living active faith,
That purifies the heart.

7 Unrivsl'd reign within,
My only sovereign be,
O crucify the man of sin,
And form thyself in me.

8 Thy blood's renewing might,
Can make the foulest clean:
Can wash the Ethiopian white,
And change the Leopard's skin.

9 That, Lord, can bring me nigh,
And wipe my sins away;
Can lift my abject soul on high,
And call me into day.

10 Fulfil thy gracious word,
And shew my guilt forgiv'n;
Bid me embrace my dying Lord,
And mount with him to heav'n.

POEM XXIV. *The Christian's Wish.*

1 EMPTIED of earth I fain would be,
The world, myself, and all but thee;
Only reserved for Christ that dy'd
Surrender'd to the crucify'd;

2 Sequester'd from the noise and strife,
The lust, the pomp, and pride of life.
For heav'n alone my heart prepare,
And have my conversation there.

3 O may I the Redeemer trace,
Invested with his righteousness!
This path, untir'd, I will pursue,
Nor slack while Jesus is in view.

4 Nothing save Jesus may I know,
My Father and companion thou!
Lord, take my heart, assert my right,
And put all other loves to flight.

5 My idols tread beneath thy feet,
And enter'd once, maintain thy seat;
Let Dagon fall before thy face,
The ark remaining in its place.

6 O lend me now a two-edg'd sword,
To slay my sins before the Lord:
With Abraham's knife, before thine eyes,
Each favourite Isaac sacrifice.

POEM XXV. [*Before Meat.*] 1 *Cor.* x. 31.

1 LORD, we invite thee here,
Vouchsafe to be our guest;
Jesus, do thou appear
The master of the feast;
Thy quick'ning presence let us prove,
And banquet on thy hidden love.

2 With manna from on high
Feed thine inheritance,
And come and sanctify
Our outward sustenance:
With it the inward food be giv'n,
The bread of life, the wine of heav'n.

POEM XXVI. *For the Morning.*

1 My soul, can'st thou no higher rise,
To meet thy God, than this?
Yet, Lord, accept my sacrifice,
Defective as it is.

2 Tune all my organs to thy praise,
And psalmist's muse impart;
And, with thy penetrating rays,
O melt my frozen heart.

3 Give me thyself the only good,
And ever with me stay;
Whose faithful mercies are renew'
With each returning day.

4 Ah! guide me with a Father's eye,
Nor from my soul depart;
But let the day-star from on high
Illuminate my heart.

5 This day preserve me without sin,
Unspotted in thy ways;
And hear me while I usher in
The welcome dawn with praise.

6 Far as the East from West remove
Each earthly vain desire,
And raise me on the wings of love,
'Till I can mount no higher.

POEM XXVII. *For the Evening*

1 THOU unexhausted mine of bliss,
From whence all comforts flow;
Inspire me with that perfect peace,
Which only Christians know.

2 The curtains of thy love extend
Around my calm abode,
As I began, so may I end
My ev'ry day with God.

3 My life unhurt, thine hand hath kept,
Accept the praise I pay;
For all the dangers I've escaped,
And mercies of the day.

4 Far, far away the tempter chase,
My soul from terror keep;
Let angels fill this hallow'd place,
And guard me as I sleep.

5 O wash out ev'ry sin whereby
This day I have transgress'd;
And seal my pardon ere I give
My slumb'ring eye-lids rest.

6 Prepare me for the bed of death,
Be that my hourly thought,
That when I yield my latest breath
I may be found with God.

POEM XXVIII. *He is the Propitiation of our Sins.*

1 O THOU, that hear'st the prayer of faith,
Wilt thou not save a soul from death
That casts itself on thee?
I have no refuge of my own,
But fly to what my Lord hath done
And suffer'd once for me.

2 Slain in the guilty sinner's stead,
His spotless righteousness I plead,
And his availing blood:
Thy merit, Lord, my robe shall be,
Thy merit shall atone for me,
And bring me near to God.

3 Then snatch me from eternal death,
The spirit of adoption breathe,
His consolations send;
By him some word of life impart,
And sweetly whisper to my heart,
"Thy Maker is thy friend."

4 The King of terrors then would be
A welcome messenger to me,
That bids me come away;
Unclog'd by earth or earthly things,
I'd mount upon his sable wings
To everlasting day.

POEM XXIX. *Hab.* ii. 14. *For the Earth shall be filled, &c.*

1 BRING the kingdom, Lord, make haste,
Bring on the glorious day,
From the greatest to the least,
When all shall own thy sway:
When the convert world, with grief,
Shall see the error of their ways,
Lay aside their unbelief,
And yield unto thy grace.

2 In thy gospel-chariot, Lord,
Drive through earth's utmost bound;
Spread the odour of thy word
Through all the nations round:
Fill the darken'd earth with light,
Thine own victorious cause advance;
Take the heathen as the right
Of thine inheritance.

3 In our day expose to view,
The standard of the Lamb:
Bid the nations flock thereto,
Who never knew thy name;
Let them quit the downward road,
Compell'd thy gospel to receive;
Turn'd from Satan unto God,
With one consent believe.

POEM XXX.

1 REDEEMER, whither should I flee,
Or how escape the wrath to come?
The weary sinner flies to thee
For shelter from impending doom:
Smile on me, gracious Lord, and shew
Thyself the friend of sinners now.

2 Beneath the shadow of thy cross,
The heavy-laden soul finds rest:
Let me esteem the world as dross,
So I may be of Christ possess'd!
I borrow ev'ry joy from thee,
For thou art life and light to me.

3 Close to my Saviour's bloody tree,
My soul, untir'd, shall ever cleave;
Both scourg'd and crucified with thee,
With Christ resolved to die and live.

My pray'r, my grand ambition this,
Living and dying to be his.

4 O nail me to the sacred wood,
There hold me by the Spirit's chain,
There seal me with thy fast'ning blood,
Nor ever let me loose again:
There may I bow my suppliant knee,
And own no other Lord but thee!

POEM XXXI.

1 LORD, stand not off, come nearer still,
Illuminate my darken'd soul,
Renew my heart, correct my will,
Make the polluted leper whole.

2 Behold my struggles, Lord, and set
My sin-bound soul at liberty:
Give me thine hand to break the net,
And bid the fetter'd slave be free.

3 My own desert I cannot plead,
My purest silver is but dross:
Let Jesus' merits intercede,
O nail my errors to the cross.

4 Fain would I mount to thee, my crown,
And gain the realms of endless light
But fett'ring earth still keeps me down,
And sin impediates my flight.

5 Father, to me impart thy bread,
To me thine healing manna give;
On life eternal let me feed,
That my diseased soul may live.

6 Unworthy to intreat thy grace,
Unworthier still thy grace t' obtain,
I plead my Surety's righteousness,
Nor shall my plea be urg'd in vain.

POEM XXXII. *Where two or three are gathered together in my name, &c.*

1 JESUS, God of love, attend,
From thy glorious throne descend;
Answer now some waiting heart,
Now some harden'd soul convert:
To our Advocate we fly,
Let us feel Emanuel nigh;
Manifest thy love abroad,
Nake us now the sons of God.

2 Hover round us, King of kings,
Rise with healing in thy wings;
Melt our obstinacy down,
Cause us to become thine own:
Set, O set the captives free,
Draw our backward souls to thee;
Let us all from thee receive
Light to see and life to live.

3 Prostrate at thy mercy seat
Let us our Beloved meet;
Give us in thyself a part,
Deep engraven on thine heart;
Let us hear thy pard'ning voice,
Bid the broken bones rejoice;
Condemnation do away,
O make this the happy day!

4 Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,
Join to seek and save the lost:
Raise some sinner to thy throne,
Add a jewel to thy crown!
Are we not, without thy light,
Darken'd with Egyptian night?
Light of light, thy pow'r exert,
Lighten each benighted heart!

5 Prayer can mercy's door unlock:
Open, Lord, to us that knock!
Us the heirs of glory seal,
With thy benediction fill:
Holy Spirit, make us his,
Visit ev'ry soul in peace:
Give our vanquish'd hearts to say,
Love divine has won the day!

6 Give the heavy-laden rest,
Christ make known in ev'ry breast,
Void of thee we quickly die,
Turn our sackcloth into joy:
Witness all our sins forgiv'n,
Grant on earth a glimpse of heav'n;
Bring the joyful tidings down
Fit us for our future crown.

7 Let us chaunt melodious hymns,
Loud as those of cherubims;
Join with heart and tongue to bless
Christ our strength and righteousness.
All our praise to Him belongs,
Theme of our sublimest songs;
Object of our choicest love,
Thee we laud with hosts above.

8 Thee we hail with joint acclaim,
Shout the glories of thy name;
Ever may we feel thee thus,
Dear Immanuel, God with us!
Prince of peace, thy people see,
All our thanks we aim at thee;
Deign our tribute to receive,
Praise is all we have to give.

POEM XXXIII.

1 COME from on high, my King and God,
My confidence thou art;
Display the virtue of thy blood,
And circumcise my heart.

2 From heav'n, thy holy place, on me
Descend in mercy down;
Water of life, I thirst for thee,
To know thee for my own.

3 Rend, O rend the guilty veil,
That keeps me from my God;
Remove the bar, and let me feel
That I am thine abode.

4 O might this worthless heart of mine
The Saviour's temple be!
Empty'd of ev'ry love but thine,
And shut to all but thee!

POEM XXXIV. *I know that in my Flesh dwelleth no good Thing.*

1 LORD, is not all from thee?
Is not all fulness thine?
Whate'er of good there is in me,
O Lord, is none of mine.

2 Each holy tendency
Did not thy mercy give?
And what, O Saviour, what have I
That I did not receive?

3 I cannot speak a word,
Or think a thought that's good,
But what proceedeth from the Lord;
And cometh forth from God.

4 Jesus, I know full well,
What my best actions are;
They'd sink my grievous soul to hell,
If unregen'd they were.

5 Myself and all I do,
O sprinkle with thy blood;
Renew me, Saviour, ere I go,
To stand before my God.

6 I of myself have nought,
That can his justice please;
Not one right word, nor act, nor thought,
But what I owe to grace.

POEM XXXV. *Refuge in the Righteousness of Christ.*

1 FROM thy supreme tribunal, Lord,
Where justice sits severe,

I to thy mercy seat appeal,
And beg forgiveness there.

2 Tho' I have sinn'd before the throne,
My Advocate I see:
Jesus, be thou my Judge, and let
My sentence come from thee.

3 Lo, weary to thy cross I fly,
There let me shelter find:
Lord, when thou call'st thy ransom'd home,
O leave me not behind!

4 I joyfully embrace thy love
To fallen man reveal'd;
My hope of glory, dearest Lord,
On thee alone I build.

5 The law was satisfy'd by him
Who flesh for me was made:
Its penalty he underwent,
Its precepts he obey'd.

6 Desert and all self-righteousness
I utterly forego;
My robe of everlasting bliss,
My wedding garment thou.

7 The spotless Saviour liv'd for me,
And died upon the Mount;
Th' obedience of his life and death
Is placed to my account.

8 Can'st thou forget that awful hour,
That sad, tremendous scene,
When thy dear blood on Calvary
Flow'd out at ev'ry vein?

9 No, Saviour, no; thy wounds are fresh,
Even now they intercede;
Still, in effect, for guilty man
Incessantly they bleed.

10 Thine ears of mercy still attend
A contrite sinner's cries,
A broken heart, that groans for God,
Thou never wilt despise.

11 O love incomprehensible,
That made thee bleed for me!
The Judge of all hath suffer'd death
To set his prisoner free!

POEM XXXVI. *For Pardon of Sin.*

1 Jesus, thy feet I will not leave,
Till I the precious gift receive,
The purchas'd pearl possess:
Impart it, gracious Lord, while I
With supplication's humblest cry,
Invest the throne of grace.

2 Baptize me with the Holy Ghost;
Make this the day of Pentecost,
Wherein my soul may prove
Thy spirit's sweet renewing power,
And shew me, in this happy hour,
The riches of thy love.

3 Thou canst not always hide thy face,
Thou wilt at last my soul embrace,
Thou yet will make me clean:
My God, is there not room for me?
I'll wait with patience, Lord, on thee,
'Till thou shalt take me in.

4 Remember, Lord, that Jesus bled,
That Jesus bow'd his dying head,
And sweated bloody sweat:
He bore thy wrath and curse for me
In his own body on the tree,
And more than paid my debt.

5 Surely he hath my pardon bought,
A perfect righteousness wrought out
His people to redeem:
O that his righteousness might be
By grace imputed now to me:
As were my sins to him.

POEM XXXVII.

1 Thou Sun of righteousness, arise,
Shine, glorious morning star,
Enlighten my benighted soul,
And make the Ethiop fair.
Confus'd and blind though now I am,
And prone to go astray,
Bid me receive my sight, and I
Shall clearly see my way.

2 The captive at thy word shall be
From every chain released;
The broken heart shall sing for joy,
The troubled sea shall rest:
Enflame me with a ray of heaven,
Pure, fervent love inspire;
And let thy dove-like Spirit aid
And fan the holy fire.

3 Be thou my light, for light thou art,
O crucify each doubt;
Sweep every corner of my heart,
And turn the tempter out:
Let not my hopes be overcast
With shadows of despair;
Dart through my soul thy quickning beams,
And build an altar there.

4 Redeem me from temptations rage,
Break down the holds of sin;
Give me to stand in crooked ways,
And keep my garments clean:
Transplant me, Saviour, from myself,
And graft me into thee;
Then shall the grain of mustard-seed
Spring up into a tree.

POEM XXXVIII. *Phil.* ii. 5. *Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus.*

1 Lord, I feel a carnal mind
That hangs about me still,
Vainly though I strive to bind
My own rebellious will;
Is not haughtiness of heart
The gulf between my God and me?
Meek Redeemer, now impart
Thine own humility.

2 Fain would I my Lord pursue,
Be all my Saviour taught,
Do as Jesus bid me do,
And think as Jesus thought:
But 'tis thou must change my heart,
The perfect gift must come from thee;
Meek Redeemer now impart
Thine own humility.

3 Lord, I cannot, must not, rest,
'Till I thy mind obtain,
Chase presumption from my breast,
And all thy mildness gain;
Give me, Lord, thy gentle heart,
Thy lowly mind my portion be:
Meek Redeemer, now impart
Thine own humility.

4 Let thy cross my will control;
Conform me to my guide;
In thine image mould my soul,
And crucify my pride;
Give me, Lord, a contrite heart,
A heart that always looks to thee:
Meek Redeemer, now impart
Thine own humility.

5 Tear away my ev'ry boast,
My stubborn mind abase;
Saviour, fix my only trust
In thy redeeming grace:
Give me a submissive heart,
From pride and self-dependance free;
Meek Redeemer, now impart
Thine own humility

POEM XXXIX. *For all the mind of Christ.*

1 HAIL, faultless Model, sinless Guide,
In whom no blame was seen
Able thou wert, and none beside,
To ransom guilty men.

2 I want my happiness below
In thee alone to find;
Surely thou wilt on me bestow
Thy pure, thy heav'nly mind!

3 Active for God I fain would be,
And do my work assigned:
Jesus, look down, implant in me,
Thy zealous fervent mind!
While here, it was thy constant aim
To benefit mankind.
O give me, dear redeeming Lamb,
Thy loving, gracious mind!

5 Stiff is my neck, and proud my heart,
Unbroken, unresigned:
When wilt thou, blessed Lord, impart
Thy patient, humble mind!

6 My sins how slowly do I leave,
To earthly things inclin'd;
But wean me, Lord, and let me have
Thy self-denying mind.

7 O might I walk with faithful heed,
And look no more behind,
Possess'd of what I chiefly need,
Thy serious steady mind.

8 Still may my ev'ry grace increase,
'Till I in heaven appear:
On earth like thee in holiness,
Like thee in glory there.

POEM XL. *For Pardon.*

1 Now, Lord, the purchased pardon give
Nor e'er the grant revoke,
But bend my stiff obdurate neck
Beneath thine easy yoke.

2 O might I as a faithful sheep,
My Shepherd ne'er forsake:
O might I now for heaven set out,
And never more turn back!

3 Christ in his resurrection's pow'r,
Within my heart reveal:
Forgive my deep revoltings, Lord,
And my forgiveness seal.

4 Thou only hast the words of life,
My spirit upward draw,
Me to thy kingdom, Lord, instruct
And teach me in thy law.

5 Apollos waters but in vain,
Paul plants without success:
The prophets' labours fruitless are
Except thou give increase.

POEM XLI. *The Same.*

1 SHOULD'ST thou be strict to mark our faults,
Who could acquitted be?
Who, unrenewed, could stand the search,
Or bear the scrutiny?

2 Lord, at thy feet I meekly fall,
Held in contrition's chain:
Thy gracious hand that cast me down,
Shall raise me up again.

3 O speak the word thy servant hears,
Pronounce me pardoned now:
Lord, I believe, increase my faith,
And let me know thee too.

4 Thou only, Saviour, as the key,
Unlock the prison door:
Though yet I cannot fly to thee,
I'll send my heart before.

5 The blood of sprinkling now apply,
And that shall make me clean;
Weigh not my worthless works, O Lord,
But O, forgive my sin!

6 Take now away whate'er obstructs
Thine intercourse with me:
And may I cheerfully leave all
I have to follow thee!

POEM XLII.

1 JESUS, thy pow'r I fain would feel,
Thy love is all I want:
O let thine ears consider well
The voice of my complaint.

2 Thou seest me yet a slave to sin,
And destitute of God;
O purify and make me clean
By thine all-cleansing blood.

3 Far off I stand, O bring me nigh,
And bid me sit up higher:
Immanuel, now in love pass by,
And answer my desire.

4 O Jesus, undertake for me,
Thy peace to me be given:
For, while I stand away from thee,
I stand away from heav'n.

5 I will not my offence conceal,
I will not hide my sin,
But all my crimes with weeping tell,
And own how vile I've been.

6 Lord, will thy wrathful jealousy
As fire for ever burn?
And wilt thou not a succour be,
And comfort those that mourn?

7 Reject not, Lord, my humble pray'rs,
Nor yet my soul destroy:
Thine only Son hath sown in tears
That I might reap in joy.

EUCHARISTIC HYMNS.

"Immensa Beneficia Laudibus immensis celebranda."
PRIMAS.

——— ——— O thou Patron God,
Thou God and Mortal, thence more God to Man,
Man's Theme eternal, Man's eternal Theme!
Thou canst not 'scape unsung'd from our Praise.
NIGHT THOUGHTS. NIGHT IX

HYMNS OF THANKSGIVING.

HYMN I. *Praise for Conversion.*

1 Not to myself I owe
That I, O Lord, am thine;
Free grace hath all the shades broke through,
And caus'd the light to shine.
Me thou hast willing made
Thy offers to receive;
Call'd by the voice that wakes the dead,
I come to thee and live.

2 Why am I made to see,
Who am by nature blind?
Why am I taken home to thee,
And others left behind?
Because thy sov'reign love
Was bent the worst to save:
Jesus, who reigns enthron'd above,
The free salvation gave.

3 Tho' once far off I stood,
Nor knew myself thy foe,

Brought nigh by the Redeemer's blood,
Myself and thee I know:
No more a child of wrath,
Thy smiling face I see;
And praise thee for the work of faith
Which thou hast wrought in me.

4 With me thy Spirit strove,
Almighty to retrieve;
Thou saw'st me in a time of love,
And said unto me, Live.
By thee made free indeed,
I felt thy gracious words;
Thy mantle over me was spread,
And I became the Lord's:

5 Jesus, thy Son, by grace,
I to the end shall be;
Made perfect through thy comeliness
Which I receiv'd from thee.
I drink the living stream
To all believers giv'n,
A fellow citizen with them,
Who dwell in yonder heav'n.

6 With all thy chosen band
I trust to see thee there,
And, in thy righteousness, to stand
Undaunted at thy bar.

HYMN II. *The Heavens declare the Glory of God.*

1 The sky's a veil, the outward scene
Proclaims the majesty within;
Which boundless light, tho' hid behind
Breaks out, too great to be confin'd.

2 The heav'n thy glorious impress wears,
Thy image glitters in the stars:
The firmament, thine high abode,
Seems too the spangled robe of God.

3 Whene'er its beauty I admire,
It's radiant globes direct me higher,
In silent praise they point to thee,
All light, all eye, all majesty!

4 Glory to Him who studs the sky,
(Earth's variegated canopy)
With lamps to guide us on our way,
Faint emblems of eternal day.

5 Yes, Lord, each shining orb declares
Thy name in dazzling characters;
As precious gems they dart their rays
And seem to form a crown of praise.

HYMN III. *On Ascension Day.*

1 Lo! the Lord by whom salvation
Is to fallen man restor'd,
Now resumes his blissful station,
Shews himself th' Almighty Lord;
Slow ascending,
Bids us, for a while, farewell.

2 Who his heavenly state suspended,
And for man's atonement dy'd,
By unnumbered hosts attended,
Rises to his Father's side;
Borne by angels
Back to his eternal throne.

3 Seraphs, chaunt his endless praises,
Guard him to his ancient seat;
Open wide, ye heavenly places,
Your returning God admit:
Heav'nly portals,
Let the King of Glory in!

4 Christ his kingdom re-inherits,
His before the world began;
Myriads of admiring spirits
Hover round the Son of man
Wrapt in wonder
View the wounds he bore for us.

5 "Worthy thou of exaltation,"
Lost in sweet surprise they sing;
"Mortals, with like acclamation,
Hail your great redeeming King:
Let your voices
Emulate th' angelic choir."

6 Yes, O Christ, from ev'ry creature,
Praise shall to thy name be giv'n;
Worthy thou of more and greater,
King of saints and king of heav'n!
Kindling transports
Swell our hearts and tune our tongues!

7 Though our Lord is taken from us,
Present but in Spirit now,
This his faithful word of promise
Made while sojourning below;
"Where I enter,
Thither shall my servant come."

8 Him we praise for his ascension,
Conqueror of sin and death;
Gone up to prepare a mansion
For his ransom'd flock beneath:
They shall quickly
Reign with him in glory there.

9 There already is our treasure,
There our heart, our hope, our crown:
Thence on sublunary pleasure,
We with holy scorn look down:
Earth hath nothing
Worth a moment's transient thought.

10 We shall soon in bliss adore thee,
Gain the realms of endless day;
Soon be gather'd home to glory,
All our tears be wip'd away:
There, for ever,
Sing the Lamb's new song of love.

HYMN IV. *To the Trinity.*

1 Glorious union, God unsought:
Three in name and one in thought,
All thy works thy goodness show,
Centre of perfection thou!

2 Praise we, with uplifted eyes,
Him that dwells above the skies:
God who reigns on Sion's hill,
Made redeem'd, and keeps us still.

3 Join th' angelic hosts above
Praise the Father's matchless love,
Who for us his Son hath giv'n,
Sent him to regain our heav'n.

4 Glory to the Saviour's grace,
Help of Adam's helpless race;
Who, for our transgressions slain,
Make us one with God again.

5 Next the Holy Ghost we bless;
He makes known and seals our peace,
Us he cleanses and makes whole,
Quickens ev'ry dying soul.

6 Holy, blessed, glorious Three,
One from all eternity,
Makes us vessels of thy grace,
Ever running o'er with praise.

7 Thee we laud with grateful song,
Sever'd from the guilty throng,
Ransom'd by the Son who died,
By the Spirit sanctified.

8 All the persons join to raise
Sinners to a state of grace:
All unite their bliss t' insure,
In the glorious work concur.

9 O that we his love might taste!
Bless us, and we shall be blest.
Cleanse us, Lord, from sin's abuse,
Fit us for the Master's use!

10 In our hearts, thy temples dwell;
With the hope of glory fill:
Be on earth our guest divine,
Then let heav'n make us thine.

HYMN V. *Another.*

1 FATHER, Creator of mankind,
Thee we attempt to sing;
With thy Son and Spirit join'd,
Our everlasting king;
Us thou dost in Christ receive,
Cloth'd with Christ we come to thee:
Him thou did'st for sinners give
Their substitute to be.

2 All our sins, dear Lamb of God,
Are for thy sake forgiv'n,
Jesus, thy restoring blood
Entitles men to heav'n:
Self-existent, Lord of all,
Uncreate with God the same,
Bought by thee, on thee we call,
Exulting in thy name.

3 Spirit of Jehovah, write
Thy nature on our heart,
Us unto the Lord unite,
As thou united art;
Make us meet his face to see,
Jesus' righteousness apply:
Holy Ghost, our leader be,
And guide us to the sky.

4 Three in One, before thy feet
Our inmost souls we bend,
Glorious mystery, too great
For worms to comprehend:
We can ne'er, on this side death,
Bring the Deity to light;
Reason here must yield to faith,
'Till faith is lost in sight.

HYMN VI.

1 JESUS, thou tried foundation stone,
From whose prevailing blood alone
Thy saints expect salvation,
My robe thou art, I feel thy grace,
And triumph in thy righteousness,
Made mine by imputation.

2 Exulting in thy strength I go,
My allotted work rejoice to do,
For love divine constrains me:
Supported inwardly by this,
Through ev'ry obstacle I press
While thy great arm sustains me.

3 By thy free grace 'till now upheld,
My future hopes on thee I build,
Nor are my hopes ill-grounded:
Thy promises are on my side,
And safe to glory, lo! I ride,
By countless death surrounded.

4 Before I from the body fly,
He who forgave shall sanctify
And perfectly renew me;
Stronger than Satan Jesus is;
Sin shall not always wound my peace,
Nor finally subdue me.

5 Who wash'd me from its deadly stain,
Shall here cut short its guilty reign,
And weaken its dominion;
From height to height my faith shall rise
Until I gain my native skies,
On love's seraphic pinion.

6 Unmov'd, till then, on Christ I stand,
And Satan from the Saviour's hand
In vain attempts to stir me:
On Jesus I for strength depend;
My omnipotent redeeming friend,
Prepare my way before me.

HYMN VII.

1 PRAISE the Lord, my joyful heart,
With the elders bear thy part:
Stand with them around the throne,
Singing praises to the Son.

2 Strive with them in rapture lost,
Who shall laud the Saviour most:
Join with angels to proclaim
All the mercies of the Lamb.

3 Praise his great humility,
Long as life remains in thee,
By thy pray'rs and praises given,
Make on earth a little heav'n.

4 Jesus, I the theme renew,
Endless praises are thy due:
Anthems equal to thy grace,
Saints and angels cannot raise.

5 I my worthless mite cast in,
Here the song of heav'n begin:
I th' eternal chorus join,
Echoing the love divine.

6 Ever may I worship thee,
Praise my sole employment be;
Sing the virtues of thy blood;
Every moment thank my God.

HYMN VIII.

1 MY soul with blessings unconfin'd,
Thy tender care supplies;
Thyself thy fountain head from whence
Those blessings first arise.

2 Let me thy gracious gifts receive
With gratitude and joy,
And in thy just and ceaseless praise,
Each thankful hour employ!

HYMN IX.

Rom. viii. 16. *The Spirit itself bears Witness with our Spirit that we are the Children of Grace.*

1 EARNEST of future bliss,
Thee, Holy Ghost, we hail;
Fountain of holiness,
Whose comforts never fail,
The cleansing gift on saints bestow'd,
The witness of their peace with God.

2 With our perverseness here,
How often hast thou strove,
And spar'd us year by year,
With never-ceasing love!
O set from sin our spirits free,
And make us more and more like thee.

3 What wonderous grace is this,
For God to dwell with men;
Through Jesus' righteousness,
His favour we regain.
And feeble worms, by nature lost,
Are temples of the Holy Ghost!

4 Tho' Belial's sons would prove
That thou no Witness art,
Thanks to redeeming love,
We feel thee in our heart:
Continue, gracious Lord, to bear
Thine inward testimony there!

5 By thee on earth we know,
Ourselves in Christ renew'd,
Drought by thy grace into
The family of God;
Of his adopting love the seal,
And faithful Teacher of his will.

6 Great Comforter, descend
In gentle breathings down,
Preserve us to the end,
That no man take our crown:

Our Guardian still vouchsafe to be
Nor suffer us to go from thee.

HYMN X. *Thanksgiving for the divine faithfulness.*

1 IMMOVEABLE our hope remains,
Within the veil our anchor lies:
Jesus, who wash'd us from our stains,
Shall bear us safely to the skies.

2 Strong in his strength, we boldly say,
For us Immanuel shed his blood;
Who then shall tear our shield away,
Or part us from the love of God?

3 Can tribulation or distress,
Or persecution's fiery sword?
Can Satan rob us of our peace,
Or prove too mighty for the Lord?

4 Founded on Christ, secure we stand,
Sealed with his Spirit's inward seal;
We soon shall gain the promis'd land,
Triumphant o'er the pow'rs of hell.

5 The winds may roar, the floods may beat;
And rain impetuous descend;
Yet will he not his own forget,
But love and save them to the end.

6 Jesus acquits, and who condemns?
Cease, Satan, from thy fruitless strife:
Thy malice cannot reach our names,
To blot them from the book of life.

7 This is eternal life to know,
God and the Lamb for sinners giv'n,
Nor will the Saviour let us go,
His ransom'd citizens of heav'n.

8 Us to redeem his life he paid,
And will he not his purchase have?
Who can behold Immanuel bleed,
And doubt his willingness to save?

9 Surely the son hath made us free,
Who earth and heav'n and hell commands:
Our cause of triumph this—that we
Are graven on the Saviour's hands.

10 To Him who washed us in his blood,
And lifts apostate man to heav'n,
Who reconciles his sheep to God,
Be everlasting glory giv'n.

HYMN XI. *On the Birth of Christ.*

1 AMPLEST grace in thee I find,
Friend and Saviour of mankind,
Richest merit to atone
For our sins before the throne.

2 Born to save thy church from hell,
Once thou didst with sinners dwell;
Was to earth a prophet giv'n,
Now our Advocate in heaven.

3 Well might wond'ring angels cry,
"Glory be to God on high,
Peace on earth, good will to men,
Lost mankind is found again."

4 Join, my soul, their holy song,
Emulate the brighter throng,
Hail the everlasting word,
Welcome thy descending Lord?

5 Grace unequall'd! Love unknown!
Jesus lays aside his crown,
Clothes himself with flesh and blood,
Takes the manhood into God.

6 Harden'd rebels tho' we are,
Lo, he comes to sojourn here:
See him lie where oxen feed,
This his chamber, hay his bed!

7 God (O hear it with surprise!)
For a manger leaves the skies,
By assuming flesh beneath,
Render'd capable of death.

8 From their Maker turn'd aside,
As in Adam all have died,
So whoe'er his grace receive,
Shall in Christ be made alive.

HYMN XII. *Thanksgiving for general Mercies.*

1 GRACIOUS Creator, thy kind hand
In all thy works I see;
Resistless pow'r and mildest love
Are blended, Lord, in thee.

2 When thou art wrath and hid'st thy face,
The whole creation mourns:
Thou art the attractive pole to which
Thy ransom'd people turns.

3 O let my heart be wholly thine,
Thy property alone!
No longer let me think it mine,
Or call myself my own!

4 Without reserve I quit the claim,
And give up all to thee,
For thou, my all-sufficient Lord,
Art more than all to me.

5 Only do thou refine my dross,
And cleanse me with thy blood,
To make th' imperfect sacrifice
Acceptable to God.

6 Nor shall I fear, if Jesus pleads,
Unworthy as I am,
Being excluded from the feast
And supper of the Lamb.

HYMN XIII. *Thanksgiving for the Righteousness of Christ.*

1 FOUNTAIN of never-ceasing grace,
Thy saints' exhaustless theme,
Great object of immortal praise,
Essentially supreme;
We bless thee for the glorious fruits
Thy incarnation gives;
The righteousness which grace imputes,
And faith alone receives.

2 Whom heaven's angelic host adores,
Was slaughter'd for our sin;
The guilt, O Lord, was wholly ours,
The punishment was thine:
Our God in flesh, to set us free,
Was manifested here;
And meekly bare our sins, that we
His righteousness might wear.

3 Imputatively guilty then
Our substitute was made,
That we the blessings might obtain
For which his blood was shed:
Himself he offer'd on the cross,
Our sorrows to remove;
And all he suffer'd was for us,
And all he did was love.

4 In him we have a righteousness,
By God himself approv'd
Our rock, our sure foundation this,
Which never can be mov'd.
Our ransom by his death he paid,
For all his people giv'n,
The law he perfectly obey'd,
That they might enter heav'n.

5 As all, when Adam sinn'd alone,
In his transgression died,
So by the righteousness of one,
Are sinners justify'd,
We to thy merit, gracious Lord,
With humblest joy submit,
Again to Paradise restor'd,
In thee alone complete.

6 Our souls his watchful love retrieves,
Nor lets them go astray,
His righteousness to us he gives,
And takes our sins away:
We claim salvation in his right,
Adopted and forgiv'n,
His merit is our robe of light,
His death the gate of heav'n.

HYMN XIV. *Thanksgiving for the Sufferings of Christ.*

1 O THOU who didst thy glory leave
Apostate sinners to retrieve
From nature's deadly fall;
Me thou hast purchased with a price,
Nor shall my crimes in judgment rise,
For thou hast borne them all.

2 Jesus was punished in my stead,
Without the gate my Surety bled,
To expiate my stain;
On earth the Godhead deign'd to dwell,
And made of infinite avail,
The suff'rings of the man.

3 And was he for his rebels griv'n?
He was: th' incarnate King of heav'n
Did for his foes expire;
Amaz'd, O earth, the tidings hear:
He bore, that we might never bear,
His Father's righteous ire.

4 Ye saints, the man of sorrows bless,
The God for your unrighteousness
Deputed to atone:
Praise him till, with the heav'nly throng,
Ye sing the never-ending song,
And see him on his throne.

HYMN XV. *The General Thanksgiving in the Liturgy paraphrased.*

1 ETERNAL God, the thanks receive,
Which thine unworthy servants give;
Father of ev'ry mercy thou,
Almighty and all gracious too!

2 In humble yet exulting songs,
Thy praises issue from our tongues,
For that incessant boundless love,
Which we and all thy creatures prove.

3 Fashion'd by thy creating hand,
And by thy providence sustain'd,
We wish our gratitude to shew,
For all thy temporal blessings due.

4 But O! for this we chiefly raise
The incense of admiring praise—
Thy love unspeakably we own
Which sent the willing Saviour down.

5 For him, of all thy gifts the best,
Th' exceeding gift which crowns the rest,
Chiefly for him thy name we laud,
And thank thee for a bleeding God.

6 Nor should we fail our Lord to praise,
For all the assisting means of grace;
Th' appointed channels which convey
Strength to support us on our way.

7 To thee let all our thanks be griv'n,
For our well-grounded hope of heav'n,
Our glorious trust, that we shall reign
And live with him who died for man.

8 And O! so deep a sense impress
Of thy supreme, unbounded grace,
That anthems in full choir may rise,
And shake the earth and rend the skies!

9 Make us in deed, as well as word,
Shew forth the praises of the Lord,
And thank him still for what he gives
Both with our lips, and in our lives!

10 O that, by sin no more subdu'd,
We might devote ourselves to God,
And only breathe to tell his praise,
And in his service spend our days!

11 Hail, Father! Hail, eternal Son!
Hail, sacred Spirit, Three in One!
Blessing and thanks, and pow'r divine,
Thrice, holy Lord, be ever thine!

PARAPHRASES

ON

SELECT PARTS OF HOLY WRIT

Sanctos usus recludere fontes.

PARA. I. *Psalm* CXLVIII.

1 GEN'RAL praise to God be griv'n:
Praise him in the height of heav'n:
Him, ye glorious hosts, proclaim,
Saints and angels, bless his name!

2 Sun his lofty praise display,
His who made thee king of day:
Moon, adore the God of light,
God, who made thee queen of night.

3 Stars, your tribute too be griv'n,
Spangles in the robe of heaven:
God, your awful sovereign own,
Bright forerunner of the morn.

4 Praise, thou curtain of the sky,
(Hiding heav'n from mortal eye)
Him that spreads thy wat'ry clouds,
Celebrate the God of gods.

5 Highest heav'n, his dwelling place,
Lift thy voice, resound his praise.
Hymn "the dweller ev'ry where,"
Present more supremely there.

6 Sun, and moon, and stars, and light,
Heav'n and sky, and clouds unite:
Verbal creatures of the Lord,
Swift existing at his word.

7 'Stablish'd firm by his command,
Lo, immoveable we stand;
Him, th' ineffable adore,
Own his regulating pow'r.

8 Womb and sepulchre of man,
Join, O earth, the grateful train:
Praise, 'till in the last great fire,
Thou and all thy works expire.

9 Ocean, with thy numerous brood,
Swell to magnify thy God:
Roll his praise from shore to shore,
Lift his name and sound his pow'r.

10 Praise him, fire, and hail, and snow,
Praise him, all ye winds that blow:
Cold and heat—let each extreme
Join to render praise to him.

11 Storms dispensing waste and death,
Dreadful messengers of wrath;
Spread his fear and praise abroad,
Weapons of an angry God.

12 Mountains, vales, and hills, and trees,
Tell how good your Maker is:
His exalted praise declare,
Feather'd songsters of the air.

13 Beasts of prey, where'er ye prowl,
Join to make the concert full:
Cattle, low Jehovah's fame;
Meanest insects do the same.

14 Kings and people, rich and poor,
Celebrate creating pow'r:
Who are ransom'd by the Lamb,
Join to praise the great I AM.

15 Female, male, of every age,
From the suckling to the sage,
All conspire with one accord,
Chaunt the glories of the Lord.

16 Worthy praise can ne'er be giv'n,
'Till his saints arrive at heav'n,
There, with all the glorious ones,
Sing his praise and cast their crowns.

PARA. II. *Names of Christ, expressive of his Offices, taken from various parts of Scripture.*

1 Low at thy feet, O Christ, we fall,
Enabled to confess,
And call thee by the Holy Ghost,
The Lord our Righteousness.

2 God over all Immanuel reigns,
With his great Father one:
The brightness of his glory thou,
And partner of his throne.

3 Author and Finisher of faith,
In all that know thy name,
A lion to thy stubborn foes,
But to thy friends a lamb.

4 Sceptre of Israel, Prince of peace,
Immortal King of kings:
The Sun of Righteousness, that shines
With healing in his wings.

5 The gift of God to fallen man,
The Lord of quick and dead:
A well of life to fainting souls,
And their sustaining bread.

6 Foundation of thy people's joy,
Their pardon and their rest:
On earth our sacrifice for sin,
In heav'n our great High Priest.

7 The Lord of life who suffer'd death
That we might heav'n regain;
The source of blessing, who on earth,
Was made a curse for man.

8 Was poor that Adam's needy sons
Treasure in thee might find:
Repairer of the dreadful breach,
Restorer of mankind.

9 Through thy desert a fallen race
To God may gain access;
With thy fine linen deck our souls,
Thy perfect righteousness.

10 With that celestial robe endued,
We ev'ry foe defy;
On earth it shall our armour be,
Our glory in the sky.

PARA. III. *The Prayer of King Manasses paraphrased.*

1 AUTHOR of all in earth and sky,
From whom the stars derive their light,
When thou art wroth the planets die,
And melt as nothing in thy sight.

2 Measur'd by thine Almighty hand,
Unfathom'd seas of liquid glass
Obedient, own thy high command,
And keep the bounds they cannot pass.

3 Shut up by their restraining Lord
They in their proper channels flow:
Obey Jehovah's sovereign word,
"Here, and no farther, shall ye go."

4 Thy terrors, as a blazing flame,
Devour and weigh the sinner down:
The mighty tremble at thy name,
And nations quake beneath thy frown.

5 Tremendous as thy judgments are,
Thy pity too no limit knows;
Thine arm is stretch'd the meek to spare,
And terribly consume thy foes.

6 With shame, great God, I own with me,
Thy waiting mercy long hath borne,
Yet would I not come back to thee,
Proudly refusing to return.

7 When mercy call'd, I stopp'd my ear,
How did I from the Saviour rove,
And, bent on death, refuse to hear
The voice of thy inviting love!

8 Blind were my eyes, and hard my heart,
And proof against thy striving grace:
I would from thee, my strength, depart,
And cease to walk in wisdom's ways.

9 But lo! on thee I fix my hope:
Be thou my friend and Advocate;
Gracious Redeemer, lift me up,
And raise me to my first estate.

10 Faith in thy merit is thy gift
By which thou dost backsliders heal:
Impart it, gracious Lord, to lift
My abject soul from whence I fell.

11 Destruction shall not seize the just,
Whose sin already is forgiv'n,
Whom thou hast rescu'd from the lost,
And number'd with the heirs of heav'n.

12 To sinners, of whom I am chief,
Thy healing promises pertain;
Who fell from thee through unbelief,
By faith may be restor'd again.

13 Of boundless mercy I have need,
My sins have took deep hold on me;
In number they the grains exceed
That form the margin of the sea.

14 Meek on the earth thy servant lies,
And humbly makes his sorrows known;
Unworthy to lift up my eyes
To heaven, my injur'd Maker's throne.

15 Bow'd with my sense of sin, I faint,
Beneath the complicated load;
Father, attend my deep complaint,
I am thy creature, thou my God!

16 Tho' I have broke thy righteous law,
Yet with me let thy Spirit stay;
Thyself from me do not withdraw,
Nor take my spark of hope away.

17 Mercy unlimited is thine,
God of the Penitent thou art;
The saving power of blood divine,
Shall wipe the anguish from my heart.

18 Then let not sin my ruin be,
Give me in thee my rest to find:
Jesus, the sick have need of thee,
The great Physician of mankind.

19 In my salvation, Lord, display
The triumphs of abounding grace:
Tell me my guilt is done away,
And turn my mourning into praise.

20 Reprieve'd so long from hell's abyss,
Thou wilt not hurl me there at last,
But cheer me with the smile of peace,
Nor look at my offences past.

21 Then shall I add my feeble song
To theirs who chaunt thy praise on high,
And spread, with an immortal tongue,
Thy glory through the echoing sky.

PARA. IV. *The xxth Psalm.*

1 BELOV'D of God, may Jesus hear
The ardent breathings of thy pray'r,
And cancel thy transgressions;

Be with thee in affliction's day,
Redeem thee from thy fears, and say
Amen to thy petitions!
Thy ev'ry need he will supply;
His saints shall surely find him nigh,
The God whom they rely on;
He will not turn away his face,
But save thee from his holy place,
And send thee help from Sion.

3 Thy feeblest pray'r shall reach his throne,
Thy ev'ry pang is noted down,
And thou shall be forgiv'n;
He loves thee, troubled as thou art;
And all the pantings of thy heart
Are treasured up in heav'n.

4 God is our triumph in distress;
His children's privilege it is
To smile at tribulation:
Jesus, to thee we lift our voice,
By grace enabled to rejoice,
In hope of thy salvation.

5 Ready to hear, *O* Lord, thou art,
Mighty to take thy people's part,
And help them in affliction:
Creation kneels to thy command,
The saving strength of thy right hand,
Shall be our sure protection.

6 In chariots some repose their trust,
Of horses others make their boast,
But we in God are stronger:
Who on the arm of flesh rely,
Trembling before our face shall fly
When we shall more than conquer.

7 Still may the palm to us be giv'n,
Thy saints, O mighty King of heav'n,
Continue to deliver:
Support us with thy strengthning grace,
'Till we, in yon celestial place,
Sit down with thee for ever.

PARA. V. *Psalm* CXIX. *Verse* 169, *to the end.*

1 CONSIDER, Lord, my just complaint,
Wisdom divine is what I want:
From lack of knowledge, Lord, I groan:
O when shall I my God put on?

2 O let my supplication rise,
As fumes of incense to the skies,
Enter Jehovah's high abode,
The presence chamber of my God.

3 When I am truly taught thy ways,
My lips shall only speak thy praise;
My tongue shall sing of thee alone,
And tell the wonders thou hast done.

4 Assist me in thy love to stand,
And hold me by thy guardian hand:
Help me to choose the lot of grace,
The way of life, the path of peace.

5 Lord, I have long'd thy will to know,
And, knowing, all thy will to do:
My meat and drink is thee to please,
And know the Saviour as he is.

6 Tho' as a sheep I went astray,
And wander'd from thy holy way:
The way that Christ my master trod,
The narrow way that leads to God:

7 Sought out by grace, brought back I am,
Sav'd by the merits of the Lamb,
And now, O Christ, myself I see,
nAdam lost, restor'd to thee.

PARA. VI. *The* CXXIST *Psalm.*

1 MY heart, whene'er I lift my eyes
To heaven's exalted sphere,
Wing'd with impetuous ardour flies,
To meet thee in the air.

2 Jesus, by faith I ever see,
Who for the sinner pleads,
And every moment look to thee,
From whom my help proceeds.

3 The great Artificer of heav'n,
My guard and keeper is,
Who, by his Spirit inly giv'n,
Assures me I am his.

4 Where'er I go he guides my steps,
Nor suffers me to fall:
Israel's defence, who never sleeps,
Surrounds me as a wall.

5 In my Redeemer's watchful sight,
Secure I ever stand;
My guard by day, my screen by night,
My shield on either hand.

6 Knit to my condescending God,
I dwell with the Supreme:
Nor open force nor secret fraud,
Shall sever me from him.

7 His light, his peace, his heav'n is mine,
And mine his mighty pow'r;
My faithful sentinel divine,
Preserves me ev'ry hour.

PARA. VII. *The* CXXXIVth *Psalm.*

1 YE friends and followers of God,
With robes made white in Jesus' blood,
Approach the throne of grace:
His temple's hallow'd court draw nigh,
By day and night renew the cry,
And sound the trump of praise.

2 With ardour lift your hearts and hands;
In yonder heav'n Immanuel stands
To offer up your pray'rs:
From Sion he your souls shall bless;
Builder of heav'n and earth he is,
And dwells above the stars.

PARA. VIII. *The* IVth *Chapter of Amos.*

1 YE Kine of Bashan, who devour
The needy, and oppress the poor,
Who drown in wine your ev'ry sense,
And drink the spoil of violence,

2 God by his holiness hath sworn
(The awful God whose law ye scorn)
Your foes, whom more than him ye dread,
Your destined borders shall invade.

3 The Lord hath ratify'd your doom,
Yourselves and yours he will consume.
Aliens his instrument shall be
To scourge your vile idolatry.

4 Your stately buildings then shall fall;
His vengeance shall destroy them all.
Your palaces shall be a prey,
And stalls for oxen in that day.

5 Shall guilty hands and wanton eyes
Be lifted up in sacrifice?
Cease to transgress, and then my ear
Shall meet the incense of your pray'r.

6 In vain my judgments are abroad,
Tokens of an offended God;
Nor wrath nor mercies can prevail,
Nor love of heav'n, nor fear of hell.

7 I gave you in your greatest need,
Cleanness of teeth through want of bread;
Each face was pale, and weak each knee,
Yet have ye not returned to me.

8 Have I not marr'd the ripening grain
With scorching heat and want of rain?
And frustrated your rising hopes,
By wither'd trees and blasted crops?

9 Your water fail'd, your wells were dry,
Your thirst ye could not satisfy;

Your fainting cities yet sinned on,
And drew my fiercer judgments down.

10 Your figs and olive trees I smote,
Your vineyards I consumed with drought;
Mildew and palmer-worms bereft
The earth of what the drought had left.

11 Contagious sickness next I sent:
(Infatuate Egypt's punishment)
My fury next in blood I pour'd,
And gave your children to the sword.

12 Horses (the ruin who can tell?)
Promiscuous with their riders fell:
Caus'd by their stench, the infectious air
Increas'd the havoc of the war.

13 Obdurate, still, ye felt mine ire
Reveal'd from heav'n in flames of re;
The blazing ruin swept away
Men, towns and cities in a day:

14 Hear then the message of the Lord,
The awful thunder of his word:
Since all my judgments strive in vain,
To kindle fear in stubborn man,

15 Myself in judgment shall appear,
And call thee, Israel, to my bar:
As harden'd Pharaoh, blind and proud,
Prepare to meet thy hostile God.

16 Prepare to meet your dreadful foe,
Omniscient and Almighty too;
Whose terrors heaven and earth proclaim,
The God of glory is his name.

PARA. IX. *Psalm* CXIX. *Verses* 161—164, &c. *to the* 169*th*.

1 PRINCES have persecuted me,
But, Lord, my trust is still in thee;
Me from my hope they sought to move
But could not stir me from thy love.

2 I fly for refuge to my Lord,
For comfort to his healing word:
From Saul my safe retreat he is,
And all the troublers of my peace.

3 Each passing hour displays his care;
He saves me from the latent snare:
His love with wonder I survey,
And praise him seven times a day.

4 Jesus, my mind from earth withdraw
Great peace have they that love thy law:
No precept there which thou hast giv'n
Is hard to them who strive for heav'n.

5 I too have look'd thy health to see,
And taste the peace that comes from thee:
Each inward lust have strove to kill,
And walk in all thy perfect will.

6 My soul hath lov'd thy ways and thee,
Thy word is life and health to me:
Exceedingly thy word I prize,
The fund where heavenly treasure lies.

7 Thy testimonies are my food,
The saving oracles of God:
Studious of them on earth I'll be,
And then fly up to reign with thee.

PARA. X. *Salvation recovered for man by Jesus Christ. Isaiah* iii. 1—3. 9—11. 15.

1 ZION, awake, put on thy strength,
Resume thy beautiful array:
The promis'd Saviour comes at length,
To chase thy guilt and grief away:
Thee for his purchase God shall own,
And save thee by his dying Son.

2 Jerusalem, be holy now,
Satan no more shall dwell in thee;
Wash'd from thy sin, and white as snow,
Prepare thy God-made-man to see;
Prepare Immanuel to behold
And hear his peaceful message told.

3 Shake off the dust, arise with speed,
Too long hast thou a captive been:
Redemption's near, lift up thine head,
And cast away the chains of sin;
Forth from thy prison come, and shake
The yoke of bondage from thy neck.

4 Tho' ye have sold yourselves for nought,
And forfeited your claim to heaven,
Accept the Saviour's love unbought;
Your treason now is all forgiv'n;
My blood the fallen race restores,
And saves without desert of yours.

5 Ye desert places, sing for joy:
Lost man, your hymns of wonder raise;
Let holy shouts invade the sky,
And ev'ry altar flame with praise;
For I, Almighty to redeem,
Have comforted Jerusalem.

6 My arm's made bare for your defence,
To save my Church from Satan's power,
Depart, depart, come out from thence,
Defile yourselves with sin no more:
Be pure, ye priests, who preach my word,
And bear the vessels of the Lord.

7 Look out and see Immanuel come,
Myriads to sprinkle with his blood;
He many nations shall bring home,
And save them from the wrath of God:
And earth's remotest bounds shall see
The great salvation wrought by me.

PARA. XI. *The* viiith *Chapter of Hosea.*

1 SET the loud trumpet to thy mouth,
Let all the final warning hear;
My everlasting word of truth,
To high and low alike declare.

2 Swift as the rav'nous eagle flies,
And darts impetuous on her prey,
Shall their victorious enemies
Fill Israel's land with pale dismay.

3 Then shall they cry to me in vain;
Tho' ask'd with tears, no aid I'll grant,
Because they did my words disdain,
And trample on my covenant.

4 Me for their God they will not have,
Therefore I give them to the sword:
Your foes commission shall receive
T' avenge my quarrel, saith the Lord.

5 Sin is the God whom they adore,
And hell-born lusts their rulers are:
Th' apostate land shall feel my pow'r,
The fury of destructive war.

Go, to your gods, O Israel, go!
Samaria, to thy calf apply!
Thy idols cannot help thee now,
Nor save thee when distress is nigh.

6 When wilt thou turn to me, thy God?
When wilt thou seek my injur'd face?
'Till then my wrath shall drench in blood
The harden'd, unbelieving race.

8 Ye fools and blind, consider this,
Can they be gods which hands have made?
On you and on your images,
I'll hurl the ruin I have said.

9 Who sow in sin shall reap in pain;
My word shall surely come to pass
Unnumber'd mischiefs yet remain
For those despisers of my grace.

10 To punish their apostacy,
The corn shall perish ere it rise;
Or what comes up shall only be
A portion for their enemies.

11 For Israel waxes worse and worse,
Nor quakes at my tremendous frown,
Famine and war unite their force,
To bring a sinful people down.

12 Before the heathen Israel flies,
His boasted strength is weakness found:
As when a broken vessel lies,
Slighted and useless on the ground.

13 Ephraim is up to Syria gone,
In all the confidence of pride:
Alas, he goes to war alone,
Jehovah is not on his side.

14 Ephraim in vain the King of kings
With condescending pity woo'd:
The fatal love of earthly things
Has drawn him from the love of God.

15 The fierce invaders to repel,
Tho' they have foreign aid obtain'd,
Yet shall the ungrateful nation feel
The weight of my avenging hand.

16 Since Ephraim hath disguis'd his sin
Beneath religion's specious form,
His very prayer shall be unclean,
And hasten to bring on the storm.

17 In vain I gave my gracious law,
The treasure of my written word;
No beauty there the worldlings saw,
Nor priz'd the message of the Lord.

18 Wherefore their cry I will not hear,
Nor yet accept their sacrifice;
Unpardon'd sin pollutes their pray'r,
Nor lets it penetrate the skies.

19 In Egypt they again shall weep;
I'll visit their iniquity:
Their sins I will in mem'ry keep,
Because they have forgotten me.

20 In vain they fence their cities round,
In forts and ramparts put their trust:
Their lofty spires shall kiss the ground,
By lightning level'd with the dust.

PARA. XII. *The* cxxvth *Psalm.*

1 Who, Lord, confide in thee,
And in thy faith endure,
Shall as Mount Sion be,
Immoveable and sure:
As Christ their rock, unshook, unmov'd;
Of God eternally belov'd.

2 The rising mountains stand
Around Jerusalem;
So God's almighty hand,
Guards us who trust in him:
We never will of safety doubt,
While he shall compass us about.

3 Ye souls who stand in God,
Whom Jesus' blood hath bought,
The guilty sinner's rod
Shall never be your lot:
Ye shall not fall, upheld by grace,
Nor put your hands to wickedness.

4 The upright men in heart
Jehovah will defend;
Will not from them depart,
But love them to the end:
He will do well, O saints, to you,
The Lord will never let you go.

5 But such as will forsake
The happy path of peace,
Deceivers, that turn back
To their own wickedness,
The double wrath of God shall feel,
And sink unpardon'd into hell.

6 While they who hear his call,
And plead a Saviour's blood,
Shall reign in joy with all
The ransom'd ones of God
Peace upon Israel shall come,
To endless glory gather'd home.

PARA. XIII. *Lord's Prayer. Matthew* vi. 9—13.

1 Our holy Father, all thy will
We fain would perfectly fulfil;
But each has left thy law undone,
Unworthy to be call'd thy Son.

2 Who art in heaven, enthron'd on high
Diffusing glory through the sky;
Reigning above, on earth rever'd,
By saints belov'd, by sinners fear'd.

3 For ever hallow'd be thy name,
The Triune God, the bright I AM;
At which seraphic choirs and all
The hosts of heaven adoring fall.

4 Thy kingdom come; e'en now we wait
Thy glory to participate:
Rule in our hearts, unrivall'd reign,
Nor e'er withdraw thyself again.

5 Thy will, thy law, thy precept giv'n,
Be done on earth, as 'tis in heaven:
Faithful as Angels, fain would we
With cover'd faces wait on thee.

6 Great God, on whom the ravens cry
For sustenance, our wants supply:
Give us this day, and evermore,
Our daily bread from hour to hour.

7 Forgive whate'er we do amiss,
Our wilful sins and trespasses,
As we forgive (reward us thus)
All them that trespass against us.

8 And lead us not by bounty's tide,
Into temptation, lust or pride:
But what by mercy we obtain,
Let pow'r omnipotent restrain.

9 And O! deliver us thine own
From evil and the evil one,
Who fain his darts in us would sheath,
And bind us with the chains of death.

10 Thou, Lord, can'st vanquish his design,
Thine is the kingdom, only thine;
The pow'r, th' eternal majesty,
And glory, appertain to thee!

PARA. XIV. *Psalm* lxiii.

1 O God, my God thou art,
My Father too by grace:
I dare not from my hope depart,
Or cease to seek thy face:
My thirsty spirit pants
Thy plenitude to prove,
And comprehend with all thy saints,
The fulness of thy love.

2 In this dry, barren land,
Where water is not found,
I fain would fly to thy right hand,
Where living streams abound:
Thee, thee, I long to know,
Athirst for God I am,
And come to thee as needy now
As when at first I came.

3 Thy glory and thy pow'r
I long again to see,
To have again, as heretofore,
Sweet fellowship with thee:
Again to feel thy peace,
Again thy name to praise:
Better than life thy favour is,
To all that know thy grace.

4 With persevering hope,
Thy mercy I'll proclaim,

My hands in steady faith lift up,
And magnify thy name.
Thy praises I'll reveal,
'Till I from earth remove,
My mouth with joyful lips shall tell
The wonders of thy love.

5 Surely I reason have
On thee, my God, to trust;
My life thou liftest from the grave,
My spirit from the dust:
Thy grace and boundless might
My theme by day shall be,
My glory in the silent night,
To meditate on thee.

6 My succour thou hast been
When ev'ry helper failed,
Or I, ere now, had fell by sin,
And Satan had prevail'd;
My soul, redeem'd from death,
To thee her off'ring brings,
And hides her helpless head beneath
The covert of thy wings.

7 Thou keep'st my steady feet
In thy appointed road;
By all the pow'rs of hell beset,
I follow after God:
In Jesus I am safe,
My castle of resort;
His hand is both my shield and staff,
My shelter and support.

8 The men who seek to tread
Thy faithful people down,
And persecute, in them, their Head,
And crucify their Son,
Thou, Lord, will surely foil
In thy avenging day,
And give their bodies for a spoil
To ev'ry beast of prey.

9 But me, and all who love
Thy worship and thy ways,
Thou far from danger wilt remove,
And hide us in thy place:
Who speak the words of truth,
Thou, Lord, on them shall smile,
But thou wilt stop the liar's mouth,
And slay the sons of guile.

PARA XV. *Psalm* cxix. *From the 40th Verse to the 49th.*

1 Let thy loving mercy, Lord,
Come also unto me;
Now according to thy word,
My present Saviour be:
Unbelievers then no more
Shall against my hope blaspheme;
Forc'd to own, "The mighty pow'r
Of God hath rescu'd him."

2 In thy word my trust I place,
And humbly urge my claim,
'Till I of thy saving grace,
A living witness am:
Give me, Lord, thyself to know,
Then in me thy word fulfil,
To walk in all things here below,
According to thy will.

3 Seeking now in steadfast faith,
I wait a word from thee;
Bring my feet into the path
Of perfect liberty;
Then, when I the path have found,
Un-asham'd thy truth I'll shew:
Kings shall hear the joyful sound,
And seek salvation too.

4 My delight is in thy word
Which I have lov'd of old,
Dearer is thy promise, Lord,
To me than mines of gold:
Up to thee my hands I lift,
'Till I of thy grace receive;
Give the never changing gift,
Thy full redemption give.

OCCASIONAL PIECES

ON THE

DEATH OF FRIENDS.

John xi. 26. *Whosoever liveth, and believeth in me, shall never die.*

——— Quid sibi saxa ravata,
Quid pulchra volunt monumenta,
Nisi quòd res creditor illis,
Non mortua, sed data somno? Prud

EPITAPH I. ON Mrs. E. B.

If candour, merit, sense, or virtue dies,
Reader, beneath thy feet dead virtue lies;
Yet still she lives, if worth can eternize.
Lives far above the reach of death: But where?
In heav'n, and ev'ry heart that knew her here.
Vain are encomiums; praise is idly spent
On them whose actions are their monument.
Thrice sacred tomb, be loyal to thy trust,
And guard, till Christ revives her hallow'd dust
Then, as a faithful steward, safe restore
The precious treasure thou must kept no more.

EPITAPH II. ON Mr. G. Walton.

1 The debt of nature I have paid,
Which thou must shortly pay:
To learn instruction from the dead,
Thou breathing taper, stay.

2 Swifter than thought thy years depart,
My verse proclaims their haste:
A moment nearer death thou art,
Than when you read the last.

3 Soon must thy earth to earth be giv'n,
Soon must thou disappear:
Say, reader, is thy heart in heav'n,
And is thy treasure there?

4 Like thee the prostrate dead I view'd,
While in the flesh detain'd:
How differ we? thou 'rt on the road,
I've reach'd my journey's end.

EPITAPH III. ON THE DEATH OF Mrs. F. T.

June 3, 1754. *Heb.* iv. 9. *There remaineth therefore a rest for the people of God.*

1 The robes of light our sister wears,
Which emulate the sun,
Should cause us to suspend our tears,
And make our anthems rival theirs
Who stand before the throne.

2 Glory to Him whose love constrains,
And saves us by his blood:
By virtue of his dying pains,
She finds the rest that still remains,
For ev'ry child of God.

3 In fiery trials day by day
Unshaken did she stand;
To glory sweetly made her way,
Meek and resign'd as passive clay,
In her great potter's hand.

4 Her woes their period have found,
They cannot now enslave,

Nor come where endless joys abound,
Nor haunt her peaceful soul beyond
The limit of the grave.

5 Victorious she assumes the wreath
For conquerors design'd,
The end of persevering faith:
And leaves her cares releas'd by death,
Eternally behind.

6 No more by Satan's rage pursu'd,
Affliction shalt thou see;
Secure of heav'n for thine abode,
Blest with the presence of thy God,
To all eternity.

7 The happy change that life deny'd,
Assisting death affords;
Behold her at Immanuel's side,
Unutterably glorify'd,
Immutably the Lord's!

8 O may we too maintain our ground,
From faith to faith go on!
At the last day in Christ be found,
And form the circles that surround
His everlasting throne!

EPITAPH IV. ON THE DEATH OF MR. ENOCH WILLIAMS, August, 1757.

Gen. v. 24. *And Enoch walked with God, he was not, for God took him.*

1 HEARKEN! the Saviour's voice at last
Invites his sufferer home,
And tells thee all thy toil is past,
But thy reward is come.

2 Till meet for bliss on earth detain'd,
The conquest thou hast won;
Through much temptation thou hast gain'd,
The prize, and reach'd the crown:

3 While shouting angels chaunt their joys,
And tune their notes the higher,
And clap their wings, for O! thy voice,
Is added to the choir.

4 Of his inheritance above
They hail a saint possest:
Made meet, by his Redeemer's love,
To be Jehovah's guest.

5 Swift as an arrow through the air,
The tow'ring spirit flies,
Intrusted to a seraph's care,
And convoy'd to the skies:

6 On the expanded wings of love,
He seeks his high abode,
To meet the happy souls above,
That are brought home to God.

7 Him they salute with lifted cry,
As soon as enter'd there,
"But for thy favour'd ministry,
Or we had not been here:

8 From pain to glory summon'd forth,
Thrice welcome from below,
Our fellow-sufferer on earth,
Our fellow angel now!"

9 While humbly he draws near the throne,
The Saviour's crystal seat;
Gives him the praise, and casts his crown
At his redeeming feet.

10 Lifted above the reach of pain,
We soon shall change our place;
And join Immanuel's shining train,
And see his blissful face:

11 Rejoicing in that glorious hope,
We bear his cross below;
We quickly shall be taken up,
Sublimer joys to know.

12 For our arrival into bliss,
Our friends in glory wait:
Cut short thy work in righteousness,
And make their joys complete!

13 The happy soul whom Jesus gives
In him to live and die,
His blest transition scarce perceives
Into eternity.

14 A sight of him that conquer'd death,
In our last moments giv'n,
Shall elevate our languid faith,
And charm us into heav'n.

15 Christ when expiring Stephen view'd,
He scorn'd death's utmost pow'r,
And calmly fell asleep in God,
Amidst the stony show'r.

16 Assist us, Lord, to walk and live,
In Sion's heavenly road,
And then our souls to thee receive,
When call'd to meet our God.

17 A little while, and we shall soar
To yonder promis'd land,
And meet our brethren gone before,
Enthron'd at thy right hand:

18 Thy praise shall actuate each tongue,
Thy love our hearts enflame;
And we with them shall sing the song
Of Moses and the Lamb.

EPITAPH V. ON MASTER EUSTACE BATEMAN

1 HAIL, happy youth, so early taken home,
Caught up to Jesus from the ill to come:
By thy Redeemer sweetly order'd hence,
Ere vice had marr'd thy lovely innocence.

2 When twice six winters he had scarcely seen,
His heav'n-born soul disdain'd to dwell with men:
Ardent the crown eternal to receive,
And ripe for heav'n, he only died to live.

EPITAPH VI. ON THE DEATH OF THE REV. MR. R. B.

Numbers xxiii. 10. *Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his.*

1 THRICE happy they who sleep in God,
Securely wafted o'er the flood,
To Canaan's peaceful shore!
Whose lives were as a daily death,
Who walk'd with God, and liv'd by faith,
And now shall die no more!

2 Such, gracious Lord, we wish to be;
Such was our pastor, now with thee,
Our candlestick below.
A burning and a shining light,
He liv'd awhile to bless our sight,
But shines in glory now.

3 A prophet hallow'd from the womb,
To seek and bring the wanderers home,
Anointed, set apart:
Enabled, by the searching word,
To set the message of the Lord,
Home to the sinner's heart.

4 His ev'ry pow'r devoted was
To further his Redeemer's cause:
Nor did his talents hide:
A beacon set upon a hill,
He liv'd to do his Master's will;
He did his will, and died.

5 A faithful messenger he stood,
The trumpet and the mouth of God,
To make his counsel known:
His life one constant voice hath been,
Inviting sinners to come in,
And ask the eternal crown.

6 May I, like him, my hours employ,
Finish, like him, my course with joy,
And sleep to wake in bliss!

Like him be number'd with the blest!
Jesus regard my one request,
Make my last end like his.

EPITAPH VII. ON THE DEATH OF MR. R. V.

Heb. vi. 12. *Be not slothful, but followers of them who, through faith and patience, inherit the promises.*

1 THE crown of righteousness is giv'n,
Our friend is landed safe in heaven:
His warfare now accomplish'd is,
And face to face his Lord he sees.

2 For ever now redeemed from pain,
He did not run nor strive in vain;
With triumph from his clay releas'd,
Translated to his place of rest.

3 Ear hath not heard, nor eye beheld,
What to the saints is there reveal'd;
Blissful experience only knows
The glories of the upper house.

4 Far, far from all distress remov'd,
They know the God whom here they lov'd:
Temptation, sickness, grief and care,
Shall never gain admission there.

5 Then let us seek, in steadfast faith,
A city that foundations hath:
Our bright immoveable abode,
Whose glorious architect is God.

6 There we shall all our pain forget,
And only songs of praise repeat;
In knowledge, happiness, and love,
To all eternity improve.

7 There we shall as the angels shine,
The martyrs' noble army join;
And see the Lamb (thrice blissful sight!)
Encompass'd with his saints in light.

8 When shall we to our joy be giv'n:
O, when exchange this earth for heav'n?
And cast our crowns before the throne,
And worship him that sits thereon?

9 When shall we hear th' inviting word,
And be for ever with the Lord?
A day with Christ in glory there,
Is better than a thousand here.

10 Holy and true, call in thine own,
Accomplish, Lord, their number soon:
Us to thy second coming seal,
And with thyself for ever fill!

AN

APPENDIX,

CONSISTING OF SEVERAL PIECES, NOT PROPERLY REDUCIBLE TO ANY OF THE PRECEDING HEADS.

I.

1 LOOK back, my soul, and take a view
Of Christ expiring on the tree:
Behold thy Saviour breathe his last
To buy eternal life for thee!
Thy Jesus faints,—'Tis finished, cries,
Reclines his sacred head, and dies.

2 Shadows and types are done away,
The temple's veil is rent in twain:
Vanish, ye emblematic rights,
The real victim now is slain;
Is slain for sinners to atone,
The priest and sacrifice in one.

3 Methinks I see the purpled earth,
Startle to feel its Maker's blood;
The sun retires, and from their graves,
Saints rise to hail their dying Lord:
Each sympathising rock appears
More tender than his murderers.

4 And did the Saviour thus exchange
His throne of glory for a cross?
Left he for this th' ethereal court
To die a painful death for us?
For us he bled at ev'ry vein,
And, slain by man, for man was slain.

5 Obdurate heart, shall mountains heave,
And nature mourn her best belov'd,
Shall the rocks tremble at his voice,
And I alone abide unmov'd!
Shall I not weep his death to see,
Who wept in tears of blood for me?

6 O, Prince of martyrs, touch my heart,
There at thy mighty standard rest;
Burn purifying incense there,
Fit it for so divine a guest:
There let thy pow'rful cross reside,
'Till every lust is crucified.

II. *To a friend who asked what God is.*

1 Is there a man whose daring hand
Can number ev'ry grain of sand?
Can count the drops that fill the sea,
Or tell how many stars there be?

2 Who, then, shall strive to comprehend
Infinity that knows no end?
Who shall set bounds to boundless pow'r,
Restrain omnipotence, or low'r
Eternity to one poor hour?

3 Believe me, friend, thou canst no more
The vast designs of God explore
Than thy short arm can touch the skies,
Or fathom ocean's deep abyss.

4 Who shall disclose his Maker's plan,
Or dare his secret will to scan?
Shall feeble, guilty, finite man?

5 None but perfection, such as his,
Can know th' Almighty as he is;
His glory never can be brought
Adapted to a mortal's thought.

6 Consider what thou art, and fear
This unseen witness always near.
Dive not into his deep decree,
The object's too elate for thee;
Thou must not ask, nor wish to see.
Cast each presumptuous doubt away;
Remember thou 'rt, at best, but clay,
Whose only province is t' obey.

III. *Isaiah* xlix. 16. *Behold, I have graven thee on the palms of my hands.*

1 REDEEM'D offender, hail the day
That sees thy sin forgiv'n:
Jesus hath borne thy guilt away
And pleads for thee in heav'n.

2 Imprinted on his hands thou art
In characters of blood;
The stream that issu'd from his heart
Shall waft thee safe to God.

3 For me vouchsaf'd the unspotted Lamb
His Father's wrath to bear:
I see his feet, and read my name
Engraven deeply there.

4 Forth from the Lord his gushing blood
In purple currents ran:
And ev'ry wound proclaim'd aloud
His wondrous love to man.

5 My faith looks back and sees him bleed:
A thorny crown he wears
To set upon the sinner's head
A shining crown of stars.

6 Saviour, I fain would take the wreath,
To thee, my centre, move,
In all the lowliness of faith,
In all the heights of love.

7 Thy righteousness my robe shall be,
Thy bitter death my hope:
For my offence upon the tree
My Lord was lifted up.

8 For me the Saviour's blood avails,
Almighty to atone:
The hands he gave to piercing nails
Shall lead me to his throne.

IV. *Phil.* iv 5. *Be careful for nothing.*

1 CAN my heav'n-born soul submit
To care for things below!
Nay, but never from the feet
Of Jesus may I go.
Anxious, Lord, for nothing here,
In ev'ry strait I look to thee;
Humbly cast my ev'ry care
On him that cares for me.

2 Godliness is greatest gain,
For that alone I pray:
Lord, I never would complain,
Give thou or take away:
Never would I grieve for ought,
So Christ is mine and I am his;
I would ne'er, by taking thought,
Obstruct my inward peace.

3 He shall dwell in perfect rest
Whose mind is stay'd on thee,
Whom to keep within my breast,
My only care shall be;
View the lilies of the field,
They grow, but neither toil nor spin,
By their Maker's arm upheld,
Who clothes the earth with green.

4 See the ravens, day by day,
Their Maker gives them food,
Lions, roaring for their prey,
Do seek their meat from God:
Lean thou on his faithful word,
Nor by distrust provoke his wrath,
Cast thy burden on the Lord,
O thou of little faith.

5 Will the Saviour (who thy peace
At such a price hath bought)
From his work of mercy cease,
And sell thy life for nought?
Doubting soul, to him look up,
His ears are open to thy cry;
God shall recompense thy hope,
And all thy need supply.

6 Thou hast promis'd help to thine
And I believe the word;
I will never ask a sign,
Nor dare to tempt the Lord:
'Tis enough for God to say,
I'll feed my people with my hand
Heav'n and earth shall pass away,
But his decree shall stand.

V. *Judgment.*

1 BEHOLD, the awful day comes on,
When Jesus on his righteous throne
Shall in the clouds appear:
With solemn pomp shall bow the sky,
And in the twinkling of an eye
Arraign us at his bar.

2 But first th' archangel's trump shall blow;
Our scatter'd dust its voice shall know,
And quicken at the sound:
The sea shall then give up her dead,
And nations, starting from their bed,
Shall cleave the op'ning ground.

3 Who shall sustain his righteous ire,
When Jesus sets the clouds on fire,
And makes the earth retreat?
In vain shall sinners then repent,
When each expiring element
Shall melt with fervent heat.

4 The dead in Christ shall first awake,
The faithful few, who, for his sake,
On earth were justify'd:
Guarded by a seraphic band,
Aloft they mount to his right-hand,
In whom they liv'd and died.

5 See next the guilty crowd arise,
Beholding, with reluctant eyes,
The glories of the Lamb,
While taunting fiends impatient wait
To hurl them from the judgment seat
To hell's eternal flame.

6 Hark! as they mount, by devils borne,
To meet their Judge, on earth their scorn,
Despairingly they cry,
"Fall on us, rocks, with all your load,
And screen us from the wrath of God,
And hide us from his eye."

7 In vain on rocks and hills ye call,
The rocks shall from their basis fall,
And know their place no more:
The hills shall melt when God comes down,
And mountains crumble at his frown,
And groan beneath his pow'r.

8 What thought can paint their black despair
Who this tremendous sentence hear,
Irrevocably giv'n,
"Depart, ye cursed, into hell
With everlasting burnings dwell,
Remote from me and heav'n?"

9 But, O thou Saviour of mankind,
Display thy pow'r, and to the blind
Effectual light afford:
Snatch them from unbelief,
And now compel them to come in,
And tremble at thy word.

10 Methinks I hear thy mercy plead,
The voice of Him that wakes the dead
Doth over sinners mourn:
"Why do ye still your God forget,
And madly hasten to the pit
From whence is no return?

11 "Ye reasoners, make the wisest choice
Listen in time to reason's voice,
Nor dare Almighty ire:
Turn, lest my hottest wrath ye feel,
And find, too late, the flames of hell
No metaphoric fire."

VI. *Contempt of the world.*

1 CAN ought below engross my thought?
Or am I to the world confin'd?
Nay, let my pure affections soar
To objects of a nobler kind!

2 I know I'm but a pilgrim here,
That seeks a better, promis'd land.
Then may I run and never tire,
Till that celestial home's obtain'd.

3 Resolv'd to tread the sacred way
That Jesus water'd with his blood,
I bend my fix'd and cheerful course
Through that rough path my master trod.

4 Contemptuous of the world I live,
A daily death rejoice to die:
And, while I move and walk below,
My absent heart mounts up on high.

5 O light of life, still guide my steps,
Without thy friendly aid I stray:

Lead me, my God, for I am blind,
Direct me, and point out my way.

6 Let the vain world applaud or frown,
Still may I heaven's path pursue:
Still may I stand unshook, and keep
The centre of my hopes in view!

7 Tho' Satan, earth, and self oppose,
Yet, thro' thy help I'll persevere;
To Canaan's hills my eyes lift up,
And choose my lot and portion there.

8 The way that leads to glory lies
Through ill-report, contempt, and loss:
Assist me to deny myself,
To follow thee and bear thy cross.

9 Let Satan never come between,
Nor separate my God from me;
But may my soul, in ev'ry storm,
Find a sure resting place in thee.

VII.

1 DYING Redeemer, slaughter'd Lamb,
Thou poured'st out thy blood for me!
O may I, kindled by thy flame,
As freely give myself to thee!
My heart to thee I now resign,
For, Lord, it cost the blood of thine!

2 To save my falling soul from death,
Th' immaculate Redeemer died;
Lord, my offences drove the nails,
The soldier I, that pierc'd thy side:
For this my restless eye runs o'er,
Because I can lament no more.

3 How gladly should my head have worn
The crown of thorns to hinder thine!
Have suffer'd in my master's stead,
And made thy dying sorrows mine!
Have stretch'd my arms upon the tree,
And died myself to rescue thee.

4 But O! no other sacrifice,
The Father's justice could appease;
Ten thousand worlds had died in vain,
Thy blood alone could buy our peace:
The God offended must be slain,
To expiate the offence of man.

5 And shall I not his cross take up
Who died upon a cross for me?
Jesus, through good and ill report,
I, in thy strength, will follow thee.
My master liv'd despis'd, abhorr'd,
And I am not above my Lord.

VIII.

Life and Immortality brought to light by the Gospel.

1 How blest am I! no snare I fear,
While Jesus keeps his dwelling here:
His presence chases death away,
Enliv'ning with continual day.

2 By Satan's rage I stand unshook,
My hopes are founded on a rock:
Christ is the stone on which I build,
My castle, guardian, helmet, shield!

IX.

To the Rev. Mr. E. W. March, 1757.

1 SOLDIER of the living God,
Steward of the mystic word,
Use the gifts on thee bestow'd
To the honour of thy Lord.
Free thou didst from him receive,
Man of God as freely give.

2 Clad with zeal as with a cloak,
Boldly urge thy rapid way;
Firmly grounded as a rock,
Faithful in the trying day:
Stand in Christ thy sure abode,
Safely hid with him in God.

3 In Immanuel's strength go forth,
Loud his dying love proclaim,
Dare the feeble sons of earth,
Conquer in his saving name:
March with Jesus for thy guide,
Go, for God is on thy side!

4 Bear the standard of the Lord,
Fight thy captain's battles well:
With the Spirit's two-edg'd sword,
Put to flight the hosts of hell:
Single thou thy foes shall chase,
Arm'd with all the strength of grace.

5 Satan and the world may join,
Hell and death with thee engage:
Strong thou art in strength divine,
Safe amidst their blackest rage:
Jesus shall thy soul confirm,
Lift thee up above the storm.

6 Vainly shall the blinded crew
Strive thy progress to withstand;
Thee they never shall subdue,
Guarded by the Saviour's hand:
God hath said concerning thee,
"As thy day thy strength shall be."

7 But if Jesus should depart,
For a season cease to smile,
Proving what is in thine heart,
Leave thee to thyself awhile,
He again thy stay will prove,
Bear thee in his arms of love.

8 When thou dost in secret pray'r
Find a ready, free access,
When thou tellest all thy care,
Sweetly at the throne of grace,
Me to Jesus then commend,
Think upon thy distant friend!

9 Dauntless thou his word proclaim,
Tell his message to mankind;
Bid them, in thy master's name,
Ask the pearl for those design'd:
Tell them, Jesus will redeem
All that come to God by him.

10 Faithful to thy sacred trust,
Thus from strength to strength go on;
Stay the weak, bring back the lost,
Labour 'till thy work is done:
Fight and conquer, end the strife,
Enter on eternal life.

X.

1 *Thess.* v. 24. *Faithful is he that calleth you, who also will do it.*

1 FICKLE and changeable man,
Terrestrial joys are just as vain,
And perish in the tasting;
But Jesus' truth I cannot fear,
His gifts without repentance are,
His love is everlasting.

2 Mercy unchangeable is his,
Eternal as himself it is,
Nor will his promise fail me:
I own the token he has given,
And steadily press on to heav'n,
Tho' fiends and men assail me.

3 He never will from me remove;
For me the Saviour pleads above,
Still making intercession:
I hear his pray'r, I feel his blood,
Kept by the mighty pow'r of God,
Through faith unto salvation.

4 His Spirit for that end is giv'n,
To bear unhurt, unstain'd, to heav'n,
The soul of each believer.

Deputed by the Lamb he is,
To comfort, guard, and strengthen his,
And stay with them for ever.

5 Through him united to the Son,
Unalienably sealed his own,
Nor earth, nor hell, shall move me:
From conqu'ring I to conquer go;
Jesus hath lov'd me hitherto,
And to the end will love me.

6 Bent to devour the serpent stands,
But Christ from his own mighty hands
Will never let him force me:
My Maker is my Husband now,
Nor heights above, nor depths below,
Shall from my Lord divorce me.

7 If, for a season, Satan's chain
Be lengthen'd, Jesus will sustain
Me in the sore temptation;
Will frustrate the accuser's hope,
And bear my ransom'd spirit up
Above the inundation.

8 His name assuredly I prove
Essential faithfulness and love;
Shall I, by doubting, grieve him?
My soul he with a price hath bought,
His law within my heart is wrote,
And I shall never leave him.

TO THE

HOLY SPIRIT,

MODERNIZED FROM THE OFFICE FOR ORDINATION.

HYMN I. *To the Holy Spirit, &c.*

1 COME, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire,
And warm with uncreated fire!
Thou the anointing Spirit art,
Who dost thy sevenfold gift impart:
Thy blessed unction from above
Is comfort, life, and fire of love.

2 Enable with perpetual light
The dulness of our blinded sight;
Anoint and cheer us all our days,
With the abundance of thy grace;
Our foes convert, give peace at home;
Where thou art guide, no ill can come.

3 Teach us to know the Father, Son,
And thee; a Trinity in one:
That, thro' the ages all along,
This may be our endless song;
Praise to thy eternal love,
Father, Son, and mystic dove!

HYMN II. *A contemplation, suggested by Rev.* vii. 9—17.

1 I SAW, and lo! a countless throng
Th' elect of ev'ry nation, name, and tongue,
Assembled round the everlasting throne:
With robes of white endu'd
(The righteousness of God;)
And each a palm sustain'd
In his victorious hand:
When thus the bright melodious choir begun:
"Salvation to thy name,
Eternal God, and co-eternal Lamb,
In pow'r, in glory, and in essence, one!"
So sung the saints, th' angelic train,
Second the anthem with a loud Amen.
(These in the outer circle stood,
The saints were nearest God;)
And prostrate fall, with glory overpow'r'd,
And hide their faces with their wings,
And thus address the King of kings:
"All hail, by thy triumphant Church ador'd!
Blessing, and thanks, and honour too,
Are thy supreme, thy everlasting due,
Our tri-une sovereign, our propitious Lord!"
While I beheld th' amazing sight,
A seraph pointed to the saints in white,
And told me who they were, and whence they came:
"These are they, whose lot below
Was persecution, pain, and woe:
These are the chosen, purchas'd flock,
Who ne'er their Lord forsook;
Through his imputed merit, free from blame;
Redeem'd from ev'ry sin;
And, as thou seest whose garments were made clean,
Wash'd in the blood of yon exalted Lamb.
Sav'd by his righteousness alone,
Spotless they stand before the throne,
And in th' etherial temple chaunt his praise:
Himself among them deigns to dwell,
And face to face his light reveal:
Hunger and thirst, as heretofore,
And pain, and heat, they know no more;
Nor need, as once, the sun's prolific rays,
Immanuel, here, his people feeds,
To streams of joy perennial leads,
And wipes, for ever wipes, the tears from ev'ry face."

2 Happy the souls releas'd from fear,
And safely landed there!
Some of the shining number, once, I knew,
And travell'd with them here:
Nay, some (my elder brethren now)
Sat later out for heav'n; my junior saints below;
Long after me, they heard the call of grace,
Which wak'd them unto righteousness.
How they have got beyond!
Converted last, yet first with glory crown'd!
Little, once, I thought that these
Would first the summit gain, [plain!
And leave me far behind, slow journeying thro' the
Lov'd, while on earth; nor less belov'd, tho' gone:
Think not I envy you your crown;
No; if I could, I would not, call you down.
Tho' slower is my pace,
To you I'll follow on,
Leaning on Jesus all the way.
Who, now-and-then, lets fall a ray
Of comfort from his throne.
The shinings of his grace
Soften my passage thro' the wilderness,
And vines, nectareous, spring where briers grew
The sweet unveilings of his face
Make me, at times, near half as blest as you.
O might his beauty feast my ravish'd eyes,
His gladd'ning presence ever stay,
And cheer me all my journey thro'!
But soon the clouds return; my triumph dies
Damp vapours from the valley rise,
And hide the hill at Sion from my view.
Spirit of light, thrice holy dove,
Brighten my sense of int'rest in that love
Which knew no birth, and never shall expire!
Electing goodness, firm and free,
My whole salvation hangs on thee,
Eldest and fairest daughter of eternity.
Redemption, grace, and glory too,
Our bliss above, and hopes below,
From her, their parent fountain flow:
Ah, tell me, Lord, that thou hast chosen me!
Thou, who hast kindled my intense desire,
Fulfil the wish thy influence did inspire,
And let me my election know!
Then, when thy summons bids me come up higher,
Well-pleased I shall from life retire,
And join the burning hosts, beheld at distance now

HYMN III. *Happiness found.*

1 HAPPINESS, thou lovely name,
Where's thy seat, O tell me where?
Learning, pleasure, wealth, and fame,
All cry out, "It is not here:"
Not the wisdom of the wise
Can inform me where it lies,
Not the grandeur of the great
Can the bliss I seek create.

2 Object of my first desire,
Jesus crucify'd for me!
All to happiness aspire,
Only to be found in thee:
Thee to praise, and thee to know,
Constitute our bliss below;
Thee to see, and thee to love,
Constitute our bliss above.

3 Lord, it is not life to live,
If thy presence thou deny;
Lord, if though thy presence give,
'Tis no longer death to die;
Source and giver of repose,
Singly from thy smile it flows;
Peace and happiness are thine;
Mine they are, if thou art mine.

4 Whilst I feel thy love to me,
Ev'ry object teems with joy;
Here O may I walk with thee,
Then into thy presence die!
Let me but thyself possess,
Total sum of happiness!
Real bliss I then shall prove;
Heav'n below, and heav'n above.

HYMN IV. *Affliction.*

1 ENCOMPASS'D with clouds of distress,
Just ready all hope to resign,
I pant for the light of thy face,
And fear it will never be mine:
Dishearten'd with waiting so long,
I sink at thy feet with my load;
All plaintive I pour out my song,
And stretch forth my hands unto God.

2 Shine, Lord, and my terror shall cease,
The blood of atonement apply:
And lead me to Jesus for peace,
The rock that is higher than I:
Speak, Saviour, for sweet is thy voice,
Thy presence is fair to behold;
I thirst for thy Spirit with cries
And groanings that cannot be told.

3 If sometimes I strive, as I mourn,
My hold of thy promise to keep,
The billows more fiercely return,
And plunge me again in the deep:
While harass'd, and cast from thy sight,
The tempter suggests, with a roar,
"The Lord hath forsaken thee quite,
Thy God will be gracious no more."

4 Yet, Lord, if thy love hath design'd
No covenant blessing for me,
Ah tell me, how is it I find
Some sweetness in waiting for thee?
Almighty to rescue thou art;
Thy grace is my only resource:
If e'er thou art Lord of my heart,
Thy Spirit must take it by force.

HYMN V. *The Method of Salvation.*

1 THE Father we bless,
Whose distinguishing grace,
Selected a people to shew forth thy praise;
Nor is thy love known,
By election alone:
For O, thou hast added the gift of thy Son.

2 The goodness in vain
We attempt to explain,
Which found and accepted a ransom for men:
Great Surety of thine,
Thou didst not decline
To concur with the Father's most gracious design.

3 To Jesus our friend,
Our thanks shall ascend,
Who saves to the utmost, and loves to the end:
Our ransom he paid;
In his merit array'd
We attain to the glory for which we were made.

4 Sweet Spirit of grace,
Thy mercy we bless,
For thy eminent share in the council of peace:
Great agent divine,
To restore us is thine,
And cause us afresh in thy likeness to shine.

5 O God, 'tis thy part,
To convince and convert,
To give a new life, and create a new heart;
By thy presence and grace
We're upheld in our race,
And are kept in thy love to the end of our days.

6 Father, Spirit, and Son,
Agree thus in One,
The salvation of those he has mark'd for his own;
Let us too agree
To glorify thee,
Thou ineffable One, thou adorable Three.

HYMN VI. *The evil Heart.*

1 ASTONISH'D and distress'd,
I turn mine eyes within:
My heart with loads of guilt oppress,
The seat of every sin.

2 What crowds of evil thoughts,
What vile affections there!
Distrust, presumption, artful guile,
Pride, envy, slavish fear.

3 Almighty King of saints,
These tyrant lusts subdue:
Expel the darkness of my mind,
And all my powers renew.

4 This done, my cheerful voice
Shall loud hosannas raise:
My soul shall glow with gratitude,
My lips proclaim thy praise.

HYMN VII. *Thy kingdom come.*

1 O WHEN shall we, supremely blest,
Enter into our glorious rest!
Partake the triumphs of the sky,
And, holy, holy, holy, cry!

2 With all thy heav'nly hosts, with all
Thy blessed saints, we then shall fall;
And sing in extacy unknown,
And praise thee on thy dazzling throne.

3 Honour, and majesty, and pow'r,
And thanks and blessings evermore;
Who dost through endless ages live,
Thou, Lord, art worthy to receive.

4 For thou hast bid the creatures be,
And still subsist to pleasure thee:
From thee they came, to thee they tend,
Their gracious source, their glorious end!

HYMN VIII. *The Propitiation.*

THY anger, for what I have done,
The gospel forbids me to fear:
My sins thou hast charg'd on thy Son;
Thy justice to him I refer:

Be mindful of Jesus and me!
My pardon he suffer'd to buy;
And what he procur'd on the tree,
For me he demands in the sky.

HYMN IX. *Assurance of Faith.*

1 A DEBTOR to mercy alone,
Of covenant mercy I sing;
Nor fear with thy righteousness on,
My person and off'rings to bring:
The terrors of law and of God
With me can have nothing to do:
My Saviour's obedience and blood
Hide all my transgressions from view.

2 The work which his goodness began,
The arm of his strength will complete;
His promise is, Yea and Amen,
And never was forfeited yet:
Things future, nor things that are now,
Not all things below nor above
Can make him his purpose forego,
Or sever my soul from his love.

3 My name from the palms of his hands
Eternity will not erase;
Impress'd on his heart it remains
In marks of indelible grace;
Yes, I to the end shall endure,
As sure as the earnest is giv'n;
More happy, but not more secure,
The glorified spirits in heav'n.

HYMN X. *To the Blessed Spirit.*

1 HOLY Ghost, dispel our sadness,
Pierce the clouds of sinful night,
Come, thou source of sweetest gladness,
Breathe thy life, and spread thy light!
Loving Spirit, God of peace,
Great distributor of grace,
Rest upon this congregation,
Hear, O hear our supplication.

2 From that height which knows no measure,
As a gracious show'r descend,
Bringing down the richest treasure
Man can wish, or God can send;
O thou glory, shining down
From the Father and the Son,
Grant us thy illumination!
Rest upon this congregation.

3 Come, thou best of all donations
God can give, or we implore;
Having thy sweet consolations,
We need wish for nothing more:
Come with unction and with pow'r;
On our souls thy graces show'r;
Author of the new creation,
Make our hearts thy habitation.

4 Known to thee are all recesses
Of the earth, and spreading skies;
Every sand the shore possesses,
Thy omniscient mind descries:
Holy fountain, wash us clean,
Both from error, and from sin!
Let us fly what thou refusest,
And delight in what thou choosest.

5 Manifest thy love for ever,
Fence us in on every side;
In distress be our reliever:
Guard, and teach, support, and guide:
Let thy kind, effectual grace,
Turn our feet from evil ways;
Shew thyself our new creator,
And conform us to thy nature.

6 Be our friend on each occasion;
God, omnipotent to save!
When we die, be our salvation;
When we're buried be our grave:
And, when from the grave we rise,
Take us up above the skies;
Seat us with thy saints in glory,
There for ever to adore thee.

HYMN XI. *Divine Breathings.*

1 I GROAN from sin to be set free,
From self to be releas'd;
O take me, take me unto thee,
My everlasting rest!

2 Come, O my Saviour, come away!
Into my soul descend:
No longer from thy creature stay;
My author, and my end!

3 The bliss thou hast for me prepar'd
No longer be delay'd;
Come, my exceeding great reward,
For whom I first was made.

4 Thou all our works in us hast wrought,
Our good is all divine;
The praise of ev'ry virtuous thought
And righteous work is thine.

5 'Tis not of him that wills or runs,
That labours or desires;
In answer to my Saviour's groans,
Thy love my breast inspires.

6 The meritorious cause I see,
That precious blood divine;
And I, since Jesus died for me,
Shall live for ever thine.

HYMN XII. *Psalm* cxlvii. 1.

'TIS pleasant to sing
The sweet praise of our King,
As here in the valley we move:
'Twill be pleasanter still,
When we stand on the hill,
And give thanks to our Saviour above.

HYMN XIII. *Hebrews* x. 19.

We have boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus.

1 O PRECIOUS blood, O glorious death,
By which the sinner lives!
When stung with sin, this blood we view,
And all our joy revives.

2 We flourish as the water'd herb,
Who keep this blood in sight,
The blood that chases our distress,
And makes our garments white.

3 The blood that purchas'd our release,
And washes out our stains,
We challenge earth and hell to shew
A sin it cannot cleanse.

4 Our scarlet crimes are made as wool,
And we brought nigh to God:
Thanks to that wrath-appeasing death;
That heav'n-procuring blood.

5 The blood that makes his glorious Church
From ev'ry blemish free;
And, O the riches of his love!
He pour'd it out for me.

6 Guilty and worthless as I am,
It all for me was giv'n;
And boldness, through his blood, I have
To enter into heav'n.

7 Thither, in my great Surety's right,
I surely shall be brought!
He could not agonize in vain,
Nor spend his strength for nought.

8 He wills that I, and all his sheep,
Should reign with him in bliss;
And pow'r he has to execute
What'e'er his will decrees.

9 The Father's everlasting love
And Jesus' precious blood
Shall be our endless themes of praise;
In yonder blest abode.

10 In patience let us then possess
Our souls, 'till he appear:
Our head already is in heav'n,
And we shall soon be there.

HYMN XIV. *A propitious gale longed for.*

1 An anchor laid, remote from home,
Toiling I cry, sweet Spirit, come,
Celestial breeze, no longer stay,
But swell my sails, and speed my way.

2 Fain would I mount, fain would I glow,
And loose my cable from below;
But I can only spread my sail;
Thou, thou must breathe th' auspicious gale.

HYMN XV. *All in all.*

1 Compared with Christ, in all beside
No comeliness I see:
The one thing needful, dearest Lord,
Is to be one with thee.

2 The sense of our expiring love,
Into my soul convey;
Thyself bestow; for thee alone,
My all in all, I pray.

3 Less than thyself will not suffice
My comfort to restore
More than thyself I cannot crave;
And thou canst give no more.

4 Love of my God, for him again,
With love intense I'll burn:
Chosen of thee 'ere time began,
I'll choose thee in return.

5 Whate'er consist not with thy love,
O teach me to resign;
I'm rich to all th' intents of bliss,
If thou, O God, art mine.

HYMN XVI. *Weak believers encouraged.*

1 Your harps, ye trembling saints,
Down from the willows take:
Loud, to the praise of love divine,
Bid ev'ry string awake.

2 Tho' in a foreign land,
We are not far from home,
And nearer to our house above,
We ev'ry moment come.

3 His grace will to the end
Stronger and brighter shine;
Nor present things, nor things to come,
Shall quench the spark divine.

4 Fasten'd within the vail,
Hope be your anchor strong;
His loving Spirit the sweet gale,
That wafts you smooth along.

5 Or, should the surges rise,
And peace delay to come;
Blest is the sorrow, kind the storm,
That drives us nearer home.

6 The people of his choice
He will not cast away;
Yet do not always here expect
On Tabor's Mount to stay.

7 When we in darkness walk,
Nor feel the heav'nly flame:
Then is the time to trust our God,
And rest upon his name.

8 Soon shall our doubts and fears,
Subside at his control!
His loving kindness shall break through
The midnight of the soul.

9 No wonder, when God's love
Pervades your kindling breast,
You wish for ever to retain
The heart transporting guest.

10 Yet learn, in ev'ry state,
To make his will your own;
And, when the joys of sense depart,
To walk by faith alone.

11 By anxious fear depress'd,
When from the deep ye mourn,
"Lord, why so hasty to depart,
So tedious in return!"

12 Still on his plighted love,
At all events rely:
The very hidings of his face,
Shall train thee up to joy.

13 Wait till the shadows flee;
Wait thy appointed hour:
Wait till the bridegroom of thy sou
Reveals his love with pow'r,

14 The time of love will come,
When thou shalt clearly see
Not only that he shed his blood,
But that it flow'd for thee.

15 Tarry his leisure then,
Altho' he seem to stay:
A moment's intercourse with him
Thy grief will overpay.

16 Blest is the man, O God,
That stays himself on thee!
Who wait for thy salvation, Lord,
Shall thy salvation see.

HYMN XVII. *Christ the light of his people.*

1 I lift my heart and eyes to thee,
Jesus, thou unextinguish'd light,
My guardian stay and leader be,
My cloud by day, my fire by night.

2 Glory of Israel, shine within;
Unshadow'd, unclips'd appear:
With beams of grace exhale my sin;
Break forth, thou bright and morning star.

3 The earth a trackless lab'rinth is;
Be thou my thread and faithful clue!
Thy kingdom and thy righteousness,
The only objects I pursue.

4 Light of the Gentiles, thee I hail;
Essential truth, thyself impart!
Spirit of light, his face reveal,
And set thy signet on my heart.

5 Thy office 'tis t' enlighten man,
And point him to the heav'nly prize;
The hidden things of God t' explain,
And shine the darkness from our eyes.

6 Witness of Christ within my heart,
My int'rest in his love display;
My int'rest in that better part,
Which never can be torn away.

7 In bondage 'till thou set me free,
Fain would I know my part in him:
The brightness of his rising see,
And bask in thy meridian beam.

8 Shine then, thou uncreated ray!
If but a moment thou withdraw,
That moment sees me go astray,
That moment sees me break thy law.

9 The word and Spirit both conspire
To tell thy Church she is forgiv'n;
And lift her daily high'r and high'r,
'Till all her joys are crown'd with heav'n.

10 To that bless'd realm of bright repose,
Thou wilt conduct my weary feet;
Where peace no interruption knows,
And where my sun shall never set.

HYMN XVIII. *Leaning on the Beloved.*

1 Courage, my soul, Jehovah speaks;
His promise is for thee;
"I never will forsake nor leave
The soul betroth'd to me."

2 The cheering word, as heav'nly dew,
My thirsty soul drinks in:
Jesus commands me to rejoice,
Who bore away my sin.

3 My Saviour's ever watchful eye,
Is over me for good:
What will he not on me bestow,
Who hath himself bestow'd?

4 Me to enrich, himself he made
Poor, and of no esteem:
The source, the true foundation, this,
Of all my love to him.

5 Dear Lord, into thy faithful hands,
My welfare I commit;
And to thy righteousness alone,
For safety I retreat.

6 Sorrows and agonies and death,
Thou didst endure for me,
When all the sins of God's elect
Were made to meet on thee.

7 Tho' worthy, in myself, of hell
And everlasting shame;
I cannot dread the frown divine,
Accepted in the Lamb.

8 Still on thy merit, gracious Lord,
Enable me to lean:
Ever in thee may I be found
My hiding-place from sin!

9 Exult, my soul; thy safety stands
Unshaken as his throne:
His people's everlasting life
Is founded on his own.

HYMN XIX. *Before hearing.*

1 Source of light, and pow'r divine,
Deign upon thy truth to shine;
Lord, behold thy servant stands,
Lo, to thee he lifts his hands:
Satisfy his soul's desire,
Touch his lip with holy fire:
Source of light, and pow'r divine,
Deign upon thy truth to shine.

2 Breathe thy Spirit, so shall fall
Unction sweet upon us all;
'Till, by odours scatter'd round,
Christ himself be trac'd and found;
Then shall ev'ry raptur'd heart,
Rich in peace and joy depart:
Source of light and pow'r divine,
Deign upon thy truth to shine.

HYMN XX. *A Morning Hymn.*

1 Christ, whose glory fills the skies,
Christ, the true, the only light,
Son of righteousness, arise,
Triumph o'er the shades of night;
Day spring from on high be near,
Day star in my heart appear.

2 Dark and cheerless is the morn,
Unaccompanied by thee;
Joyless is the day's return
'Till thy mercy's beams I see:
'Till they inward light impart,
Glad my eyes and warm my heart.

3 Visit then this soul of mine,
Pierce the gloom of sin and grief,
Fill me, radiancy divine;
Scatter all my unbelief;
More and more thyself display,
Shining to the perfect day.

HYMN XXI. *A Chamber hymn.*

1 What tho' my frail eye-lids refuse
Continual watching to keep,
And punctual as midnight renews,
Demand the refreshment of sleep;
A sov'reign protector I have,
Unseen, yet for ever at hand,
Unchangeably faithful to save:
Almighty to rule and command.

2 From evil secure and its dread,
I rest if my Saviour is nigh,
And songs his kind presence indeed
Shall in the night season supply:
He smiles and my comforts abound,
His grace as the dew shall descend,
And walls of salvation surround
The soul he delights to defend.

3 Kind Author and ground of my hope,
Thee, thee, for my God I avow,
My glad Ebenezer set up,
And own thou hast help'd me 'till now;
I muse on the years that are past,
Wherein my defence thou hast prov'd,
Nor wilt thou relinquish at last
A sinner so signally lov'd.

4 Inspirer and hearer of pray'r,
Thou feeder and guardian of thine,
My all to thy covenant care
I sleeping and waking resign,
If thou art my shield and my sun,
The night is no darkness to me,
And fast as my moments roll on,
They bring me but nearer to thee.

5 Thy minist'ring spirits descend,
To watch while thy saints are asleep,
By day and by night they attend,
The heirs of salvation to keep;
Bright seraphs, despatch'd from the throne,
Repair to the stations assign'd,
And angels elect are sent down,
To guard the elect of mankind.

6 Thy worship no interval knows,
Their fervour is still on the wing:
And, while they protect my repose,
They chaunt to the praise of my king.
I too, at the season ordained,
Their chorus for ever will join:
And love and adore without end,
Their faithful Creator, and mine.

HYMN XXII. *A Prayer, living and dying.*

1 Rock of ages, cleft for me,
Let me hide myself in thee;
Let the water and the blood
From thy riven side which flow'd
Be of sin the double cure,
Cleanse me from its guilt and pow'r.

2 Not the labours of my hands,
Can fulfil thy law's demands:
Could my zeal no respite know,
Could my tears for ever flow;
All for sin could not atone,
Thou must save and thou alone.

3 Nothing in my hand I bring,
Simply to thy cross I cling;
Naked come to thee for dress,
Helpless, look to thee for grace:
Foul I to the fountain fly,
Wash me, Saviour, or I die.

4 While I draw this fleeting breath,
When my eye-strings break in death;
When I soar to worlds unknown;
See thee on thy judgment throne,
Rock of ages, cleft for me,
Let me hide myself in thee.

HYMN XXIII. *To the Trinity.*

ETERNAL hallelujahs
Be to the Father giv'n,
Who lov'd his own
Ere time begun,
And mark'd them out for heav'n.

2 Anthems of equal glory,
Ascribe we to the Saviour;
Who liv'd and died,
That we, his bride,
Might live with him for ever.

3 Hail, co-eternal Spirit,
Thy Church's new Creator!
The saints he seals,
Their fear dispels,
And sanctifies their nature.

4 We laud the glorious Triad,
The mystic one in essence;
Till call'd to join
The hosts that shine
In his immediate presence.

5 Faithful is he that promis'd,
And stands engag'd to save us:
The Triune Lord
Has pass'd his word,
That he will never leave us.

6 A kingdom he assign'd us,
Before the world's foundation:
Thou God of grace,
Be thine the praise,
And our's the consolation.

HYMN XXIV 2 *Tim.* i. 9. "*Who hath saved us and called us with an holy calling; not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace, which was given us before the world began.*"

1 How vast the benefits divine,
Which we in Christ possess,
Sav'd from the guilt of sin we are,
And call'd to holiness.

2 But not for works which we have done,
Or shall hereafter do,
Hath God decreed on sinful worms
Salvation to bestow.

3 The glory, Lord, from first to last,
Is due to thee alone:
Aught to ourselves we dare not take,
Or rob thee of thy crown.

4 Our glorious Surety undertook
To satisfy for man,
And grace was giv'n us in him,
Before the world began.

5 This is thy will, that in thy love
We ever should abide,
And lo, we earth and hell defy,
To make thy counsel void.

6 Not one of all the chosen race,
But shall to heav'n attain;
Partake on earth the purpos'd grace,
And then with Jesus reign.

7 Of Father, Son, and Spirit, we
Extol the three-fold care,
Whose love, whose merit, and whose pow'r,
Unite to lift us there.

HYMN XXV. *He hath borne our griefs, &c.*

1 SURELY Christ thy griefs hath borne,
Weeping soul no longer mourn:
View him bleeding on the tree,
Pouring out his life for thee;
There thy ev'ry sin he bore,
Weeping souls lament no more.

2 All thy crimes on him were laid,
See upon his blameless head
Wrath its utmost vengeance pours,
Due to my offence and yours;
Wounded in our stead, he is
Bruis'd for our iniquities.

3 Weary sinner, keep thine eyes,
On the atoning sacrifice:
There th' incarnate Deity,
Number'd with transgressors see!
There his Father's absence mourns,
Nail'd and bruis'd, and crown'd with thorns.

4 See thy God his head bow down,
Hear the man of sorrows groan!
For thy ransom, there condemn'd,
Stripp'd, derided, and blasphem'd;
Bleed the guiltless for th' unclean,
Made an off'ring for thy sin.

5 Cast thy guilty soul on him,
Find him mighty to redeem:
At his feet thy burden lay,
Look thy doubts and cares away;
Now by faith the Son embrace,
Plead his promise, trust his grace.

6 Lord, thy arm must be reveal'd,
Ere I can by faith be heal'd,
Since I scarce can look to thee
Cast a gracious eye on me;
At thy feet, myself I lay,
Shine, O shine my fears away.

HYMN XXVI. *Faith in the promises.*

1 WHAT in thy love possess I not,
My star by night, my sun by day;
My spring of life when parch'd with drought,
My wine to cheer, my bread to stay;
My strength, my shield, my safe abode,
My robe before the throne of God.

2 From all eternity with love
Unchangeable thou hast me view'd;
Ere knew this beating heart to move,
Thy tender mercies me pursu'd;
Ever with me may they abide,
And close me in on every side.

3 In suff'ring be thy love my peace,
In weakness be thy love my pow'r:
And when the storms of life shall cease,
Jesus, in that important hour;
In death as life, be thou my guide,
And save me, who for me hast died.

HYMN XXVII. *Divine aid.*

1 THE pow'r of hell, the strength of sin,
My Jesus shall subdue:
His healing blood shall wash me clean,
And make my spirit new.

2 He will perform the work begun,
Jesus, the sinner's friend,
Jesus, the lover of his own,
Will love me to the end.

3 No longer am I now afraid
The promise shall take place,
Perfect his strength in weakness made:
Sufficient is his grace.

4 When thou dost in my heart appear,
And love erects its throne;
I then enjoy salvation here,
And heaven on earth begun.

5 Lord, I believe, and rest secure
In confidence divine;
Thy promise stands for ever sure,
And all thou art is mine.

HYMN XXVIII. *Almighty power.*

1 WHAT tho' I cannot break my chain
Or e'er throw off my load;
The things impossible to men.
Are possible to God.

2 Who, who shall in thy presence stand,
Or match Omnipotence?
Unfold the grasp of thy right hand.
And pluck the sinner thence.

3 Faith to be heal'd I fain would have,
O might it now be giv'n;
Thou canst, thou canst the sinner save,
And make me meet for heav'n.

4 Bound down with twice ten thousand ties,
Yet let me hear thy call;
My soul in confidence shall rise,
Shall rise and break through all.

5 Thou canst o'ercome this heart of mine,
Thou wilt victorious prove;
For everlasting strength is thine,
And everlasting love.

HYMN XXIX. *Mercy experienced.*

1 Jesus, what hast thou bestow'd
On such a worm as me;
What compassion hast thou shew'd,
To draw me after thee:
Mindful of thy mercies past,
Still I trust the same to prove,
Still my helpless soul I cast,
On thy redeeming love.

2 Hast thou not revers'd my doom,
Thou hast, and I believe;
Yet I still a sinner come,
That thou may'st still forgive!
Wretched, miserable, blind,
Poor, and naked, and unclean,
Still that I may mercy find
I bring thee nought but sin.

3 Open, Lord, my inward ear,
And make my heart rejoice;
Bid my quiet spirit hear
Thy comfortable voice:
Silent am I now and still,
Dare not in thy presence move;
To my waiting soul reveal
The secrets of thy love.

4 Christ hath the foundation laid,
And Christ will build me up:
I shall certainly be made,
Partaker of my hope;
Author of my faith he is,
He its Finisher shall be,
Sov'reign grace has sealed me his,
To all eternity.

HYMN XXX. *Fervent Desire.*

1 Father, I want a thankful heart,
I want to taste how good thou art.
To plunge me in thy mercy's sea,
And comprehend thy love to me:
The length, and depth, and breadth, and height
Of love divinely infinite.

2 Jesus, my great High Priest above,
My friend before the throne of love!
If now for me prevails thy prayer,
If now I find thee pleading there,
Hear, and my weak petitions join,
Almighty Advocate, to thine.

3 O sovereign love, to thee I cry,
Give me thyself, or else I die;
Save me from death, from hell set free,
Death, hell, are but the want of thee:
My life, my crown, my heav'n thou art!
O may I find thee in my heart!

HYMN XXXI. *Written in Illness,* Psalm* civ. *Ver.* 34.

"My meditation of him shall be sweet."

1 When languor and disease invade
This trembling house of clay
'Tis sweet to look beyond our cage,
And long to fly away.

2 Sweet to look inward and attend
The whispers of his love:
Sweet to look upward to the place
Where Jesus pleads above.

3 Sweet to look back and see my name
In life's fair book set down;
Sweet to look forward and behold
Eternal joys my own.

4 Sweet to reflect how grace divine
My sins on Jesus laid;
Sweet to remember that his blood
My debt of sufferings paid.

5 Sweet on his righteousness to stand,
Which saves from second death;
Sweet to experience day by day,
His Spirit's quick'ning breath.

6 Sweet on his faithfulness to rest,
Whose love can never end;
Sweet on his covenant of grace,
For all things to depend.

7 Sweet in the confidence of faith,
To trust his firm decrees;
Sweet to lie passive in his hand,
And know no will but his.

8 Sweet to rejoice in lively hope,
That, when my change shall come,
Angels will hover round my bed,
And waft my spirit home.

9 There shall my disimprison'd soul
Behold him and adore;
Be with his likeness satisfy'd,
And grieve and sin no more.

10 Shall see him wear that very flesh
On which my guilt was lain;
His love intense, his merit fresh,
As tho' but newly slain.

11 Soon too my slumb'ring dust shall hear
The trumpet's quick'ning sound;
And, by my Saviour's power rebuilt,
At his right hand be found.

12 These eyes shall see him in that day,
The God that died for me;
And all my rising bones shall say,
Lord, who is like to thee?

13 If such the views which grace unfolds
Weak as it is below,
What raptures must the Church above
In Jesu's presence know!

14 If such the sweetness of the stream,
What must the fountain be,
Where saints and angels draw their bliss
Immediately from thee.

15 O may the unction of these truths,
For ever with me stay;
'Till from her sinful cage dismiss'd
My spirit flies away.

HYMN XXXII. *The dying believer to his soul.*

1 Deathless principle, arise;
Soar thou native of the skies.
Pearl of price by Jesus bought,
To his glorious likeness wrought,
Go to shine before his throne;
Deck his mediatorial crown:
Go, his triumphs to adorn;
Made for God, to God return.

2 Lo, he beckons from on high!
Fearless to his presence fly:
Thine the merit of his blood:
Thine the righteousness of God.

* The late Countess of Huntingdon had the original of this melliflous piece of poetry sent her by the Author. The right honourable Lad. Anne Erskine gave herself considerable trouble to procure it for the Editor, for which obliging politeness and condescension he returns this public acknowledgment.

3 Angels, joyful to attend,
Hov'ring, round thy pillow bend;
Wait to catch the signal giv'n,
And escort thee quick to heav'n.

4 Is thy earthly house distrest?
Willing to retain her guest?
'Tis not thou, but she, must die:
Fly, celestial tenant, fly.
Burst thy shackles, drop thy clay,
Sweetly breathe myself away:
Singing, to thy crown remove;
Swift of wing, and fir'd with love.

5 Shudder not to pass the stream:
Venture all thy care on him;
Him, whose dying love and pow'r
Still'd its tossing, hush'd its roar.
Safe is the expanded wave;
Gentle as a summer's eve:
Not one object of his care
Ever suffer'd shipwreck there.
See the haven full in view?
Love divine shall bear thee through.
Trust to that propitious gale:
Weigh thy anchor, spread thy sail.

6 Saints in glory perfect made,
Wait thy passage through the shade:
Ardent for thy coming o'er,
See, they throng the blissful shore.
Mount, their transports to improve:
Join the longing choir above:
Swiftly to their wish be giv'n:
Kindle higher joy in heav'n.
Such the prospects that arise
To the dying Christian's eyes!
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Opens through the shades of death.

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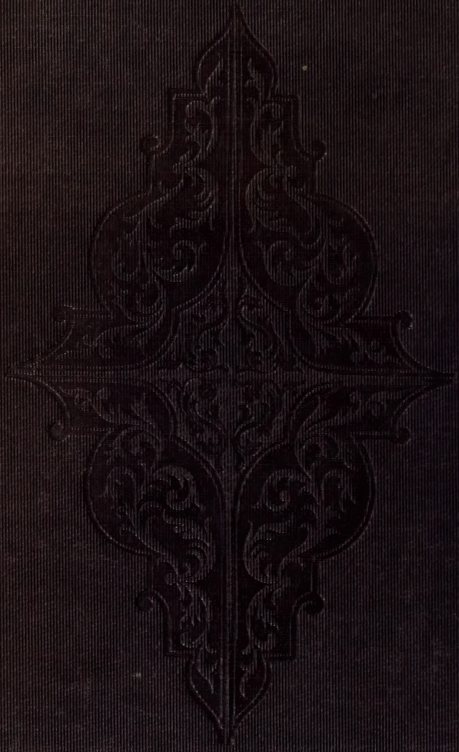
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